ARTEMIS ORTHIA

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SPARTA AND TAYGETOS.

ARTEMIS ORTHIA

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER NO. 5

THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA

EXCAVATED AND DESCRIBED BY MEMBERS OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS
1906–1910

EDITED BY
R. M. DAWKINS
Director of the School

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PREFACE

Since the excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta by members of the British School at Athens was closed nineteen years ago, not a little has been written on the bearing of the discoveries then made on the history of the archaic art of Sparta, and indeed of Greece in general. These writings have been based on the study of the objects themselves in the Museums of Athens and Sparta, and on the not meagre but still preliminary reports which appeared, year by year as the work proceeded, in the *Annual* of the School. The aim of the present book is to give the full results of the excavation, with as many illustrations and as much information on the dates of the various objects as is possible. The material is extremely copious, and it has not been regarded as any part of the contributors' task either to attempt the impossible and to forestall everything that could possibly be said on the general relations of these objects, or even to make all the archaeological comparisons that could be made; still less to write dissertations on Spartan art in its relations to the archaic art of Greece as a whole. Nothing further has been attempted than what was necessary to cast as much light as possible upon the various classes of objects, and to show their relations one to the other, and thus to make the nature and import of our material as clear as possible to our readers. Not the least value of this material lies in this, that it provides us with a long and continuous archaeological sequence, the order of which rests upon the stratigraphical evidence of the site, and this sequence comprises objects in so many different materials and of so great a variety of types, that it covers almost the whole field of what could possibly have survived to us of early Spartan art: sculpture alone is almost entirely missing. The sequence of objects rests entirely upon the evidence of the spade: to give positive dates is, of course, an entirely separate problem, which must be solved from whatever information we have exterior to the excavation itself. It may, however, be remarked that any corrections to be made in our positive dating by fresh external evidence will not in any way affect the relative dating established by the stratigraphy of the site.

In such a definitive account of a long excavation it is hardly enough to give merely the names of the contributors: the reader should know, if he cares, something more of the conduct of the excavation and of the history of the book. Notably the name of the Director of the School under whom the work at the site was begun in 1906 would otherwise not appear at all; for it so happened that the spring of that year was Professor R. C. Bosanquet's last season as Director: he initiated the work, and to the first set of Orthia reports, appearing in the School's *Annual*, No. XII, contributed a paper: 'The Cult of Orthia as

illustrated by the finds.' Other occupations have prevented him from following this up in the present volume, and the chapter on the cult has been written by Professor H. J. Rose, the only contributor to the book who did not take part in the excavation. The present editor's continuous supervision of the work began very shortly after the opening of the first campaign in 1906 : as soon as it became evident that the site could not be finished in one year and was also of the first importance, he was as Professor Bosanquet's successor summoned from Crete and entrusted with the immediate care of the work at the Sanctuary.

The bulk of the digging was done in the four springs of 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909 : a short campaign in 1910 and some final work by Mr. A. M. Woodward completed the work. In these first four years the editor had the advantage of the continuous presence of Mr. A. J. B. Wace and of Professor J. P. Droop : in this book they are represented by three chapters. Mr. Wace has studied the lead figurines in a chapter which continues his work on the similar finds made by the School in 1909 at the Menelaion on the opposite bank of the Eurotas. The notes on the sculpture in Chap. XI are also due to him. Professor Droop has written the chapters on the bronzes and the pottery, both being revised and much amplified editions of earlier papers published in the series of preliminary reports in the *Annual* of the School. These chapters are the result of much more than a study of the objects in themselves : they are based upon zealous and unselfish work on the site and unwearied attention to the minutiæ of excavation through all the four years of the work. For two seasons, 1906 and 1908, we had with us Mr. Guy Dickins, whose death in the war was so heavy a loss to archaeological learning : his high qualities were as evident at the excavation as they are in the chapter on the terracotta masks. This paper is now printed for the first time with certain rearrangements of the order of the material by Professor Droop. Nothing has been omitted and nothing added : the most that has been done, apart from this rearrangement, by which the less readable parts of the paper were put into the form of an appendix, has been to make a few verbal corrections. The uniformity of view presented by all the contributors has been, in fact, reached without any later editing of their several contributions, and this has been possible because at the end of the excavation complete agreement had been reached on all questions of stratification and of the meaning and age of the different deposits on the site. Every member of the party both worked in the field and also took his part in the task of cleaning and sorting the finds, and in these activities by no means confined his attention to the class of objects tending to be assigned to him for ultimate publication. This practice, together with the constant discussion of every question as it arose, naturally produced a uniformity of view which is far more likely to be near the truth than any editorial levelling introduced or imposed at a later stage. Mr. Dickins' work, written nearly twenty years ago, thus takes its place naturally by the side of the other chapters. The editor cannot express fully his debt to Mr. Dickins and to his other colleagues, above all others to Professor Droop and to Mr. Wace, for these long discussions and friendly arguments on the problems of this somewhat complicated site; the only point of difference left is to which of them he is most indebted.

The laborious task of dealing with the very numerous inscriptions was entrusted in 1906 to Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard : when he left the school, Mr. A. M. Woodward undertook this work, and the chapter he now publishes on the inscriptions resumes and develops his earlier publications in the *Annual*. To Mr. Woodward is due the whole credit of setting these inscriptions in order, working out their prosopography and so arranging them in a dated series; it is on his work that the later chronology of the site is based, just as its earlier history rests on the labours of those who dug out, plot by plot and level by level, the earlier deposits of votive offerings. To Mr. Woodward too is due the account of the coins found at the Sanctuary in Chap. XI, and the section on the jewellery in the same chapter has been drawn up by the editor from notes supplied by him. He wrote also the chapter on the architectural terracottas, drawings and descriptions of which had been made at an earlier stage by Mr. W. S. George. Two workers in the field do not appear at all among the contributors to this book. Mr. W. J. Farrell worked at the Sanctuary in 1908 and again in the final campaign of 1910. In the *Annual*, XIV (1907–8), he published a paper on the terracotta figurines. This has necessarily had to be superseded, because in subsequent seasons the material was very greatly increased. Nevertheless it should be recorded that the present chapter on these figurines, though in its present form it does not bear many traces of Mr. Farrell's work, is yet based upon his earlier paper, to say nothing of his work in sorting and mending all the earlier examples. Mr. M. S. Thompson's services in 1908 and 1909 were of the greatest value, especially in surveying and in unravelling the details of the stratification. At such a site as the Orthia, the possibility of recovering the history of the Sanctuary depends upon the accurate observation of the shape and distribution of successive layers of gravel, sand, different kinds of earth, ashes and so on, and of the potsherds and small objects found in each of them, and all this evidence is inevitably destroyed by the very process of discovering and observing it. Without Mr. Thompson's constant labours with the levelling telescope, with the tape and the sketch-book, it is not likely that our knowledge of what happened at the Orthia site, especially in the critical years of the seventh and sixth century, would be as full as it may now claim to be. For shorter periods Professor Eric Peet and Professor H. A. Ormerod worked with us : the former in 1907 and the latter in 1910.

In an excavation of this kind much is owing to the surveyors and draughtsmen; and this not only for their plans and drawings. No one can know an object so well as the man who has drawn it, and the excavator who can be his own surveyor and draughtsman will always be the better for it. In default of this he is fortunate if he can learn as much as some of the writers of this book have from those who held the pencil. With a few exceptions Professor Droop has illustrated his own papers. The other drawings are due, in the earlier years to Mr. Halvor Bagge, in 1908 to Mr. W. Harvey, and all through to the skilled pencil of Mr. George. The plates illustrating the gold and silver objects, as well as many of the drawings of architectural terracottas, are the work of Mr. Piet de Jong. The surveying of the site was begun in 1906 by Mr. W. Sejk, but of his work only Fig. 13 has survived to the end. The rest of the surveying

was carried out with great skill and accuracy by Mr. George, to whose labours the editor added a little and produced the final plan of the Sanctuary on Pl. I. The photography of the objects is due to Herr Rohrer, whose services were very kindly lent to the School by the German Archaeological Institute. Most of the photographs of the site were taken by Mr. Wace.

Nor in this list of services should the foremen be forgotten, if only for the fact that almost all through we had the unrivalled services of Gregori Antoniou of Larnaka. Only those who have worked with Gregori and with any other foremen know what an excavation at which he is present owes to his sagacity. A natural genius, the training of travel and excavation with Dr. Hogarth, and perhaps still more long experience at Knossos under Sir Arthur Evans and Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, have made Gregori what he is. For the weeks in 1908 when he was needed at Knossos we had, as for several years at Palaikastro, the services of the Cretan Michael Katsarakis. As mender we had throughout John Katsarakis, who had learned his art by working for the School every season and not a few winters from the time when he was first employed at Palaikastro about 1904 as a boy to help in washing potsherds. At such an excavation as this of the Orthia Sanctuary, where everything required careful cleaning and the majority of the objects were very much scattered and broken, it was essential to do no digging without having a mender continuously at work: only in this way was it really possible for the excavators to be fully aware of what was being found, and unless they can do this, too much of their work is done at best in a half light, often almost in the dark.

The editor must express his warmest thanks to Mr. John Penoyre and to Mr. W. R. Le Fanu, who undertook the very heavy labour of seeing this book through the press. The proof-reading and indexing also owe much to Miss Hutton and to Mrs. Culley. And lastly the Committee of the British School at Athens, on behalf of whom the excavation was carried out, is indebted to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for including the book in its series of extra publications: the Society is again doing for the School, but on a larger scale, what it did in 1904, when it published the excavations at Phylakopi in Melos. That the Society should do this on the very special occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation on June the 16th, 1879, is a mark of the always close association for common aims of the two bodies, and a kindness for which all the contributors to this volume desire to express their warm thanks.

This preface must not close without a very warm acknowledgment of the liberality of the Greek Government in giving the British School permission to excavate so important a site as Sparta. If the excavation has largely increased the interest of the Sparta Museum, it must be remembered that with great generosity the Greek Government doubled the size of the Museum to make room for the finds from this and other Spartan sites. Throughout the work our relations with the service of antiquities at Athens, and with the ephors from time to time appointed to be present at the excavations, were of the most friendly character and call for our cordial thanks.

R. M. D.

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY

The sanctuary of Orthia at Sparta naturally underwent many changes in the long period from the beginnings of the cult in perhaps the tenth century B.C. down to its final abandonment at some quite uncertain date: this book must begin with an account of these changes, of how altar succeeded to altar and temple to temple, and of the ever-varying, but at the same time never-failing, series of votive offerings made at her shrine. All this history, it is true, it would be possible for a careful reader to pick out from the old reports published year by year in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. Even the few points in which earlier views required reconsideration in the light of fuller knowledge were for the most part corrected in some later report. The present chapter, therefore, contains little that is actually new. But the continuous history of the sanctuary as now presented was in the original reports unavoidably recorded not in the actual order of events, but as the story revealed itself year by year to the excavators: as digging proceeds from the surface downwards, to reach what is early it must first pass through what is late: the order of discovery is, in fact, precisely opposite to the order of time. That readers of this book may be saved the necessity of thus picking out for themselves this history, perhaps even a more difficult task than it seems to those who were responsible for the old reports, it has seemed best to begin this present publication with a consecutive account of the sanctuary from the earliest times.[1]

The contributions of the members of the School, both in previous reports and in the present book, have been freely drawn upon, as well as all the day-books and records: these latter are the result of the writer's almost continuous presence at the excavation from its beginning in 1906 under the direction of Professor R. C. Bosanquet to its conclusion in 1910. The plans and illustrations have all appeared in the old reports, from which with some very slight modifications they are now reproduced. The plan of the Roman theatre on **III** and the reconstruction of the theatre and temple on **IV** are due to Mr. W. S. George; the plan of the fully excavated sanctuary on **I** is based upon earlier plans by Messrs. George and Sejk, but as it stands is the work of the present writer, who is responsible also for the drawings of sections on **II**; in these, which were compiled as the excavation proceeded, he was much helped by measurements and sketches made by Mr. M. S. Thompson.

[1] This chapter is in substance the same as the article called *The History of the Sanctuary* which appeared at the close of the excavation in *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 18 *sqq.* The chronology there used has been slightly, but only very slightly, modified, and the whole has been lengthened by adding from the earlier reports descriptions of the successive structures, altars, temples, walls and so on, necessary to give a complete picture of the successive states of the sanctuary.

In an account of this kind chronology is of the first importance, and it is from this point of view only that the various classes of votive offerings, in which the sanctuary was so rich, will be mentioned: to their full publication the later chapters of this book are devoted. For this fixing of the chronology of the site, the pottery as usual takes the first place, but it is not the only class of object to show a continuous development, and consequently to afford evidence for dating. In particular the modifications in type and style of the lead figurines were sufficiently marked to be a great guide, and a constant confirmation of the ceramic evidence. All the stages of the pottery are, in fact, accompanied by corresponding varieties of figurines, and it often happened that, where a deposit had too little pottery to date it clearly, the deficiency was supplied by the lead. This was particularly the case with the later deposits of the fifth and fourth centuries. A regular development of type was also observed in the ivory carvings and objects in bone, and the same in the bronzes. All these sequences support one another, and, with the assistance of external evidence for the dating of inscriptions and of Proto-Corinthian and Laconian, as we must now call 'Cyrenaic,' pottery, provide a chronological scheme of some certainty.

It will be convenient to begin with the actual process of the excavation, very briefly resumed from the annual reports. When we have thus recounted what was done from the beginning of the work on the virgin site in the spring of 1906 to its conclusion in 1910, we shall be able to go forward through the centuries from the earliest human remains discovered to the time when the cult finally ceased: the coming of Christianity to at least part of Laconia was so tardy that this may very well have been considerably later than the general conversion of the Empire.[2]

The position of the sanctuary lies on the right bank of the Eurotas about three-quarters of a kilometre south of the modern bridge.[3] Before the excavation began, the margin of the wide bed of the Eurotas at this point rose abruptly from a fringe of oleanders and agnus castus, and its sheer face was seen to be composed in great part of Roman masonry, rubble bound together with very hard concrete. For many years the river in flood had at this point been eating away the substructures of a building of the Roman period, which almost filled a piece of rising ground, lying here above a garden to the north and below the rocky tongue stretching out on the southern side towards the river. As the sectional drawings on II show, this triangular space was originally a low-lying hollow, liable to be flooded by the river; a part, in fact, of the region appropriately called *Limnai*. Strabo records that the suburban part of Sparta had originally been marshy, and had therefore borne this name.[4] This liability to be flooded played, as we shall see, an important art in the history of the site.

These Roman ruins were formerly amongst the most conspicuous remains

[2] The Slavs, at least, on the slopes of Taygetos were not converted until the ninth century.

[3] I am here quoting largely from Professor Bosanquet's first report on the site, published in *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 303 *sqq*.

[4] Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλίμναζε τὸ προάστειον, καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ Λίμνας. Strabo, viii. 5, 1.

of ancient Sparta. As such they were freely used as a quarry when the modern town was built in the early part of the nineteenth century, and when we came little indeed was showing above the surface.[5] They then consisted—and even after the removal of a part of them in the course of our excavation they still consist—of an orchestra or circular arena, surrounded by a broad concrete substructure, the circle of which is broken and its outer arc flattened on the western side. This structure formerly supported seats and the stairways leading up to them; it was, in fact, a theatre, in which the place of a proscenium was filled by the front of a temple constructed in quite a different style. This double arrangement took its final form at a date probably, as we shall see, to

FIG. 1.—THE EDGE OF THE ROMAN FOUNDATION SHOWING ABOVE THE BED OF THE EUROTAS, AS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EXCAVATION.

be placed in the third century A.D., when the theatre was built. The temple, in one form or another, had stood on the same foundations since about 600 B.C. The accounts by earlier travellers of what they saw of these buildings have been collected by Professor Bosanquet in the first report of the excavation.[6]

When we began work in 1906 the bank of the Eurotas at the sanctuary was as we have just described it; the photograph in Fig. 1 shows the broken edge of the Roman foundation like a cliff rising from the mud and sand of the bed of the river. The main stream was nearly a hundred metres away from

[5] And a part of what we found we then thought was Byzantine, and it is marked as such in the plan of the partly excavated theatre and temple published in *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII. But when the theatre was fully cleared these pieces of wall fell into their natural places in its plan.

[6] In *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 305–308. He quotes J. D. Le Roy in 1754, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, ii. Pl. XIV and p. 33; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 151; Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, p. 333; the French expedition of 1829, *Expédition de la Morée, Architecture*, ii. Pls. 46, 48, Figs. 1, 2, p. 65; and other less important notices of the site.

the sanctuary, which is at present reached only when a sudden flood fills the whole bed of the river with a rush of waters. The actual course of a river flowing in this way in a wide torrent bed varies very rapidly, often in a single night, and at some time the water has carried away a considerable part of the foundation of the Roman theatre; the eroded face of masonry which was almost the only visible indication of buildings on the site when the excavation began, was the chord of the arc destroyed in this way.

The actual clue to the site was given by the finding of lead figurines and other small objects in the earth of the river bank below the bottom of this Roman foundation, and the first days of the 1906 campaign, when the site was first attacked, were devoted to cutting into this earth.[7] The extreme richness of the deposit showed at once that measures must be taken to ascertain the character and extent of the whole: it is also contrary to all the rules of excavation to dig a deposit from the side instead of from above: digging from the side inevitably leads to confusion of levels, by objects falling down from above.[8] We therefore tested the site by digging two long trenches across it: one, called Trench A, right across the Roman building and the arena just south of the temple, and a second, Trench B, parallel to Trench A and ten metres from it to the south, lying entirely within the area of the Roman foundation.[9] We also cleared much of the surface of the latter. Trench A revealed to us the great richness of the deposit below the Roman arena and below a part of the foundation. We could distinguish in it below the Roman level, first a thick layer of sand and below this a rich stratum of dark earth containing votive offerings in great abundance; its upper part was marked by the pottery later to be identified as Laconian I and II, the lower part, resting on the virgin soil, full of sherds of Geometric vases. Between the two we found some Proto-Corinthian pottery and everywhere lead figurines, terra-cottas, ivories and other objects were found in abundance. The middlemost levels of the deposit were the richest. The trench struck the south end of the archaic altar and above it the remains of the Roman altar: neither was yet identified. Trench B yielded so little as to be clearly beyond the limits of the great deposit.[10]

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[7] This is recorded in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 318.

[8] It would have been disastrous to continue working in from the river for another reason. As we shall presently see, the early deposit of votives was a heap sloping off at the sides. Such a heap is, in fact, a very dumpy cone, and the test of earliness is not the level but the nearness to the centre of the cone, and in a hyperbolic section such as the edge of the heap by the river-bed presented to us was bound to yield objects of very different dates all at the same level. Thus our first work at this face gave us no clue to the real relative dates of the various objects, and the observation of the absolute levels was simply misleading. To have disregarded levels and divided the deposit longitudinally would have given better results. It is fortunately not very often that the excavator finds himself working in this way at the edges of a conical deposit. How it came about that the western part of this river-bed deposit was later than the lower part to the east appears in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 16.

[9] The position of these two trenches, so far as they cut through the Roman foundation, is marked on the plan on **III.**

[10] Trench B, as may be seen from a comparison of **I** and **III**, proved to be just about at the edge of the layer of sand, beyond the limits of which none of this rich archaic deposit was found.

The only obstacle to a full excavation was the mill-stream which then flowed across the temple, across the northern part of the arena and across the eastern part of the Roman theatre. This was therefore diverted into a fresh channel to the south, where trial-pits had shown us that no remains of importance were to be expected, and the way was thus left clear for the complete examination of the sanctuary.[11] The channel of the stream had cut deeply into the Roman foundation and into the upper part of the walls of the temple, but all the archaeologically valuable part of the site lay well below and out of the way.

At the end of the season of 1906 the work had been carried so far: the state of the site was presented in the first published plan of the site, which it has not been thought necessary to reproduce here.[12]

In 1907 the whole upper surface of the Roman theatre was cleared, and the arena and the interior of the temple were dug down to the virgin soil. In the arena the series of altars was found: the earliest altar, the archaic altar, and above these and separated from them by the layer of sand the scanty remains of a later Greek altar, and finally the altar of the Roman period. These two last had to be destroyed to get down to the lower levels, and it was, in fact, only when the archaic altar was found that the broken remains of the Roman altar were recognised for what they were.

In 1908 the excavation of the deposits connected with the earlier age of the sanctuary—up to about the year 600 B.C., as we learned later—was almost completed, a task which demanded the removal of a good deal of the foundations of the Roman theatre. The very early temple slightly to the south of the later sixth-century temple was discovered, early houses were found to the east of the archaic altar, and the limits of the sand, with which the sanctuary was covered at the end of the seventh century B.C., were determined.

In 1909 the remains of the walls bounding the sanctuary at successive periods were identified, and the great drain which runs across the southern part of the site was cleared.

In 1910 the work was definitely closed.

It now remains to recount the history of the sanctuary as revealed by the work of these years. This will expose the circumstances in which the various classes of objects, all of them to be regarded as votive offerings to the goddess, were found, and will contain also the evidence upon which we have based our chronology of the site. This chapter, although it makes use of the other chapters in the book, yet serves as the foundation to which all the rest must be referred.

The site of the sanctuary, which the successive structures had raised well above the level of the river, was shown to have been originally a natural hollow, subject like all the low-lying ground to the north—the rest of Strabo's Limnai—to periodic floods: that an occasional rivulet at this point found its way down to the bed of the Eurotas is not improbable. The earliest traces of human

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[11] The old course of the mill-stream and its present channel are to be seen on **I.**

[12] It appeared in *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII.

activity which have been found on the site consist of a layer of blackened earth mixed with sherds of Geometric pottery and small, much-corroded pieces of bronze, immediately above the virgin soil on the western side of the great archaic altar. This deposit, which was at the centre as much as half a metre thick and covered about thirty square metres, is shown in its relation to the altar in Fig. 2, where it is marked *Burned débris below pavement.* Nowhere else do the deposits reach so great an absolute depth, and it thus appears that at this point was the centre and lowest part of the natural hollow, in which the worship of Orthia was established. That these remains are to be connected with the cult, and are thus its earliest trace, is indicated by the small fragments of charred bone which appeared when the earth was

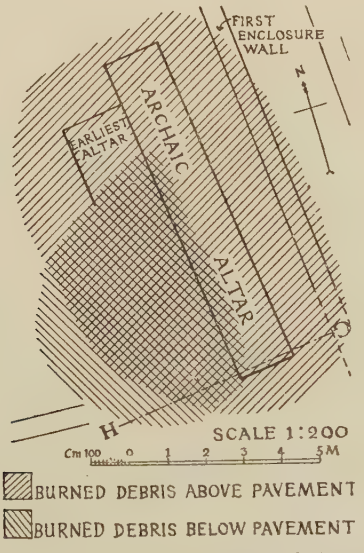

Fig. 2.—Plan showing the position of Burned Débris round the Archaic Altar above and below the Cobble Pavement.

washed, and show that it is the *débris* from burned animal sacrifices. Except for the small piece of wall found at the same level, and shown in the bottom left-hand corner of the drawing, no structural remains of this period have been found. This deposit is marked also in the section along the line *G–H* in the plan which is reproduced on **II,** *B* : it is there lettered as *Burned Débris.*

The smallness of the area over which these earliest remains extend suggests that the sanctuary was at this time, if enclosed, of no great extent. After this earliest period we can however distinguish a stage during which it was apparently much larger. Walls now appear, and the enclosed area was paved. The pavement consisted of irregularly laid cobble-stones brought from the bed of the river, and rested immediately upon the earliest stratum just described. Its preservation is extremely uneven. In some places the rough stones were found set quite close together, in others only a stone here and there was in place. The whole was, however, at approximately the same level, and it is plain that

there was at all events the intention to cover the whole area of the sanctuary. This irregular distribution is marked on the plan, which also distinguishes, towards the centre of what was later the arena of the theatre, a patch made of much finer pebbles at a slightly higher level, and probably rather later than the rest.

Of this paved sanctuary we also found parts of the walls, marked on the plan I as 'First Enclosure Wall.' One piece, running almost due north and south, lies to the east of the altar—this appears in the section on Line *G–H* in II—and the other forms the western limit of the sanctuary. This latter

FIG. 3.—THE WEST WALL OF THE LATER TEMPLE, WITH PARTS OF THE CURVED 'FIRST ENCLOSURE WALL' AND, BEHIND IT ON THE RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH, OF THE 'RETAINING WALL,' LOOKING SOUTH.

piece passes beneath the south-western corner of the later temple, and then, after making a curve towards the north, shown in Fig. 3, disappears, whilst in the other direction it was traced for some distance under the foundation of the Roman theatre to the south of the temple, until it gradually disappeared. The last part of its course is so much ruined that it could only be marked in the plan by a dotted line. An attempt to find its further course, by sinking a pit near Pier IV outside the curve of the foundation of the theatre, led to no result. Both these pieces of wall are built in the same way, of small undressed stones, which, like the cobble-stones of the pavement, were clearly brought from the adjacent bed of the Eurotas. Almost everywhere both these walls had been destroyed down to the level of the pavement, to make way for subsequent extensions of the sanctuary, and thus, excepting for a small piece of the west

wall, no more than the foundations have been preserved. The sanctuary thus revealed was some thirty metres across, and in length, measured, that is, from north to south, considerably more, although its limits in this direction have not been preserved. The configuration of the ground makes it almost certain that the gateway, of which however no trace has been found, was towards the south, and therefore approximately below the point where the builders of the Roman theatre made their principal entrance, that is between Piers VIII and IX. It is indeed likely that the main approach to the sanctuary always led down from the higher ground at this point.

The sanctuary, thus paved and enclosed, certainly did not lack an altar, and its foundation course is probably to be recognised in a layer of undressed stones, which was found on the western side of the archaic altar. The layer of stones in question, marked on the plan **I** and in Fig. 2 as 'Earliest Altar,' passes underneath the foundation of the archaic altar, forms a corner at a distance from it of 1·70 m., and then runs for a little over two metres parallel to its face. It is clearly distinguished from the stones of the pavement by its definite outer edge, and its position and exact parallelism further connect it with the series of altars.

Of a temple contemporary with this earliest altar no trace was found. The extent, however, of the sanctuary, the position of the altar so near its edge rather than at the centre, the existence of the later temples presently to be described, and the general circumstances of the case, are all arguments which make it more than likely that, even at this early date, some kind of primitive temple stood in the western part of the sanctuary, and that temple and altar already stood facing one another, as their successors did for so many centuries, one on either side of the central area.

The votive offerings which were found immediately above the cobble pavement are to be assigned to the period of these earliest structures, but there is generally no means of knowing where the dividing line is to be drawn between them and those of the succeeding period when the great archaic altar had been built. To the earlier time however may be certainly assigned the few objects, mostly sherds of Geometric pottery and broken fragments of bronze, which were found in the ten centimetres of blackened earth lying between the surface of this pavement and the lowest stones of the core of the archaic altar. The existence of this layer, which is an important part of the evidence for the archaic altar being later than the pavement, was ascertained by cutting a trench along the central line of the altar down to the virgin soil. Below the stones of the altar, first the layer in question was found, and then the pavement. The exact conditions are shown in the Section on Line *G–H* on **II.** This blackened earth, like that below the pavement, proved on being washed to be full of very small fragments of burned bone, in which we must recognise remains of the sacrifices offered on the earliest altar; of this altar no trace was found in this exploratory trench, and it is, in fact, not likely to have extended so far in this direction.

The next stage which can be detected in the history of the sanctuary shows the sanctuary provided with a large altar, which is still well preserved, and a

small temple, marked on the plan as the 'Archaic Altar' and the 'Early Temple.' No remains of any corresponding enclosure walls have been found. The altar is 9·00 m. long by 1·50 m. wide, resembling in its long narrow proportions some other early Greek altars. Its height is 1·00 m., or, with the projecting coping which is preserved only at the north end, 1·20 m. The facing is of rudely dressed stones laid in irregular courses; inside, the stones were simply thrown in to form a filling. The extent of the accumulation of sacrificial *débris* round it is shown in plan by the drawing in Fig. 2, and in its depth by the sections on Lines *C–D* **IV** and *G–H* **II.** Fig. 4 gives a view of this altar from the south-west: to the left are the stones of the earliest altar:

Fig. 4.—The Archaic Altar from the South-west.

in the background we see the edge of the Roman arena, and the row of bases which here stood along the curve.[13]

The remains of the early temple were slight, though the finds associated with it were very numerous. There had been several indications, as the work went on, that this region immediately to the south and south-east of the later temple was likely to yield something remarkable. It was in the western part of Trench A, just beyond the outer edge of the Roman foundation (see **Pl. III**), that in 1906 the great mass of masks was

[13] The south end of this altar had been struck in the first year of the work by the exploratory Trench A: in the plan then published (*B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII) it is to be seen in black between the letter A and the end of the word Trench. The slab shown crossing the trench just to the left is a part of the Roman altar, not quite correctly drawn.

found;[14] in 1907 it was proved that the richest parts of the pre-sand deposit were inside and outside the south-east corner of the later temple. Also here the archaic deposit was thicker than anywhere else, and the measurement of levels showed that it here rose in the form of a low mound, the top of which fell in the plan just south of the middle point of the south wall of the temple. Finally, when it was observed that a perpendicular line drawn through the centre of the archaic altar passed across the highest point of this mound, it seemed almost certain that remains of importance were concealed beneath it. The necessary removal of the overlying Roman foundation was effected and the archaic deposit below dug with great care, so as to read the full evidence afforded by the sloping strata, where naturally the kind of earth in which any object was found, and what object was found with what, were just as important as the actual levels. The sectional drawing on **Pl. II** taken along the line *E–F* was one of the results of these observations.

The process of digging these strata is recorded in detail in the report for 1908, and need not be repeated here.[15] Below the layer of sand, below the layer of building chips from the time of the construction of the later temple, we came to the south of that temple upon the remains of the earliest temple of Orthia: no doubt the primitive temple corresponding in date to the archaic altar. Nor is there any indication that it was not built at the same very early period, which may be put down to the ninth or even the tenth century. They were the two essential structures of the old sanctuary, facing one another at the two opposite edges of its pavement. It is noticeable on how much smaller a scale the temple is than the altar.

Although so little of the temple is preserved, some idea may be formed of its appearance. The remains consist of a part of the west and south walls, the former being cut off by the foundation of the later temple, and the eastern part of the latter having also disappeared. In the parts preserved all that is left is a foundation course of small undressed stones, evidently taken from the bed of the neighbouring Eurotas, surmounted at the west end by a row of slabs set on edge. The red earth, in which the whole was buried, shows that above this foundation course the wall was built of unbaked brick. A slab projecting from the south wall near the inner end of the building probably marks the front of a small cella about 1·00 m. deep. The earth between the west wall and this projecting slab was not the red earth derived from bricks, but of a black colour, and this would show that the cella was slightly raised above the floor, this black earth found in it being part of the original structure and having formed a kind of dais. On it no doubt rested the xoanon of the goddess.

The Plan **I**, the drawing in Fig. 8, in which each stone is drawn exactly as it was found, and the photographs on Figs. 5, 6 and 7, show the method of construction. At fairly regular intervals of about 1·25 m. there are small flat stones in the wall set among the round stones, and each of these small slabs is

[14] This point appears in **I** at the corner of a piece of cobble pavement, and in **III** where Trench A comes out into the arena. This is part of the deposit of masks to the south of the temple mentioned on pp. 27 and 164 below.

[15] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 14.

backed by a vertical flat stone, the whole forming a kind of socket in the foundation course. There is an exact correspondence between these sockets and a row of flat stones set on the floor parallel to the long side of the building. The usual narrowness of early temples, and the fact that no traces were found inside the later temple, make it almost certain that this row of stones forms the centre line of the building, which must therefore have been 4·50 m. wide, and these slabs, whether in the wall or free in the middle, can hardly have served any other purpose than to support baulks of timber, and to keep their lower ends out of the wet. They are not sufficiently substantial to have supported stone

FIG. 5.—VIEW FROM THE EAST OF THE LATER (SIXTH-CENTURY) TEMPLE AND THE REMAINS OF THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE. IN FRONT OF THE LATER TEMPLE IS A LOWER SUPPORTING WALL WHICH WE WERE OBLIGED TO BUILD. TO THE LEFT APPEARS THE CORNER OF THE ROMAN FOUNDATION.

columns.[16] The timbers down the middle would have appeared as columns and those in the walls as a wooden frame to give strength and cohesion to the structure. The whole would thus be a frame house with a row of columns down the middle supporting a gable roof. With any other form of roof, it is not easy to see how the water would have been satisfactorily carried off, a prime necessity with a material which demands so absolutely to be protected from moisture as mud brick. Among the remains a piece of painted tile was found painted in a style which recalls Laconian II.[16a] Other pieces similarly painted

[16] The same conclusion is drawn from the same premiss, the smallness and thinness of the bases, by Soteriades in his account of the temple at Thermon in Aetolia (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, pp. 160 *sqq.*).

[16a] For which *v.* Ch. III. p. 140, No. 35.

were found scattered about the site, and probably belonged to this building. They seem to be of the seventh century, and are in any case not as old as the building itself. This however may well have been re-roofed at any time.

If we assume that the row of free pillars was in the centre of the building, two important peculiarities in the plan will result: firstly, it must have had the long and narrow proportions characteristic of many very ancient temples,[17] and secondly, it must have been divided longitudinally into two naves. This is a feature of at least four archaic temples: the temple at Thermon in Aetolia, the so-called Basilica at Paestum, the cella of the old temple at Locri and the temple at Neandreia; and in discussing this last, Durm remarks that this type with the double nave is perhaps the oldest form of temple.[18]

This mixed construction of brick and wood resting on a stone foundation brings the building into close relation with the Heraion at Olympia, and gives it a place among the representatives of the earliest stages of the development of the Doric style. In its simplicity of plan it is even more primitive than the Heraion.[19]

If this temple contained any special cultus objects or vessels, they have disappeared, and were possibly removed when the building was destroyed. It was not however by any means empty, but yielded a great number of the same kinds of objects as are found everywhere in the uppermost stratum of the archaic deposit.[19a] An exception to this was formed by a large number of small unpainted vases, which only approximate to, without being exactly the same as, those usually found; of these specimens are published in Fig. 82. Hardly any painted pottery was found. This similarity of the contents of the temple to the deposit outside shows that superfluous objects were thrown out from time to time, and that it was in this way that the archaic deposit was formed. The especial richness of the deposit outside the south-east corner of the later temple may thus be attributed to the nearness of this primitive temple, and it is even probable that the objects of which it consisted were stored in the western part of the building. Amongst them were a great number of bone and ivory objects, two of which demand especial notice: the ivory group

[17] The length of the remains preserved is only twice the estimated breadth of 4·50 m., but there is no trace of the front corner, and the probability that the rich mass of objects found outside the south-east angle of the later temple formed part of the contents of this building indicates that it was originally very much longer.

[18] For the temple at Thermon *v. Ath. Mitt.*, 1922, p. 43 and Ἀρχ. Δελτ., VI, p. 168; for the basilica at Paestum, Koldewey and Puchstein, *Die Griech. Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, Pl. 2 and p. 17; for the temple at Locri, *ibid.*, Pl. 1 and p. 3; for Neandreia *v.* Koldewey in *Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, LI. 1891 (plan on p. 22).

[19] Cf. Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, ii. pp. 28 *sqq.* (Doerpfeld).

[19a] The objects found inside the walls of this early temple clearly came from the interior of a building, for they were later in date than the objects found at the same level outside: at levels deep enough for Geometric pottery to be found elsewhere, the pottery inside these slab-walls was of Laconian (Laconian I and II) style, and the other objects such as would go with this. It is natural to suppose that outside the building rubbish of past years would be allowed to accumulate; the interior of the building would be kept clear and the objects found there belong on the whole to the latest period of its existence.

FIG. 6.—THE EARLY TEMPLE WITH THE COBBLE PAVEMENT, EDGED BY THE FOUNDATION OF THE 'FIRST ENCLOSURE WALL,' AND THE SOUTH WALL OF THE LATER (SIXTH-CENTURY) TEMPLE.

FIG. 7.—VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE EARLY TEMPLE.

of a lioness with a calf in her mouth being stabbed by a man, and the ivory relief of a ship, both found in this region.[20] The former is supplemented by three other ivory carvings of lionesses with their prey, found close to the south wall of the later temple, and so far west and thus near to the preserved remains of the early temple, as to have certainly formed a part of its contents. These are a good deal larger and finer than the ordinary couchant animals in ivory, of which so many have been found, and it is likely that they were kept as objects of especial importance, the more so as the finest ivories are generally rather earlier than the period of the destruction of the early temple.

To the period during which this temple and altar were in use—we may

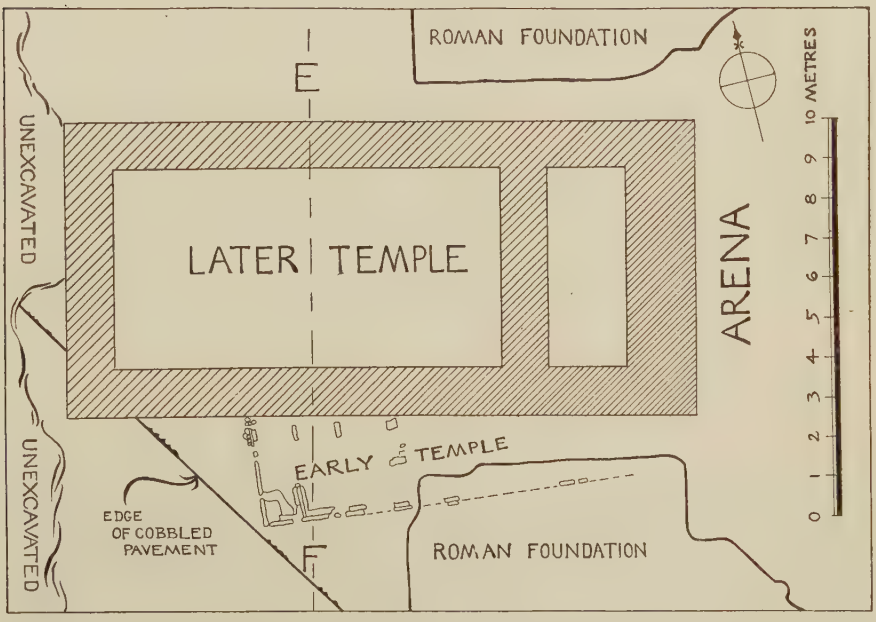

Fig. 8.—Plan of the Early Temple as excavated in 1908, to a scale of 1 : 200.

anticipate the discussion of the chronology by saying here that there is reason to think this was from the late ninth century to the end of the seventh—belong the most important results of the excavation; it is in association with these structures that the greater number of the rich series of votive offerings were found, and of the pottery all the styles up to and including Laconian II. To the next period and the sixth century belong Laconian III and IV, under which are comprised most of the vases which, wherever found, have passed under the name of Cyrenaic. The painted terracotta masks and the greater number of the lead figurines also belong to this succeeding period.

With the exception of what was found inside the temple, none of these votive offerings can be considered as having been found *in situ*; evidently they were thrown away from time to time, and so formed a confused mass all over

[20] Published in **CLII**, 2 and **CX** below.

the area of the cobble pavement and slightly beyond it. It may therefore be concluded that the walls which had previously been at the edge of the pavement were at this time no longer standing. That these boundaries should then have existed is inconsistent also with the position of the temple, the corner of which barely clears the line of the wall, and practically with that of the altar also, as the space between it and the wall would be very inconveniently narrow: this disregard certainly indicates that these walls belong to an earlier period.

A part of the limit of the sanctuary at this period seems to be preserved by the line of a wall, marked on the plan 'Later Enclosure Wall,' which runs nearly due north and south about four metres to the east of the altar. The wall itself is of a later date, but the line in which it lies, and its extension to the north, marked the extreme limit in this direction of the objects belonging to this period, and we may therefore consider that this was the limit of the sanctuary, and that some earlier wall existed here, no trace of which has survived. The southern part of the wall in question appears in Fig. 14 between the houses and the archaic altar.[21]

The richness of the deposit of votive offerings was by no means uniform over this area. The most fruitful region was that surrounding the remains of the early temple; as we have seen many of the objects found here probably formed a part of its contents. The accumulation was also especially deep on the east side of the altar, rising indeed from its usual average thickness of ·30 m. to as much as ·60 m. It reached probably to within half a metre of the top of the altar. On the western side, on the other hand, the deposit was thin. This implies that the altar was used, as would naturally be expected, from the side towards the temple, and that on the other unused side, which was moreover very close to the wall of the sanctuary, *débris* was allowed to accumulate. All the deposit near the altar was black and, like that below the pavement, mixed with small fragments of burned bones. The mass at the back of the altar shows that, in clearing the surface from time to time, the ministers swept the *débris* off on the side where it did not interfere with the practice of the cult.[22]

The region to the north of the temple, and particularly immediately underneath and to the north of the row of Roman bases marked on the plan, was also very rich, and it was here that the latest objects associated with this period were found; in particular Laconian II pottery and many of the carvings in soft limestone published in Ch. VI below.

It was recognised quite early in the course of the excavation that at the end of this period the whole sanctuary was covered with a layer of sand and gravel. Underneath this the archaic altar and the remains of the early temple

[21] The actual wall here, the 'Later Enclosure Wall,' is part of a boundary wall of which three pieces are preserved, and is likely to be of the sixth century. It is discussed on p. 24 below.

[22] This difference in the thickness of the deposit on the two sides of the altar is shown in the section on the line *G–H* **II**. It is interesting to contrast the altar, whose priority to the deposits round it is proved by its affecting their level in this way, with the walls of the temple, on both sides of which the deposits, being earlier, continue at the same level. See section on line *E–F* **II**.

were completely buried, and on its surface a new altar and the later temple were erected. It seems most probable that the early temple was destroyed by a flood, and that this general raising of the level was to guard against the recurrence of such a disaster.[23]

The reorganising of the sanctuary did not stop, and apparently hardly interrupted, the practice of making votive offerings, the series of which continues in undiminished abundance for at least another century. The layer of sand represents chronologically a certain pause, and enabled us also to distinguish clearly the objects that belong to the earlier period from those that are later. At this point comes the development in the pottery from Laconian II to Laconian III; here belong the small carvings in soft limestone; ivory now gives way to bone; there are changes too in the other classes of objects, in the bronzes especially and in the lead figurines. The date of this destruction and reconstitution of the sanctuary is therefore of the greatest importance, and it can fortunately be fixed with some degree of certainty.

The two blocks of dressed stone found below the sand and almost directly underneath the row of bases at the edge of the Roman arena are of importance in this connexion: in the plan they appear under the inner edge of the Roman foundation and exactly north of the central bases. They were carefully bedded and laid like a pair of steps, and evidently formed part of a building, of which however nothing more can be said than that it belongs to the latter part of the 'below-sand' period, as is proved by the considerable depth of deposit below the stones, and by the presence in this deposit of lead figurines of a kind hardly earlier than 700 B.C., and of a few sherds of Laconian I pottery. Near these blocks a rich mass of objects was found, which probably formed part of the contents of the building. Their relative lateness is indicated by the more developed style of the pottery, which is what Mr. Droop has classed as Laconian II. With this were the objects which help us to a *terminus post quem* for the rearrangement of the sanctuary. These are a number of carvings in soft white limestone, some of which bear archaic inscriptions; two Laconian II plates also, one inscribed FPIΘIΣA A[NE]ΘIKE HIPON, and the other, [ANEΘE]KE TAI FOPΘAΣIAI, were found not far off.[24] These inscriptions, although very archaic in character, can hardly go back earlier than the end of the seventh century, and we thus arrive at a *terminus post quem* for the laying down of the sand. Further, the close connexion between the pottery found in this region with the earliest pieces found above the layer of sand prove that this deposit belongs to the very latest years of the early period.

The votive offerings of the next period, of which more must be said below, include a mass of that pottery hitherto known as Cyrenaic, which Mr. Droop has now classed as Laconian III and IV. In date it ranges over the sixth

[23] The redness of the remains of the brickwork might suggest that it was destroyed by fire, but there are no signs of charring on the objects, and in particular the ivories would not have survived a fire. Nor would a fire have supplied any motive for raising the level of the sanctuary.

[24] The transcription in the text does not, of course, represent the actual lettering of the inscriptions; for this we refer to pp. 81, 111, 371 below.

century, and, more precisely, must have begun not far from 600 B.C. The evidence for this is the Arkesilas cup, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, with a picture of the king superintending the weighing and packing of the silphion. There is little doubt that this is Arkesilas II, whose dates are 580–550 B.C., and, as the cup is a late example of Laconian III, it demands some date previous to this for the beginning of the style, possibly about 600 B.C. A sherd found by Professor Petrie at Daphnai, which must have been imported thither before 565 B.C., corroborates this.[25] If, then, the inscriptions point to a date certainly not earlier than the end of the seventh century (and on epigraphical grounds they might well be later), and are found immediately before the sand, whilst the pottery found directly above it begins certainly very early in the sixth century, there is strong evidence that the sand was laid down at a date very close to 600 B.C.

Before going on to describe the next period of the history of the sanctuary, it will be convenient to look back and try to establish some date for the beginnings of the cult and the earlier structures which have been noticed above.

Over how many centuries before 600 B.C. these early deposits at the Orthia sanctuary range, it is not easy to say, and indeed any conclusion must have much that is arbitrary and to some extent personal. The pottery is our safest guide: the first ware found is Geometric. Before the end of this, Laconian I begins, and this is followed at the end of the period by Laconian II. There was also a style developed from the Geometric, which Mr. Droop has classed as Sub-Geometric. Besides these, the period in which Laconian I and Geometric overlap was marked by the presence of Proto-Corinthian pottery, and from this the best external evidence for dating is derived. No very large quantity of it was found, but it was widely scattered and always carefully preserved.[26] At the end of the excavation Mr. Droop noted that 45 per cent. of its occurrences were with Geometric pottery only, 47 per cent. with Geometric and Laconian I together, and 8 per cent. with Laconian I only. It therefore appears that of the period over which this ware ranges about half falls before the introduction of Laconian I, and that its termination must be shortly after the disuse of Geometric pottery.[27] The probable date of the earliest pieces found at the

[25] For Mr. Droop's arguments, *v.* p. 109 below, and for the Daphnai sherd, *v.* Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. Pl. XXXII, 3, and pp. 52 and 59.

[26] No single potsherd throughout the whole excavation was thrown away without having been first washed, classified, and the presence of that particular kind of ware noted.

[27] The whole deposit was divided into sections, each of some three or four square metres. Each of these sections was dug separately and in digging divided into several layers. The finds from each layer of each section of deposit were put into separate trays, a process shown in the foreground of Fig. 9. The percentages in the text have been calculated from the number of the trays out of all those in which Proto-Corinthian were found in which it was combined (1) with Geometric, (2) with Geometric and Laconian I, and (3) with Laconian I pottery only. The percentages in the text are slightly different from those in the paper on the *History of the Sanctuary* in *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 29, which were derived from the work of two seasons only, and not from the results of the whole excavation. But they are close enough for there to be no appreciable difference in the chronological conclusions. For the whole question, *v.* also Mr. Droop's chapter on the Pottery, pp. 109 *sqq.* In all this discussion I have reckoned Mr. Droop's Sub-Geometric pottery as one style with the true Geometric.

Orthia sanctuary, according to the evidence of Italian finds, is about 740 B.C., apart from several fragments of the earlier ventriconical vases, one of which was found as low as the level of the upper surface of the cobble pavement. The date at which Proto-Corinthian gives way to Corinthian is not very clear, and questions of terminology add further difficulties, but 660 B.C. is a reasonable date for the latest vases definitely to be called Proto-Corinthian.[28]

If these dates are applied to the series from the Orthia sanctuary, it will appear that, since almost as much—to be precise 45 per cent. of the whole—Proto-Corinthian pottery was found before as after the beginning of Laconian I, a middle half-way date between 740 and 660 B.C. is indicated for the first appearance of the latter, and on these grounds 700 B.C. may be suggested as an approximate date, with Laconian II, of which there is much less, following on in 625, and lasting until the end of the century. It is however possible that the small amount of Laconian II pottery is due to the removal of some more recent deposits, perhaps intentional, perhaps by the action of a flood before the level of the sanctuary was raised in 600 B.C. by the laying down of the sand, and that we should therefore allow more time for Laconian II and put its beginning as early as 635, the date we have adopted throughout. This dating allows a century for the whole development from the beginning of Laconian I to the beginning of Laconian III; a length of time which is adequate, but certainly not too long. Geometric ware disappears shortly before the end of Proto-Corinthian, and it may be considered that it was practically at an end by 675 B.C.

Before the appearance of Proto-Corinthian there is a long period represented only by Geometric pottery. If we divide this deposit from that containing Laconian pottery, at the point where the latter begins to preponderate, we shall find that the Geometric layer, with an average of at least half a metre, is double the thickness of the later stratum. This is only not true in the region of the early temple, where the Laconian layer is the thicker of the two; but here this latter is due not to gradual accumulation, but to the collapse of the early temple and its contents, and cannot therefore be used in any way as a measure of time. As therefore in the other parts of the area, where the deposits were to all appearances the result of a gradual accumulation, the Geometric stratum is twice as thick as that above it, which latter is reckoned to extend over nearly one hundred years, it would seem that the earlier must occupy at least twice that period, and we thus reach 900 B.C. as an initial date. In the centre of the arena, where the altar deposit below the pavement was found, the Geometric deposit was even thicker, and it appears that these earliest traces of the cult must go back well into the tenth century. Nothing Mycenaean with the exception of three pierced gems[29] has been found on the site: one of these, a lentoid gem with a design of an ibex, was found inside the later temple. But to these objects no chronological value can be assigned:

[28] The initial date for Proto-Corinthian pottery used in this argument rests upon the testimony of the vases found at Syracuse, and its foundation-date of 745 B.C. For this piece of external evidence for the general correctness of our chronology, *v.* the chapter on the Pottery, pp. 70, note 16a, and 114.

[29] For which *v.* Ch. XI.

such gems would be preserved as ornaments or charms long after they had ceased to be made, just as the Cretans at the present day keep and value Minoan cut stones. The site therefore belongs entirely to the age of iron, and as the archaeological evidence carries it back to the tenth century, the traditional date for the Dorian settlement in Laconia, it would appear that the sanctuary dates from the foundation of Dorian Sparta. This is all the more likely, as some important historical cause must be sought for the institution of so remarkable a cult as that of Orthia.

There is however a possibility that the foundation of the Chalkioikos and of the Amyklaion as a Dorian site is somewhat earlier, because the variety of Geometric pottery with no slip and glistening paint, which at the Orthia sanctuary is confined to the lower levels, and so appears to be older than the usual Geometric with a slip and dull paint, is at these sanctuaries much the commoner of the two, whilst at the Orthia it is distinctly less frequent.[30]

As the structural remains below the sand, early temple, altars, pavement and enclosure walls, all fall earlier than the beginning of Proto-Corinthian pottery, their dates must be sought inside the long period from the tenth century to 740 B.C. The archaic altar was built some time before this date, as a great deal of the deposit round it contained nothing later than Geometric sherds, and it is not likely that any great error will be made if it, and the early temple with it, are assigned to a date earlier than 800 B.C. The earliest altar and the accompanying cobble pavement will then date from some time earlier in the ninth, and the burned deposit below the pavement will go back to the beginnings of the cult in the tenth century.

To the year 600 B.C., or near it, we have assigned the reorganisation of the sanctuary, and we must now look at this date a little more closely. The remains of the early temple, as they were discovered, consisted of a mound of reddish brick-earth, beneath which were the stones of the foundation. Over this mound, and indeed all round about it and also inside the later temple, the archaic deposit was covered with a layer of such small chips of stone as are made in the final dressing of blocks for building. The position of this layer, which is marked in the section on the line *E–F* **II,** shows that the level of the ground at the time of the erection of the later temple was that of the top of the archaic deposit. A further indication of this was afforded by the discovery, when the temple was cleared, of a few Geometric sherds near the walls, resting on the stratum of Laconian I pottery of which the uppermost part of the archaic deposit normally consists. This obvious disturbance of the series only occurred at this point, and was clearly due to the digging of the trenches for the foundations of the temple, by which some of the lowest deposit was thrown up and laid on the surface.

After the cutting of these foundation trenches, the whole area was covered with a deep layer of sand. This seems to have been laid down gradually as the walls of the temple rose, because chips of stone made by the masons were found

[30] For these varieties of Geometric ware *v.* pp. 60 and 112. At the Orthia only 7 per cent. of the Geometric pottery was of the older slipless variety, but at the Chalkioikos about 65 per cent.

in it at all depths. But the fact that immediately above the archaic deposit belonging to the earlier temple was a regular and well-marked layer of these chips indicates clearly that there was either very little or no interval at all between the ruin of the earlier and the beginning of the building of the later temple. And this agrees with the continuity in style exhibited by all the votive offerings, between those below and those directly above the layer of sand; and this is perhaps especially true of the pottery.

The object of this layer of sand was no doubt to raise the level of the sanctuary, and so prevent danger from the floods to which the Eurotas is still subject. Its limits, as marked on the plan **I,** show that it formed a roughly T-shaped platform, with the later temple on the leg of the T, and the altar on

Fig. 9.—The Front Wall of the Later (Sixth-century) Temple uncovered to its Foundations. On either side of it a corner of the Roman Foundation appears.

its cross-bar. The slope of the edges of the mound appear in the sectional drawings on the lines *E–F* and *G–H* **II.** At the back of the temple this slope is steeper than elsewhere, probably owing to the nearness of the building to the edge of the sanctuary, and a retaining wall was therefore necessary. Such remains of this as were discovered are seen on the plan, curving round behind the temple at the edge of the sand. A piece of it appears also in Fig. 3. The wall was carefully made on the outer side only; the side against which the sand rested, not being intended to be seen, has no regular facing. The construction was of small undressed stones.

Of the temple thus built at the beginning of the sixth century, very little except the high foundation remains *in situ.* The total height of this is 2·75 m., the front wall is 2·00 m., and the side walls are 1·10 m. thick. No mortar is used. The complete disappearance of anything above the foundation has left

only the outer walls and the cross-wall between the porch and the cella. The front view is shown in Fig. 9; the inside of the south-west angle in Fig. 17.

This same foundation still served for the temple which was standing in the Roman period, and it consequently shows not a few signs of rebuilding. As the surface of the ground was in Roman times nearly half a metre higher than it had been before, the level of the stylobate was then probably raised, but of this no trace has been preserved from any period. Like the temple of Roman times, the sixth-century temple was probably prostyle *in antis*. Two fragments which may be assigned to it were found built into the foundation of the Roman theatre. One was a piece of a Doric capital of the characteristic sixth-century profile, and the other was a fragment of a Doric column with sixteen instead of twenty flutes. The profile of this capital is given in Fig. 10. The shape of the curve and the proportion of the height to the width of the echinus are almost exactly those of the archaic temple of Tiryns, the first

Fig. 10.—Profile of Archaic Capital from the Temple of Orthia. Scale 1 : 4.

and earliest of the series given by Choisy to illustrate the development of the Doric capital.[31] The fragment is a quarter of the capital carefully cut down to serve some other purpose. It had therefore ceased to be in use as a capital at least some time before the builders of the theatre used it as rubble. It would seem that after being used in the sixth-century temple, it was thrown aside at some later period—probably, as we shall see, in the Hellenistic age—when the temple was rebuilt. The fragment of column is ·60 m. long and preserves parts of three flutes; the original number, sixteen, can be computed by measuring the angle formed by three successive flutes. The work is however poor, and the number of flutes is no proof of an early date.

The pediment of this sixth-century temple seems to have been adorned with a group containing a figure of a lion in *poros* stone, gaily coloured. The evidence for this is the discovery of a fragment of a lion's mane (**Pl. V**) which might have come from such a group, in the earth which accumulated in front of the temple between the time when it was built and the Roman level, the lower

[31] Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, i. p. 315.

level being determined by the top of the sand and the presence of objects immediately subsequent to those below it, or, more precisely, by the discovery of Laconian III pottery and such objects in lead and bone as are contemporary with it. It is plain that, as far as they are fragments of the temple, the objects found in this earth may either date from its first construction, or be the refuse from any rebuilding which it may have undergone. The lion's mane clearly comes from its earliest stage, and shows that the temple was rebuilt before Roman times at least to the extent of having its orginal pediment thrown down. The stamped tiles found in the same earth, which will be mentioned below, belong to the latter class, and point to a reconstruction of the roof. That the lion's mane comes from a pedimental group is made the more likely by the discovery of two small reliefs in soft limestone representing two couchant lions facing each other heraldically. They are shown in Fig. 11. The upper one in the figure was found in the layer of sand itself, and the lower one in a deposit to the north of the temple dating from shortly after its construction. Both are therefore closely contemporary with the building of the temple, and that two of them should be found makes it all the more likely that the design had some significance. Their architectural intention, further, is made the more probable by the fact that several of these small limestone reliefs, all dating closely from the same period, represent parts of buildings. Thus two **LXXII** are of a Doric architrave and metopes, another of a Doric capital, and two more represent what seems to be a piece of architectural ornament.[32] The *poros* stone fragment gives us no more than a part of the neck and mane, and with no more to guide us it is difficult to be certain how much space would be occupied by the entire group of two lions in the position of the pairs on the small reliefs, but the scale of the fragment in no way prevents us from supposing that it comes from a group of a size to fill the required space satisfactorily. It would seem likely therefore that in these two small triangular reliefs we should recognise copies of, or perhaps sketch-models for, the group which adorned the front pediment of the sixth-century temple. Also some of the pieces of painted terracotta architectural ornaments found above the sand may well be associated with this same building.

Outside the southern and eastern walls of this temple the plan shows ten circular patches, marked by dots, each about ·70 m. in diameter. These mark the position of circular holes cut down through the archaic deposit at these points and filled with the same sand that formed the layer above. Similar holes were observed also on the north side of the temple, but their position was not noted with sufficient accuracy for them to be put upon the plan. Holes cut in this way through the archaic deposit can only have been made at the building of the later temple and their being filled with the sand which was then laid down shows that the purpose which they served was only temporary, whilst their symmetrical arrangement round the temple proves their connexion with it. The conclusion is that they are the holes which were sunk for scaffolding-poles.

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[32] For all these reliefs *v.* Chapter VI of this book and **LXIII–LXXIV.**

The raising of the whole level of the sanctuary at this date (600 B.C.) covered not only the remains of the early temple but also the archaic altar, the top of which now lay buried beneath more than half a metre of sand. At this time no doubt a new altar was built to correspond to the new temple, but of it no traces were found. The remains of altars above the sand, none of them well preserved, are shown by the photograph in Fig. 12, taken from

FIG. 11.—SMALL RELIEFS OF LIONS IN LIMESTONE. Scale 2 : 5.

the south-east, and by the plan, elevation and section in Fig. 13. When we cleared the arena we found resting on the top of the layer of sand the structure shown in Fig. 12 : it ran roughly north and south across the Roman arena, and, as the plan **III** shows, was exactly parallel to the underlying archaic altar, but slightly to the east of it. In this structure, which must now be described in detail, we are to see the remains of two successive altars.

Immediately resting on the sand is a row of well-cut blocks of *poros* stone,

laid without mortar. Another block, shown on the plan, but not appearing in the photograph, lies at right angles to these. These blocks support the remains of a later oblong structure, consisting of walls built up of odd slabs pieced together with mortared masonry of small stones. Of the east wall only traces remain; the north end has disappeared entirely. The width of the whole was 2·60 m. The destruction of the northern end makes it impossible to recover its length. It was in any case more than 8·20 m. The structure is nowhere preserved to a greater height than ·75 m., and its highest point is only some ·15 m. above the level of the Roman arena. The photograph given in Fig. 12 shows how much its foundation is sunk below the Roman level, which is marked by the row of bases. At the level of the *poros* blocks, the space to the east between this structure and the foundation of the theatre is filled with a deposit of burned matter containing various objects, the *débris* of sacrifices, pushed off the top of the altar over to its unused side, and here being out of the way left to accumulate. The same has already been noted for the archaic altar. The space covered by this material is shaded on the plan **III.** These structures we have said are the remains of two altars. The *poros* blocks are the lowest course of a Greek altar, and the patchwork building above them represents an altar of the Roman period. The deposit of sacrificial *débris* only begins along a line 2·60 m. east from the row of *poros* blocks, and thus exactly below the eastern edge of the later altar. This shows that the blocks are from an altar originally 2·60 m. wide, and thus of the same size as the Roman altar above. Among the charred remains in this deposit were a large number of lead figurines, black-glazed sherds, and some black-figured pottery. This lower altar, to which the deposit in question belongs, is older naturally than the remains above it, and as far as its position is concerned might well be contemporary with the sixth-century temple. But here the character of the sherds in the burned deposit enables us to go further. They were entirely of Laconian V and VI pottery and mixed with lead figurines of the corresponding styles. This pottery Mr. Droop has shown reason for assigning to the fifth, the fourth and even to as late as the first part of the third century B.C., and we can therefore say that these blocks of stone represent an altar which is not necessarily as old as the temple itself, but was in use from the fifth century onwards. Its upper courses, and no doubt with them a great mass of such sacrificial *débris*, disappeared when the Roman altar was built on the same foundations.

But the Roman altar belongs to a later phase of the sanctuary: at present we are at the period of the sixth-century temple and the corresponding altar, whether or not these few *poros* blocks are remains of it—which no doubt faced it. Now for the first time we have extensive remains of the wall which enclosed the sanctuary, a wall which there is no reason to date any later than the later temple itself. The longest piece preserved is that which bounds the sanctuary to the west. Another piece to the south runs along the side of the present channel of the mill-stream, and a third is to be seen to the east of the altar: this piece, as we have seen on p. 15 above, preserves the line of the boundary as it was at the earlier period when the archaic altar was in use; its

southern section appears in Fig. 14. All three pieces are marked on the plan 'Later Enclosure Wall.' The area thus contained appears to have been roughly oblong, and may be taken as sixty by forty-five metres. Again no trace of the entrance has been preserved.

The most important small finds of this period were found to the north and south of the temple. On each side of the building there was a slope downwards, formed by the edge of the layer of sand, and over this the broken or no longer used votive offerings were from time to time thrown out from the temple. On the southern side this slope was faced by a rise of the natural soil away from the river, and thus a small valley was formed, on both sides of which objects were allowed to accumulate, whilst on the north side the

Fig. 12.—Remains of the Roman, resting on the Remains of the Earlier Greek Altar, seen from the South-east.

slope of the sand ran down towards the lower ground on the bank of the river. The position of these objects is shown in the section on the line *E–F*, where the space they occupy is marked as 'Deposit immediately succeeding the building of the later temple.' In plan they occupied the greater part of the space to the north, south and behind the temple, outside the limits of the foundation of the Roman theatre. Behind the temple the deposit was naturally much less rich, and there was also a local disturbance of much later date, to be mentioned below,[33] whilst in the eastern part of the site any deposit there may have been was removed by the foundations of the Roman theatre. It seems indeed that at this time *débris* was not allowed to gather between the temple and the altar, and it thus was all swept over the edges of the platform of sand, and lodged on its slopes.

[33] On p. 49 below.

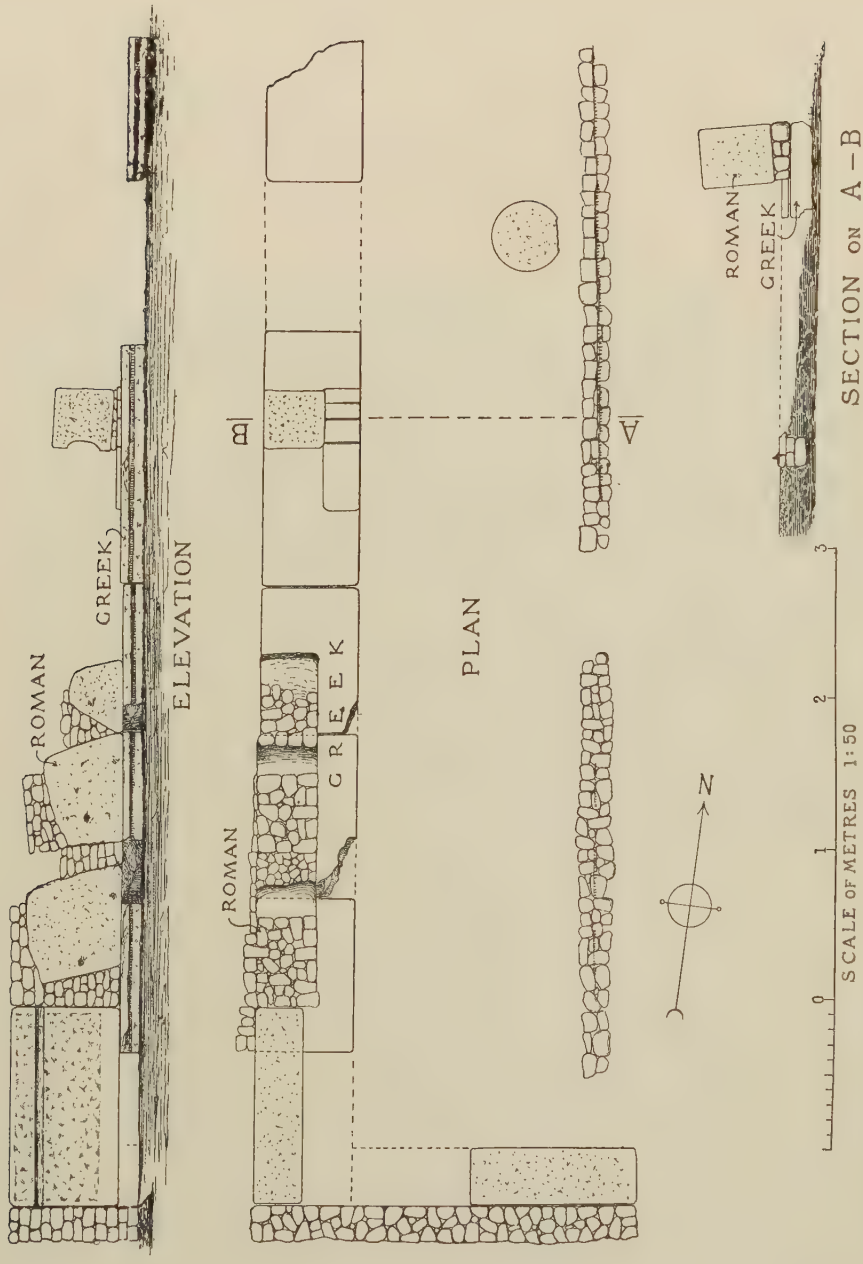

FIG. 13.—PLAN, ELEVATION, AND SECTION OF THE REMAINS OF THE ROMAN AND UNDERLYING GREEK ALTARS. THE ELEVATION IS OF THE INSIDE OF THE WEST FACE OF THE ALTAR.

The deposits in question are marked by pottery of the Laconian III and IV styles, which include nearly all the vases generally called Cyrenaic. It was here also that the great mass of terracotta masks were found, hardly any of them belonging to the earlier period, and that the yield of the little lead figurines reached its maximum. Of the total number of 100,000 odd, these deposits yielded more than 58,000, to which by far the greater part of the 10,000 found by the bank of the river at the beginning of the excavation must no doubt be added. Against this the Laconian I deposits yielded in round numbers only 5700 and the Laconian II, 9500. Laconian V and VI show the decrease with 10,600 and 4700 respectively, but here allowance must be made for the scantiness of the deposits preserved.[34] It is important to note that the pottery, the carvings in bone, and the lead figurines all showed clearly by their unbroken development that the earliest objects found here follow immediately after the latest found below the sand, from the period of the early temple. A further link between the two deposits is the series of carvings in soft limestone, some of which were found just below, some in, and a few above the sand. The deposits of Laconian III and IV occupy the whole of the sixth century, and their importance for the date of the later temple has already been noticed.

After this the number of small objects found becomes very much less. The later developments of Laconian pottery, styles V and VI, dated by Mr. Droop from the fifth to the first half of the third century, were found in several patches of deposit to the south of the temple near the great drain, and also near its S.E. corner, all at levels below that of the pavement of the arena of the theatre in the Roman period, and comparable to that at which the fragment of lion's mane from the pediment was found. The uniformity of level of these deposits indicates that some levelling took place in this region about the year 500 B.C., and the mass of earth and shingle which appears in the section on the line *E–F* above the deposit of masks should be put down to this. At the same level and of the same date is the deposit mixed with burned matter beside the blocks described above as belonging to the first altar of the later period.[35] The richest finds however of this kind came from the houses to the east of the altar outside the wall of the sanctuary, which have for this reason been tentatively assigned to the fifth century, in the same way as the house inside the wall to the south of the theatre. It was in these houses, which are shown in Fig. 14, that the Laconian VI pottery was observed to give place to black-glazed Hellenistic ware and fragments of Megarian bowls, and thus a terminal date for the Laconian series was reached. These houses probably extend beyond the limits of the excavation to the east and south, but, except those nearest to the altar, they yielded so little that their complete excavation seemed unlikely to repay the removal of the great mass of earth beneath which they were buried. The water-channels, large basin and well, which one of them contains, point to some industrial or domestic purpose, but that they had some connexion with the sanctuary is shown by the numerous fragments of

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[34] These figures are due to Mr. Wace.

[35] This deposit of charred matter with Laconian V and VI sherds has been described on p. 24 above.

vases inscribed with the name of the goddess.[36] The painted fragment of a figure of Orthia holding snakes which was found here is reproduced in Fig. 78, *b*. Near so important a shrine priests, servants, and artificers of various kinds must have lived, and it is possible that these are their houses.

The great built drain which runs across the southern part of the site is the next construction to be noticed. It was fully cleared, except for a small piece which would have endangered the guardian's house in which our watchman lived; its course is marked on the general plan **I,** and the appearance of its western part is shown in the photograph in Fig. 15, and of the

Fig. 14.—Houses East of the Altar. Part of the Theatre appears in the Background, and to the Right a Corner of the Archaic Altar. Between the Houses and the Altar is the Southern Piece of the Wall marked on the Plan (Pl. I) as 'Later Enclosure Wall.'

part to the east near the city-wall in Fig. 16. The drain runs from west to east, is interrupted in the middle by the curve of the foundation of the Roman theatre, then passes beneath the city wall and debouches outside it on the bank of the Eurotas. The date of its construction can be fixed with some closeness.[36a]

It is, in the first place, evidently earlier than the Roman theatre, by the foundation of which it has been partially destroyed. There is however other

[36] For these inscriptions *v.* pp. 371 *sqq*. On Laconian VI sherds the name of the goddess (FOPΘEIAI) occurred in painted letters, and several black-glazed Hellenistic vessels bore, complete or in part, the incised inscription, XIAΩNIΣ TAI BΩPΘEIAI.

[36a] The piece of the city-wall near the Orthia sanctuary is described in *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 284–288.

evidence which dates it much more closely. Thus, along the northern side of the section of the drain to the south of the temple, several patches of deposit were found containing lead figurines and pottery. This latter belonged to the Laconian V and VI styles, and these run from the fifth century to a date possibly as late as the early third. The evidence from the Megarian bowls shows that Laconian VI pottery may go down as late as this, but there is no necessity to give it all so late a date; none of these deposits need be later than about 300 B.C.; with this too the lead figurines agree. The levels between which these deposits were found were in all cases noted. They are almost uniform, and the upper level is about ·26 m. lower than the crown of the drain, as marked by

FIG. 15.—THE WESTERN PART OF THE DRAIN TO THE SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE, LOOKING EAST. BEYOND THE DRAIN IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN THEATRE.

the top of the solitary roofing-slab preserved in this region. Now the level of the ground when the drain was made must have been at least up to its covering-slabs, and this the deposits in question show was not yet the case about 300 B.C., which we have seen is a fair terminal date to give them. The drain must be somewhat later than this, to allow for the further rise of 0·26 m., and a date after 300, and probably hardly earlier than 250 B.C., may therefore be taken as a *terminus post quem*. A *terminus ante quem* may be reached by an examination of the part of the drain which passes through the city wall. This is of different masonry from the rest; the blocks are not only carefully squared and fitted, but also smoothly faced. It is the only part which is paved with stone slabs, and the direction of this exceptionally constructed section also slightly changes, as is shown on the plan, where the paving-slabs are also sketched in to

scale. The inference to be drawn is that the drain is earlier than the city wall, and that where the line of this latter had to be carried across it, the piece of the drain involved was reconstructed. The date assigned to the city wall is some time in the latter half of the third century, B.C., and here we have therefore a *terminus ante quem* for the drain.[36b] We have seen that it was made hardly earlier than 250 B.C., and may be rather later. The conclusion therefore is that the drain dates to somewhere between 250 and 200 B.C.; it is a work of the latter half of the third century.

The drain is about a metre wide and the depth from the bottom to the under surface of the covering-slabs is about 2·20 m., or, where it passes beneath the city wall, 1·57 m. Except for this small reconstructed piece there is no trace of the drain ever having been paved. The walls are at least a metre thick, well faced inside, but naturally somewhat irregular on the outer sides. The blocks are of very various sizes, and it is noticeable that the southern wall of the western section, that is to say the part to the south of the temple, is very much better built than the rest, with well-squared blocks laid in regular courses. These are shown in Fig. 15. The upper course of this piece of wall consists of large blocks forming the entire thickness of the wall, with a sunk bed cut on the inner half of their upper surface to receive the ends of the roofing-slabs. This sinking appears in the photograph in Fig. 15, and is marked by a line on the plan. Only one of the roofing-slabs was found *in situ* in this part, but the rough blocks laid behind them on the top of the wall are for the most part preserved, and have been sketched stone by stone on the plan. At each end of the roofing-slab the walls of the drain are surmounted by pieces of later mortared walls, probably of the Roman period. These are distinguished on the plan from the hatched walls of the drain by being left white. They can also be made out on the photograph (Fig. 15).

In two places the roof of the drain has been well preserved; where it issues from the curve of the Roman foundation between Piers VII and VIII, and at a point to the east between this and the city wall.[37] The massive blocks which here form the roof are shown in Fig. 16. In neither of these places is there any trace of a sunk bed for the end of these slabs.

The irregular course of this drain is curious and unexplained. The part with the well-preserved roof shown in Fig. 16 is especially tortuous and for no apparent reason, and the part now destroyed by the Roman foundation must have had at least two slight changes of direction. Its object is, on the other hand, obvious. It was evidently that the water coming down from the acropolis should be collected and carried directly to the river, instead of being allowed to spread over the low ground upon which the sanctuary stood.

At the western limit of the excavation it made a double curve, beyond which it continued in a slightly more southerly direction. Only a small part is preserved beyond the curve, and an attempt to find its further course led

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[36b] For this date, *v. B.S.A.* xii. p. 287.

[37] Between this point and the channel of the mill-stream is a piece of Roman wall. It belonged to a house, traces of the flooring and plaster of which were found when the channel was cut in 1906.

to no result. The curved part was only partly excavated, because to carry the work further would have involved the sacrifice of a fine tree.

A trial pit made in 1906, where the guardian's house now stands, revealed traces of the drain, but, as the plan shows, from shortly after the point where it leaves the Roman foundation down to the eastern section near the city wall, it has been very much ruined and in places no more is preserved than an irregular line of stones. This destruction and especially the disappearance of so many

FIG. 16.—THE ROOFED PART OF THE DRAIN NEAR THE CITY WALL, LOOKING EAST.

of the roofing-slabs may be put down to the builders of the Roman theatre having used it as a quarry. Some large sandstone blocks, which were found lying on the surface of the Roman foundation may be recognised by their material and dimensions as having been originally roofing-slabs. They were all found in the region between Piers VI and X, that is to say near the point where the Roman foundation came into contact with the drain.

The building of the city wall in the latter part of the third century B.C. must have further altered the appearance of the site. By making a detour the wall took the sanctuary into the *enceinte* of the city, with the further advantage of setting a strong barrier between it and any further danger of floods from the

river. The piece of the wall built over the mouth of the drain is particularly well preserved.[38]

For an at least partial reconstruction of the sixth-century temple we have mentioned the evidence of the lion from the pediment and of the archaic Doric fragments, the broken column and the piece of capital, found in the foundation of the theatre; several pieces of painted tiles and antefixes found on the site point the same way. Besides these signs of destruction, the appearance of the foundation offers some positive evidence. A drafted block in the north wall must in this position have been brought from some other earlier building for use a second time. But it is the photographs in Figs. 9[39] and 17 that show most clearly that the remains of the temple are in two styles. In Fig. 9 we see the front wall, uncovered right down to its foundation on the virgin soil, as it appears between the corners of the foundation of the Roman theatre, and Fig. 17 gives the inside of the south-west angle. Two styles of masonry can be distinguished: the older style employs roughly dressed blocks laid in somewhat irregular courses, and the second and later style has courses of slab-shaped blocks, often alternating with courses like those of the older parts, but with the stones more carefully squared. In Fig. 9 the later style is seen in the south-east (left-hand) corner and in the upper five courses, and in Fig. 17, where the alternating courses of slabs and blocks are very well marked, the older style is overlaid by six or seven courses of the later.

The most important evidence however for this rebuilding is afforded by the fragments of stamped tiles from a later roof. They are of three types, all bearing the name of Orthia, and thus made specially for the sanctuary. Two are about equally common and have the words ΙΕΡΟΙ ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ (Fig. 18A) and ΒΩΡΘΕΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΙ (Fig. 18B); the third type (Fig. 18C) is rare and looks later; it runs ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑC ΙΑΡΟΙ. These stamped fragments were found all over the site above the level of the Roman period and in especial abundance along the front of the temple; some examples, but far fewer, were found between this level and the level of the site when the temple was first built; again most frequently near the temple itself, in the same earth which yielded the painted lion fragment from the earlier pediment. Below this level there were none at all. From the lettering of the stamps, these tiles belong to the second century B.C., and therefore prove that building operations were going on at the temple in the Hellenistic period. Whilst their presence above the Roman level is a proof that the temple as constructed in Hellenistic times was standing until the latest period of the cult, the number that were found lower down agrees with the epigraphical evidence of their Hellenistic date. These tiles found below, far fewer than those found above the Roman floor-level, may be taken as unused or broken pieces left about or thrown aside at the time when the roof was being constructed. Those above are naturally more numerous

[38] For the evidence of the French plan as to the possibility of the actual contact of the city wall with the theatre, *v.* p. 44 below.

[39] In Fig. 5 we have the same front wall, but the lower part is concealed by a supporting wall which we built in order to prevent any possibility of the collapse of the structure.

FIG. 17.—THE INSIDE OF THE SOUTH-WEST ANGLE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE LATER TEMPLE.

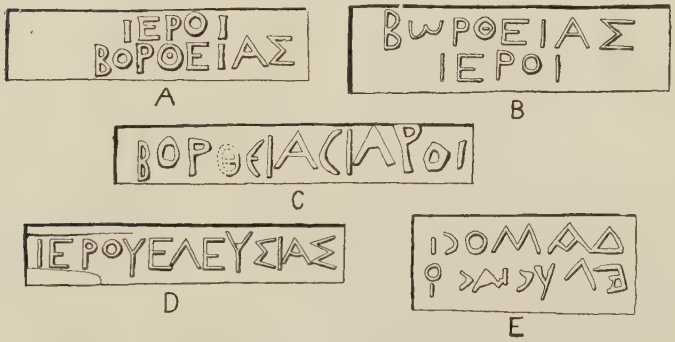

FIG. 18.—STAMPS ON TILES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA. Scale 1 : 3.

as they formed part of the roof, and fell into their present position when the temple was finally destroyed. The third and rarer type of stamp, BOPGEIAC IAPOI, which is later than the others, apparently dates from the imperial period; all the examples were found at the Roman level, and the probability is that only a few such tiles were made for occasional repairs.

As for the exact date of this rebuilding, the re-use of the archaic capital, the curve of which is shown in Fig. 10, before it was taken as rubble by the builders of the theatre, suggests that this reconstruction was considerably earlier than their time, and the epigraphical evidence of the stamped tiles points to the Hellenistic period. It is therefore not improbable that it is to be connected with the re-establishment of the Lycurgan constitution in 178 B.C., and the stamps may well belong to this date. The walls of the city were rebuilt at this time, and this activity in building might well be extended to a temple so closely connected with the discipline of Lycurgus. This second-century date gains some support from the *stele* of Xenokles, on which the façade of the temple is represented in relief (Fig. 19). This *stele* Mr. Woodward has dated to the second century, and the curious idea of combining a relief of the façade of the temple with the usual dedicatory inscription is much more easily explained on the supposition that the temple was new at the time, and so an object of especial interest. It shows a Doric temple *in antis*, but beyond this no safe conclusions can be drawn. In particular the ornament in the pediment must be regarded as purely conventional.[40]

In this condition, so far as we know, the sanctuary remained until the building of the Roman theatre in the third century A.D.[40a] The only structure which may have been built at an earlier date is the Roman altar which rests upon the blocks already described as belonging to an older altar. Its remains however show such very poor work that it is hardly likely to be earlier than the theatre; it might even be later. It is however most probable that when the theatre was built, a new altar was also constructed.

From the fourth century B.C. until the third A.D. the sanctuary was gradually acquiring the long series of dedicatory inscriptions, of which more than a hundred have been found in the course of the excavation. They were nearly all built into the foundation of the Roman theatre, and their date therefore gives a *terminus post quem* for its construction. Mr. Woodward has made a detailed study of these inscriptions, and ascribes the earliest example to the fourth century B.C. and the latest to after 225 A.D., whilst the great majority of them fall within the latter part of the first and the second century A.D.[41] Although the proportion of the original number preserved is quite unknown, and no doubt the operation of pure chance has made this very unequal for different periods, still that so many come from these two centuries points to a great increase in the custom of setting up these dedications.

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[40] The inscription on this *stele* is published in Ch. X, No. 2 below.

[40a] The walls shown on the plan (**Pl. I**) outside Piers IX and X are of uncertain date. As the building to which they belonged seems broken into by the Roman foundation, it dates presumably to some earlier period.

[41] For a list of these inscriptions arranged chronologically *v.* Ch. X.

Besides these dedicatory *stelai*, the sanctuary was decorated with statues. Some were honorary, such as that which his colleagues set up to Pratolaos for his excellence as a citizen, his support of the system of Lycurgus, and his friendliness towards themselves;[42] but the more interesting and remarkable were a series of statues of *Bomonikai*, boys who had been victorious in the contest of endurance at the altar. The base of one of these was already in the Sparta Museum before the excavation,[43] and two more, dated by Mr. Woodward to the last quarter of the second century A.D., were taken out of the southern part of the foundation of the theatre, where they had been thrown down side

FIG. 19.—THE *STELE* OF XENOKLES. Scale 1 : 7.

by side. One was written in common Greek, the other in the late Spartan dialect.[44] The marks on the upper surface of this latter prove that a *stele* stood in front of the statue. On this *stele* was no doubt the victor's dedication of his prize, a sickle or possibly a crown, whilst on the base was inscribed the dedication by the city of the victor himself.[45] No fragment of these statues has survived. From the sockets for the feet cut on the bases it is plain that they were life-size. The ordinary *stelai* were shaped into a tenon below, and this was fixed in a mortise cut into the top of a square base, and run in with

[42] For the text *v.* Ch. X, No. 145.

[43] *S.M.C.* p. 50, No. 252 (= *I.G. v.* i, 652).

[44] Published in this volume Ch. X, the numbers being 142 and 143; a third (No. 144) was found in 1928.

[45] Of these *stelai* set up by *Bomonikai* only one fragment has been preserved. It is published in Ch. X, No. 37. Nos. 16, 18 and 84 may however refer also to this contest.

lead. As to the arrangement of the *stelai* and statues in the sanctuary there is no evidence. The destruction when the theatre was built was too complete.

Another relic of this date is the inscribed stone seat dedicated by Soixiadas to Orthia (Fig. 20), which shows that, even before the theatre was built, there was some regular seating, at all events for distinguished persons. It was found like the statue bases, at the bottom of the Roman foundation, which makes it clear that the builders began their foundation by throwing down all the heavy marbles. Its exact provenance was the south-eastern part of the foundation, and thus nearly opposite to the temple. As so heavy an object is not likely to have been moved more than was necessary, its original position was probably near this point, and it was therefore an official seat directly facing the temple in the central line of the sanctuary, a less ostentatious predecessor of the magisterial tribune which we shall see below probably occupied this point in the Roman theatre. That Soixiadas was an official person the words of the inscription prove (γεροντεύσας τρὶς καὶ πρέσβυς γενόμενος δίς), and there was also an Eponymus Soixiadas, who is possibly the same man. Mr. Woodward considers that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the first century B.C., and if this Soixiadas is to be identified with other bearers of the same name, not later than the end of that century.[46]

The plan shows a drain passing across the space in front of the temple, broken off at both ends by the foundation of the theatre, to which it is therefore anterior. Its level is so well above that of the sixth century that it may be put down to Hellenistic times. It is made of a series of terracotta pipes jointed together, and has a slight fall in the direction of the river.

Some time after 225 A.D. the last great change in the sanctuary took place. In order to accommodate the numerous spectators who came from all regions to Sparta to witness the rites of the goddess, the theatre in front of the temple was constructed. Before this date there is little to record except the gradual rise in the level and the possible construction of the latest of all the altars.

The level when the theatre was built is clearly marked for us by the paving-slabs in front of the temple. The greater part of the rise of level—in all only about ·40 m.—between the top of the sand and this Roman pavement may be put down to the Hellenistic rebuilding of the temple. In this part of the stratum were found some broken Greek figurines, the clay drain, the Hellenistic stamped tiles from the roof of the rebuilt temple, and one-third way up in it the fragment of a painted lion from the sixth-century temple: so much at least of the rise must date to before the Hellenistic reconstruction. Several traces of floors were found: the level no doubt rose gradually.

The latest of the four altars is depicted in the photograph in Fig. 12 and in the drawings of Fig. 13. The *poros* blocks in the structure we have already identified as the remains of an altar in use in the fifth and fourth centuries and perhaps as old as the sixth.[47] On these blocks as a foundation was built the latest altar. The photograph in Fig. 12 and the section on the Line *G–H*

[46] For the inscription on this Soixiadas seat *v.* Ch. X, No. 141 below. The evidence that there was at this point a raised tribune or official seat in the Roman theatre is given on p. 44 below.

[47] For this earlier altar *v.* p. 24 above.

II show how much its lower part is sunk below the Roman level: in Fig. 12 this shows behind it, and is marked by the row of bases along the edge of the seats. How high it originally was we do not know: as we found it, it was in no part more than ·75 m. high, and of this only ·15 m. were above the level of the Roman pavement. Whether therefore it was built at the same time as the Roman theatre and its foundations pushed down to a lower level, or whether it is earlier than this and survived in use to the later time, we have no means of knowing. Its fragmentary condition—it very likely embodied blocks from the earlier Greek altar—is probably a result of recent depredations: much building material for modern Sparta has come from this site. This too would go some way to account for the absence of any traces of sacrificial *débris*. In construction the altar is a very patchwork affair. Of the core no trace has remained: it was very likely of earth.[48] What we found was merely the part

Fig. 20.—Stone Seat dedicated by Soixiadas. Scale *ca.* 1 : 13.

of the outer facing: walls built up of odd slabs pieced together with mortared masonry and brickwork. A stone seat was built into it, probably from the seating arrangements of an earlier date.[48a] The width of the altar was 2·60 m. The destruction of the northern end makes it impossible to recover its length: it was in any case more than 8·20 m. Similarly of its height nothing can be said, except that of the altar as it appeared to the men who sat in the theatre we have here no more than a few inches.

Another problematical structure at the Roman level is shown on the plan **III** about 4·00 m. to the south-west of the Roman altar. It consisted of a few slabs set in a curve and a piece of a column: we found nothing to indicate its use or, with any greater precision, its date.

It now remains to describe the Roman theatre, the most remarkable building on the site. Its date can be fixed, at all events as to its *terminus post*

[48] Owing to this absence of core we were some time in identifying it as an altar at all, and for some time it was known as 'the Parallel Walls.'

[48a] This stone seat appears towards the right of the photograph in Fig. 12, and also in the drawings in Fig. 13.

quem, with some certainty. When it was built, so little concern was shown for antiquity that many, if not all, of the old *stelai* and statue-bases were thrown down and used for building material, or rather as rubble for the foundation. They have in this way been preserved, and are now published in this book among the inscriptions. Some few were lying about, some were used as paving-slabs in front of the temple, but the great majority were found in the parts of the foundation which we destroyed in order to examine the archaic remains below. There is no doubt that, if it were worth while, the removal of the rest of the foundation would lead to discovery of more examples. Most of these *stelai*, recording the names of victors in various contests, fix their year by the name of some magistrate, and it has been possible to date most of these persons. One of them belongs after 225 A.D., and on this ground the middle of the third century is suggested as a date for the building, for a *stele* is hardly likely to have been thrown away less than twenty-five years after its dedication.[49] I owe to Mr. Woodward the suggestion that possibly the theatre was built after the Herulian raid in 267 A.D., and that it was contemporary with the great renewal at the theatre at the end of the third century.[49a]

The descriptions of this theatre by earlier travellers have been collected by Professor Bosanquet, and need not here be reprinted.[50] The plan **I** and **III** shows its peculiar arrangement, by which the façade of the temple took the place of the stage building, and the altar occupied a place in the arena, not, however, in its centre, but near the eastern limit. This position was fixed by the apparent necessity of constructing it exactly above the previous altars, the correspondence to which in position and orientation is strikingly plain in the sectional drawing on the line *G–H* **II**; and, with the altar so placed, it would have needed a very much larger theatre to bring it into the centre of the arena. This was also unnecessary, as the centre of interest was not only the altar, but all the space between it and the front of the temple. The theatre differs in no way from an ordinary Roman amphitheatre, except in having an opening for the temple, the façade of which took the place occupied in a theatre by the stage-buildings and proscenium.

The whole building, with its piers and radial walls, stairways and seats, rested on a raft of masonry about 1·40 m. in thickness. The structure of this foundation is interesting. The upper surface of the raft is formed by a firm floor of stones bound together by hard mortar or cement, and on this floor the walls and piers of the structure are built without their stones being bonded at all with those of the foundation. Some ·65 m. below the surface of the raft is a second floor of mortar, and the space between these two floors is occupied by a system of mortared walls, the interspaces being filled simply by loose stones. Of these walls one set is concentric with the ring of the arena and another set is radial to it, the concentric walls being about 2·50 m., and the radial from

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[49] For this inscription and its date, *v.* Ch. X, No. 71 below.

[49a] For the theatre, *v. B.S.A.* xxvii. p. 208.

[50] They are to be found in *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 305 *sqq.* To them may be added a plate in the Museum Worsleyanum, which claims independent origin, but adds nothing material to Le Roy's.

1·00 m. to 1·50 m. apart. They have only one face, which in the concentric walls is on the outer curve. It was noticed that where the foundation abutted on the temple, these interior walls were not radial, but parallel with the edge of the foundation, and that this arrangement gave way to the radial system as the distance from the temple increased, the object of the builders being simply to divide the whole space into roughly equal rectangles. Below this system of walls and floors the foundation consists generally of stones thrown in at random with very little mortar, to a further depth of about ·75 m.

A glance at the photographs in Figs. 21 and 22 of the surface of this raft will show the extent of the destruction since the theatre was seen by the earlier travellers. Only the outer piers are preserved to any height above the foundation, and these for never more than three, or at most four feet. Often the walls are destroyed right down to the foundation, leaving only slight traces of their position on the surface: in one case the destruction of a radial wall—*V* on the plan **III**—by the searchers for building material has led to the removal of most of the actual foundation in that region. Where Pier XII should be there was no trace at all on the foundation, but this was probably accidental, due to this pier not having been at all bonded in: this is unfortunate, as it leaves it impossible to say how the piers were arranged with reference to the space between Rays XIII and XIV, where there was probably the entrance to the most important seats in the auditorium.[51] The plan on **III** distinguishes between what was left standing and what had been destroyed. Where the destroyed walls or piers had left a clear mark of their original position in the shape of a line of mortar rising up from the foundation along where the face of the wall had been, full lines and not dotted ones have been used: the entirely reconstructed parts are shown by dotted lines.

Some description of the building may now be attempted, always with reference to the plan on **III**, the sections on **IV**, and the photographs in Figs. 21 to 24. The final plan of the sanctuary on **I** (1910) shows much less than the earlier one on **III** (1907), because after the building had been cleared of earth and studied, a considerable part of it was removed in order to explore the underlying strata. The importance of the finds in the earlier deposits abundantly justified this destruction: many inscriptions too were found in the rubble of the foundation.

The raft or foundation of rubble masonry upon which the whole building rested has the shape of an incomplete ring, 21·80 m. in inside, and 54·20 m. in outside diameter. On the west side this ring is broken to admit the temple, the gap being 10·10 m. wide. The temple protrudes into the arena, its façade forming a chord to the inner circle of the foundation. The outside circle of the foundation would, if completed, pass through the back of the temple. Round the eastern half of the temple, at a distance of ·80 m. from its foundation

[51] Where Pier XII should be we found a square stone block, which investigation showed was not *in situ*: it was not in any way connected below with the foundation. It was at first taken to have belonged to the missing pier, and on this basis a reconstruction was made of the piers in this region, XII, XIII and XIV. This, now seen to be erroneous, was published in the account of the theatre in *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 50–52, and appeared in the earlier version of our present **III**.

Fig. 21.—Remains of the Theatre looking West towards Taygetos. Pier X is in the Foreground.

Fig. 22.—Remains of the Theatre looking East, the Eurotas in the Background. The first Pier completely visible is IV.

was a row of stone slabs set on edge, of which fifteen were found *in situ*. The top of those in front of the temple is about flush with the level of the piece of pavement there preserved, and they seem to date from the same period. These slabs are marked on the plan **III**, the missing ones being indicated by dotted lines. Their object is not apparent.

The outer wall of the theatre rested on a series of arches and piers, of which latter ten are partly preserved. They are marked on the plan on **III** by Roman numerals. They were built of rough masonry, broken at intervals by bands of three or four courses of brickwork, in a way characteristic of late Roman and Byzantine work. Each pier, except VII and the reconstructed Pier I, is 1·20 m. thick and, on the inside, 2·35 m. broad, exclusive of the plinth. These plinths are of irregular dimensions, and no doubt both they and the piers were faced originally with marble slabs, just as the present upper surface of the foundation must have been covered with a finer pavement. A block of marble with mouldings, which was found near by, probably belonged to a course running all round the outside of the building above the arcade. No other architectural member has been found, to give any clue to the restoration.

Inside the piers is a series of radial walls, marked on the plan **III** by Roman numerals. These rays spring from a ring of masonry rising above the inner part of the circular foundation. This raised ring is about 3·50 m. thick, and begins just behind the *podium*. It served to support the lower rows of seats. It is broken only at the two points between Rays VIII–IX and XVI–XVII, where were the two entrances to the *podium* and the lower seats; on the old French plan, reproduced here in Fig. 25, these are marked as wide gaps.

In the entrance between Rays VIII and IX lumps of fallen masonry were found: these consisted of bricks arranged radially like the voussoirs of an arch and bound together by mortar. It was possible from these data to calculate the width of the arch to which the bricks had belonged, and it worked out to about 1·25 m., the actual width of the narrowest part of the opening. It appears therefore that the entrance to the lower seats was through an arched passage, running from the outside of the building to the auditorium.

It is noticeable that the outside piers do not correspond at all regularly to the radial walls, and for this reason Pier VII had to be made wider than the rest in order to produce the correspondence between the pair of piers, VII and VIII, and the rays, VIII and IX, inside them, necessary to make the entrance to the lower seats at this point symmetrical. Piers VIII, IX, etc. are of the normal size, a fact which points to the piers having been originally marked out on the foundation in the direction in which they are numbered on the plan, and it seems that, when the architect reached the entrance, he found his piers lagging behind, and had to make one wider than the others in order to catch up with the radial walls. Then, after he had passed the entrance, he went on again with piers of the normal size. This theory of the direction in which the building proceeded will be seen later on to have some importance. The blocks of the outer threshold of this entrance are preserved between the piers, and their

FIG. 23.—THE ROMAN THEATRE FROM THE WEST WITH THE PIERS AND RADIAL WALLS, AND THE EUROTAS IN THE BACKGROUND.

FIG. 24.—THE ROMAN THEATRE, WITH THE EXCAVATED ARENA AND IN IT AT THE LOWER LEVEL THE ARCHAIC ALTAR: LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

height (·10–·15 m.) above the level of the top of the foundation suggests that the present cement surface was originally covered by a pavement, which has now disappeared.

The radial walls, it is plain, supported the rows of seats immediately above those supported by the solid ring of masonry, from which the radial walls spring. Each of these is about 6·50 m. long.

The seeming irregularities of the plan it is possible to reduce to an almost perfect symmetry, and it is only north of the axial line that this fails. We notice first that the space between the rays at their outer end is, in all but certain cases, 2·30 m. One of these exceptions is the wider interval (2·75 m.) between Rays VIII–IX, opposite the threshold between Piers VII–VIII. This is due to the entrance to the lower seats, which runs in here, and it is to fit this also that the two adjacent spaces between Rays VII–VIII and IX–X are made wider than usual, 2·70 m. and 2·90 m. respectively. The other exceptions are between Rays II–III, VI–VII, X–XI, and XV–XVI. The size of the intervals cannot be recovered, because in no case are the two inner faces of any one of these pairs of rays preserved, but the sum of the widths of the pairs of rays *plus* the interval between them comes to 4·70–4·85 m., and, if we allow the rays their usual width, this gives intervals of only 1·50–1·65 m., instead of the standard 2·30 m. Also it appears from the remains of Rays X and XI that these intervals did not run in so far as the raised circle of masonry, like those between the other radial walls, but were, for some way at all events, filled up. This proves that these spaces were not mere blind passages roofed with conical vaults like the others. What they were appears plainly from the fact that, between the ends of Rays II–III a stone is preserved *in situ* jutting forward a little from the rays, measuring 1·40 m. long by ·40 m. wide, and that between Rays VI–VII a similar block has left its traces on the plaster facing of the wall. These stones are, in fact, the lowest steps of staircases, which ascended between these pairs of rays, and gave access to the upper rows of seats, very probably opening upon a *diazoma*, as shown in the reconstructed section on **III.**

The west face of Ray XXV is exactly symmetrical with Ray II on the other side of the axial line, and by restoring a flight of steps between it and a reconstructed Ray XXIV, and another between the hypothetical Rays XX–XXI, we get six sets of steps arranged with tolerable symmetry, three on each side of the axial line. This symmetry is broken by the staircase between Rays XV–XVI, which comes only one ray after the axial line, whilst two (XII and XIII) divide this from the steps between Rays X–XI. This departure from symmetry makes it impossible to reconstruct the walls between this and the river, where they have been destroyed by the channel made for the mill-stream. Another irregularity is that, immediately beyond Ray XVI, the raised ring of masonry is interrupted, which must mean that here was another entrance to the lower seats, corresponding to that between Rays VIII–IX. This brings the staircases and entrances into regular order, although they are not at quite regular intervals as measured by counting the radial walls. We get this series, starting from the south side of the temple : first two staircases, then an entrance, then two stair-

cases, then a second entrance; and two more staircases bring us round to the north side of the temple.

The space between Rays XIII–XIV requires some notice. It is symmetrical about the median line of the temple, and is therefore likely to be of some importance. This space goes deeper into the solid ring of masonry below the lower seats than do the others, and yet it is not an entrance into the passage round the arena at the foot of the auditorium, like the spaces between Rays VIII–IX and XVI–XVII, as, instead of running through into this passage, it ends with the remains of steps marked in the plan. In connexion with this we must notice a mass of masonry to the north inside Ray XV which rises well above the probable level of the seats. On account of its height it was the only thing visible on the site before the excavations, except, of course, the broken face of the foundation that overhung the bank of the river.[52]

Taken in connexion with the steps between Rays XIII–XIV and their medial position, it is likely that here we have the remains of a sort of elevated tribune or ' box ' raised above the other seats, from which persons of distinction could witness the contests. Its central position, facing the front of the temple and immediately above the altar, would make this very suitable, and such tribunes for magistrates in Roman amphitheatres are well known. It occupied the same central position above the altar and opposite to the temple in which the seat dedicated by Soixiadas had stood at an earlier period, and without doubt served the same purpose.[53]

Instead of the piers from XV onward for about a quadrant of the circle, it is possible that there was a solid wall rising up directly from the outer edge of the foundation, and of such a thickness as to make the vaulted passage between it and the ends of the radial walls of the same width as elsewhere. The evidence for this is the plan given by the French expedition, which is here reproduced with the addition of the temple.[54] It will be seen that no piers are marked, but that their place is taken in the north-eastern part by a solid wall. The measurements of this wall are exactly such as would bring it into the position mentioned above. Two reasons make it not unlikely that this part of the theatre would have no entrances; first, that it was so near the river, and second, that the wall of the city which passed between the theatre and the river must at this point have been so close to the theatre as hardly to allow of ready access to it on this side. The curved wall in question ends to the north in an outstanding mass of masonry, and this may very well be a piece of the city wall

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[52] Owing to its height, this piece of masonry was marked on the 1906 Plan (*B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII) as of a later (Byzantine) period, as was also Ray XVI on account of its irregularity, and the end of the Ray XV. Complete excavation has shown that this is impossible. Another piece of wall shown on the 1906 Plan as Byzantine is a face of masonry at the outer edge of the foundation, just where this is broken off beyond Pier XII. Its level, entirely below the upper surface of the foundation, shows that it has no connexion with the system of piers and rays, but that it is a piece of some substructure that supported the part of the theatre towards the river. The possible connexion of the city wall with this part of the building is mentioned below.

[53] For this seat and its inscription, *v.* p. 36 above, and Ch. X, No. 141.

[54] *Expéd. de la Morée,* ' Architecture,' ii. Pl. 46.

itself, which in this case must have absolutely coalesced with the outer wall of the theatre at this point. Such a coalescence would make it likely that, in the narrow angle formed near the point of contact by the city wall and the curve of the theatre, this latter would have no entrances. The general accuracy, however, of the French plan is not sufficient to make this at all certain.

The back wall of the theatre remains to be considered. It is a chord of the outer circle of the foundation, cutting the side walls of the temple at right angles, rather less than half-way from the front to the back. It is not clear how the straight line of this chord was adjusted to the radial arrangement of the seats with their supporting walls and the range of outside piers. Nor were

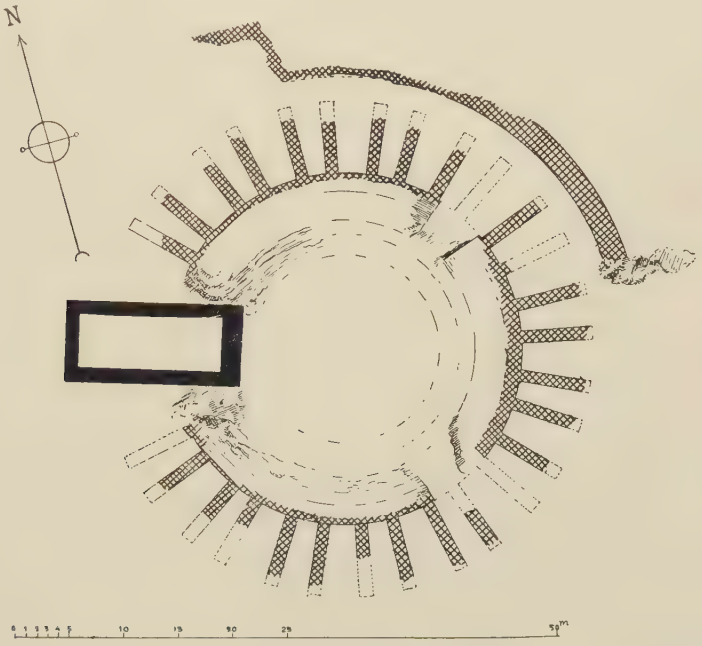

FIG. 25.—THE ROMAN THEATRE AS RECORDED BY THE FRENCH EXPEDITION.

both sides alike. The eastern faces of Rays I and XXVI (*i.e.* those away from the temple) are exactly symmetrical about the median line of the buildings, but Ray I is much thicker than XXVI, and west of these two faces all symmetry between the two sides ceases. It is plain that there must have been a back wall along the line of the chord, and a piece of it was, in fact, found immediately north of the temple. A similar wall has been restored on the plan on the southern side. The wall on the north side at right angles to the back wall has no counterpart on the south, where there are some remains that in their turn are not represented on the north. The square cutting into the inner circle of the foundation just south of the end of the front of the temple is also unexplained.

A pier in the position of the restored Pier I, of which however no trace could be found, must have existed at the corners, and would connect with the

back wall. The square blocks, lying off the foundation close by Pier I, perhaps belong to a gateway.

The sectional drawing **IV** along the line *A–B* on the plan **IV** shows an attempt at reconstructing the buildings. The restorations are drawn in light lines, to distinguish them from the lower part of the drawing, which, like the other section along the line *C–D*, shows the buildings in their actual state. Allowing a probable angle of rise for the seats, the height of the theatre works out to 8·50 m., and the outer wall, following the indication given by the fragment of moulded cornice mentioned above, has been drawn with such a cornice above the arches which span the intervals between the piers. Between the piers and the ends of the radial walls an arched passage, with an average width of 2·75 m., goes all round the curve of the building. From this, two passages roofed with barrel vaults passed between Rays VIII–IX and XVI–XVII respectively, to the passage round the arena below the seats and behind the barrier, whilst exactly opposite the front of the temple another passage led from the main pillared entrance to the elevated tribunal, whence it may be supposed the highest magistrates witnessed the contests. At intervals also along this passage, under arched openings of the same height as the arches between the outer piers, the six staircases gave access to the *diazoma* and the higher rows of seats. One of these stairs is shown in dotted lines on the reconstructed section. Such of the openings between the rays as were not used for access to the seats must have been blind passages roofed beyond their arched entrance, either with a conical vault that descended rapidly on a line parallel with the slope of the seats above, or possibly with a series of arches decreasing regularly in height.[55] One of these sloping vaults is shown in dotted lines in the section. The lowest six or seven rows of seats rested on the solid ring of masonry, those above them on the radial walls and their vaults, and the topmost rows were supported by the vault of the circular passage which runs round inside the piers. The spring of this vault was probably at the level of the crowns of the arches on either side of the passage, those on the outer side between the piers, and those on the inner side between the radial walls.

The back wall of the theatre has been drawn in the reconstruction as high as the eaves of the temple. This in the drawing seems to dwarf the temple a good deal, but in reality the façade comes so much forward into the arena that this effect would not be produced.

It has already been noted that the construction of the back wall, which terminates the theatre on the west, differs on the two sides, and this raises the question whether the whole building dates from the same period. In discussing the piers we saw reason to believe that their irregularity about the entrance between Piers VII and VIII, and the greater size of Pier VII, were due to the setting out of the plan of the building on the foundation having begun on the south side of the temple, and worked round towards the east and

[55] This latter is the arrangement in the theatre at Bosrâ (Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, Fig. 737).

north. If the building should prove not to be all of the same period, this evidence points to the southern side being the older. Now it is with Ray XV, and its steps, and the entrance beyond them, that the irregularities of the plan begin. There are also serious variations in this region in the diameter of the circle, from which the radial walls spring. If the French plan is to be trusted, it is at this point also that the series of piers and arches gives way to a continuous wall, and from the dimensions given this must have projected at least ·75 m. outside the piers, producing the effect, not of a natural continuation, but of a very awkward join. It is possible that the two halves of the theatre were not built at the same time : there is no structural difficulty in this supposition, nor any necessity that all the segments of a building with the entirely radial construction of a theatre should be contemporary; the stability of the successive *cunei* does not depend upon any mutual support. At the same time no further conclusion is really warranted by the facts than that the actual planning began at the south part of the temple, and as it proceeded gradually lost its early regularity.

It is also possible that the northern part was not the completion of a hitherto unfinished building, but replaced in a less careful style a part that had been destroyed. This however hardly seems likely : the destruction could only have come from the river, and so well-made a building, especially with the protection of the city wall, would not easily have succumbed even to a very violent flood.

The level of the arena was marked by a patch of irregular pavement in front of the temple : this appears in the photograph in Fig. 26, and the several slabs are marked in the plan on **III**. Three of these slabs were inscribed *stelai*, apparently all of the first century A.D., laid face downwards.[56] A single step led from the pavement to the porch of the temple.

It is always possible that some of the statues and inscriptions of an earlier date were saved to decorate this arena. That the custom of setting up such memorials continued is proved by the row of bases found on the northern edge of the arena : their exact position is shown on the plan **III**, and they appear in the background in Fig. 26. They were arranged irregularly, and were, in fact, old bases re-used, some being even upside down. None were inscribed, but on one are the marks of the feet of a statue, and in front of them the groove for the lower part of a *stele*. As this was the arrangement of the statue and *stele* of a *Bomonikes*, it is probable that this base belonged to one of these statues. It is also very possible that these were especially selected for preservation when records of less interest were thrown away. If this were so it would account for the small number of *Bomonikes* inscriptions which have been preserved, as stones left above ground have been exposed to the depredations of ages, and in fact inscriptions from the sanctuary have been found built into houses in the modern town, and even as far off as the hamlet of Magoula.

Above the level of the floor of the theatre a number of terracotta figurines have been found, which are thus dated by their position to not earlier than the

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[56] They are Ch. X, Nos. 20, 22, 25.

Fig. 26.—The Front of the Temple with Roman Pavement.

Fig. 27.—Mediaeval Burial at the Orthia Sanctuary.

latter part of the third century B.C. The more important are figures of Artemis, often girt with an animal's skin, and a figure, probably male, with a high conical head-dress and wearing a long robe and mantle, carrying a jug in the right hand. Numerous fragments belong to a group at least ·30 m. high, representing Artemis with a dog fawning upon her, the figures standing upon a base inscribed ΠΕΙΘΕΡΟΣ. Of all these types there are a great number of examples; other types, lamps and vases, were also found, but in smaller numbers. All without exception are of poor work and of a coarse red clay without paint.[57]

The other remains from the Roman period are a few house-walls between the theatre and the new course of the mill-stream, most of which appear on the plan.

Above the level of the theatre, especially on the southern half of the site, a number of Christian graves were found, and some Byzantine gold ear-rings.

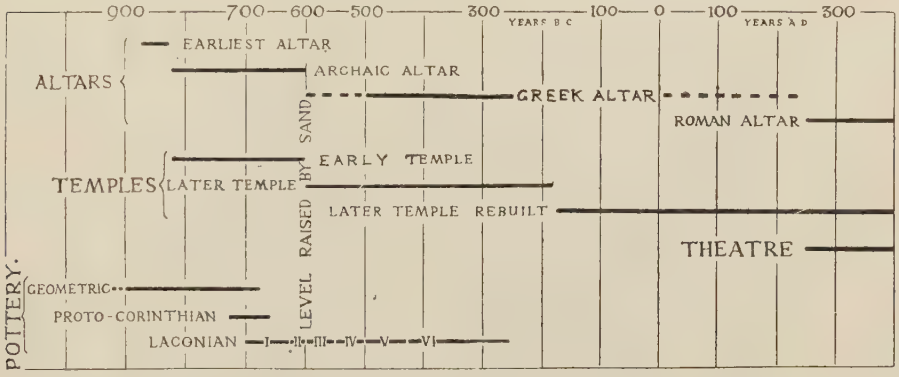

FIG. 28.—CHRONOLOGICAL DIAGRAM OF THE REMAINS AT THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.

These are shown on **VI**; there are three pairs and an odd one in gold filigree work, and another pair in enamel. The burials consisted of four large oblong tiles placed two and two like a gable, over the body. A photograph of one is shown in Fig. 27.

The plan shows inside the temple a rough wall marked 'Modern Structure,' inside which it was found that the sand had been removed. It appears to be the remains of some quite late attempt to use the walls of the temple foundation as a shelter of some sort. The back wall of the temple was much destroyed in the centre, and the retaining wall and later enclosure wall were also broken on the central line of the plan, and the archaeological strata of sand and various deposits removed. It is clear that at some time a trench was cut into the temple along this line, but whether this had any connexion with the structure inside the temple or not, it is impossible to say.

The latest disturbances of the site were the cutting of the mill-stream, which damaged chiefly the N.E. corner of the temple and the foundation of the

[57] For all these *v.* Ch. IV, pp. 160–162.

theatre, and the depredations of the nineteenth century, which so much reduced what was until then one of the most conspicuous buildings in Sparta, that, at the beginning of the excavation, the only signs of its existence were a grassy hollow answering to the arena and the section of the foundation exposed by the erosion of the river. Products, direct or indirect, of this destruction are no doubt the Orthia inscriptions which were in the Museum when we came to Sparta. Excepting for a few lead figurines, which gave the clue to the place, the Roman theatre had done its work thoroughly in preserving untouched, below even the bed of the mill-stream, the great wealth of archaic objects which by their fresh light on early Sparta have given this excavation its chief importance.

The diagram in Fig. 28 presents graphically the more important dates in

Fig. 29.—Eileithyia Figurines from the Sanctuary of Orthia. Scale 4 : 5.

the history of the sanctuary, the vertical lines marking centuries, and the horizontal the duration of the different structures and classes of objects. Explanations and qualifications are to be found in the earlier parts of this chapter.[58] Thus in particular the dates of the earliest altar and of the archaic altar and early temple can only claim approximate value: the line marked for Geometric pottery indicates its possible extension into the tenth century; the Proto-Corinthian line includes neither the few ventriconical vases which are earlier in the stratification, nor, naturally, the few Corinthian pieces which are later.

[58] This chronological diagram is slightly modified from the one given in *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 51. Laconian VI pottery and with it the use of the Greek altar of the fourth and fifth centuries have been brought down to a final date of a century later, and the dates for Proto-Corinthian pottery have been very slightly changed. For the differences between the first diagram published in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 67 and that of *B.S.A.* xvi., *v.* p. 53 of the latter volume.

The evidence for the periods of the successive styles of pottery is to be sought above on p. 17, and more fully in the chapter devoted to the vases found at the site.

A reference should here be made to the statement of Pausanias, that the sanctuary of Eileithyia was near that of Orthia. From the first year of the excavation this statement was verified by the discovery of tiles with the stamp Ἱεροῦ Ἐλευσίας or Δαμόσιοι Ἐλ(ε)υσίας,[59] but no trace of the building from which they came has been found. Two figurines, shown in Fig. 29, also appear to be votive offerings to Eileithyia. One represents a pair of birth-daemons supporting a mother and newly-born child, the other a woman carrying a child. Of this latter, the head of the woman has been lost, and a further break makes it possible that she was originally carrying two children. Both were found with the *débris* from the archaic temple, and belong to the seventh or possibly to the eighth century. The bronze die inscribed in archaic lettering Ἐλευθίας must also be mentioned among the votive offerings from this sanctuary.[60] And finally Poulsen has expressed the opinion that the pair of figures in ivory seated on a double throne, shown on **Pl. CXXIV,** represent not men but the pair of goddesses, Orthia and Eileithyia.[61]

R. M. Dawkins.

[59] These stamps are given in facsimile in Fig. 18, D, E on p. 33 above.

[60] For which *v.* Ch. VII.

[61] Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgr. Kunst*, p. 165.

CHAPTER II

THE LACONIAN POTTERY

'JUSQU' à présent rien n'autorise à croire que Sparte ait jamais eu une céramique originale de cette importance. La question (de l'origine des vases dits Cyrénéens) ne sera définitivement tranchée que si l'on trouve plus tard dans un de ces pays (Sparte, la Crète, Cyrène) une quantité notable de poteries a fond blanc.' Such was the opinion of M. Pottier in 1888.[1]

Not the least interesting of the finds at the sanctuary of Orthia was the artistic reputation of the early Spartans, which had been buried beneath the militarism of their descendants. Of grounds for such a reputation not the least substantial lies in an original school of pottery, which we are now not only authorised but compelled to believe did exist on Spartan soil in an unbroken continuity of development and decay for at least six centuries before the various Hellenistic wares took its place.

This continuity of the fabric is the most striking point about the pottery found at the sanctuary of Orthia, and since at least 90 per cent. of the ceramic finds consisted of this one fabric, it is impossible to prevent the account of the pottery here becoming that of the pottery of Laconia; wherefore in this chapter reference will be made also to the finds at other sites in Sparta wherever the account can so be made clearer.

The next most striking point is the unquestionable identity in style and fabric of the sixth-century Spartan ware with that group of vases for which prior to the excavation an origin in Cyrene had been hesitatingly but generally accepted.[2] This hypothesis is now untenable, for the excavation more than fulfilled M. Pottier's condition, and has left no possible doubt that this pottery

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[1] Dumont et Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, Tom. I. p. 294.

[2] The suggestion (Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, Tom. ix. p. 507 ff.) that the sixth-century pottery at Sparta is not identical with the 'Cyrenaic' ware requires no refutation. It could not have been made by anyone who knew the Cyrenaic vases and had also seen the finds at Sparta. Nor does it appear worth while to argue with those who, being unable to free their minds from the shackles of old beliefs, profess to hold that this same ware was made simultaneously both at Sparta and Cyrene (*e.g.* Dugas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1928, p. 50). The identity not only in artistic feeling in the potter that this would seem to involve, but also in the materials, the clays and pigments that lay to his hand in the two places cannot, it is believed, be paralleled in the sixth century B.C. Even the *terra sigillata* of La Graufesenque can be distinguished by the expert from that of Lezoux, and it need not be pointed out that the ceramics of archaic Greece had not reached the same stage of mechanical mass production as those of Gaul in the first century A.D. They were a living organism on which environment could not but leave its mark.

was made in Laconia. Nor is this a new idea, but one for which support has been found in the past in observed resemblances between the vases and such Spartan works of art as the archaic hero-reliefs. Such common details, however, as shoes with turned-up points, and chairs, the back legs of which are shaped like the hind legs of lions, though strongly corroborative, should rightly bear less weight than the inscriptions painted on the famous Arkesilas vase. These are in a Western alphabet, as to which epigraphists are agreed in view of the peculiar form of the sigma that the only known alphabet with which they are in full accordance is that of Laconia.[3]

The local nature of the ware found at Sparta is proved not only by the unbroken development of the series, and the vast quantity found of it compared with the very minute amount of other known wares, but also by the identity of its fabric with that of two other sets of objects, the clay masks [4] and the figurines. The clay used in each case is well levigated, and varies in colour from red or pink to a light brown or even a red-brown according to the lesser or greater amount of firing (here and there the colour varies in the thickness of individual sherds), and the characteristic white or cream slip is at certain periods found uniformly on all three.

Now to continue to argue in deference to long habit that the sixth-century pottery found at Sparta was imported across the seas may to some still seem reasonable, but the unavoidable corollary to this proposition can hardly commend itself to an untrammelled judgment. If the sixth-century ware was imported, then we must hold also as importations, first, the pottery of the seventh and of the fifth and fourth centuries, stylistically the beginning and end of the 'Cyrenaic' fabric, which is one link merely in a chain that cannot be cut; secondly, the thousands of miniature vases which in clay are identical with the sixth-century ware; and thirdly, the cheap figurines and the masks which were clearly used for a local cult. The proposition would, in fact, lead to the assertion that the Spartans were unacquainted with the art of working in clay.

Rather do all the finds at Sparta suggest that the import trade did very little in works of art, for even in the case of the carved ivory work any suspicion of general foreign manufacture is removed by the finding of unfinished pieces. With regard to the two vases which have been thought to make the attribution to Cyrene certain, the Arkesilas vase in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* may easily in the light of our new knowledge, which corroborates its own inscriptions, be understood merely as a proof of those very close trade relations between Sparta and Cyrene which it is so natural to suppose existed that it will be very astonishing if the excavations at Cyrene, when resumed, do not produce many specimens of Spartan pottery.[5] Thus the mere discovery of 'Cyrenaic' vases at Cyrene will hardly suffice to renew her claim to be the home of the ware, unless there is found in M. Pottier's words 'une quantité notable,' and this in the circumstances must be understood to mean a complete series from early Geometric days down to the fourth century, and with it a mass of figurines and other objects identical with

[3] Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 9 *sqq.*; Milchhoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 181 *sqq.*; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 77.

[4] Compare *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. X (= **Pl. LVI, 2**) with **Pls. VII** and **IX.**

[5] One or two have already been found.

the vases in style, technique and clay, and an utter absence of any other pottery that could be thought the local product. Then the claims of Cyrene would equal but not surpass those of Sparta; 'but in such a *then* I write a *never*.' For the impossibility of such a find is clear when we consider that Cyrene was not founded till about 630 B.C.,[6] a date that is not only long after the end of the Laconian Geometric style, with which the 'Cyrenaic' vases are indissolubly connected by fabric, but also in fact subsequent to the end of the first period of the Laconian style proper, at a time when it had almost reached its full development. This in itself makes the claim of Cyrene untenable.

As for Studniczka's interpretation of the scene on the vase in the British Museum (B. 4) as the nymph Cyrene with the silphion, it is submitted that the bough carried by the female figure, who may equally well be Orthia, is not in the least like the silphion as it is seen on the coins of Cyrene, and that there is no reason to view it as a conventional representation of that plant, for it is clearly compounded of the three favourite patterns of the pottery, namely, the lotus, the pomegranate, and the leaf pattern.

Geometric.

The earliest pottery yet found on the site of classical Sparta is of the Geometric (post-Mycenaean) style. A very great quantity of this turned up from first to last at the sanctuary of Orthia, and it formed a good part of the finds at the Heroon [7] further up the Eurotas, at the Chalkioikos and at the Menelaion. It is also present in considerable quantities at the site of the Amyklaion.

Dr. Wide [8] was the first to note the existence of a distinctive Laconian Geometric style, while a further and more definite note of its characteristics was made by Mr. Wace in the Catalogue of the Sparta Museum.[9] Careful examination of the ware produced in the last two years of excavation added little that was new, and showed that the mass of this pottery found in 1907 in excavating the strata beneath the arena of the Roman theatre and the later temple was quite representative. Thus in what follows little has been changed from the account of the ware that was based on a detailed study of the finds of that year.

Wide's remark on the simplicity of the Laconian Geometric style is on the whole borne out by the excavation. Figure scenes are very rare, and the patterns used are all in their lowest terms, the bands of decoration being hardly ever broken into panels, while the brush has been applied in most cases with the greatest carelessness. To form an idea of the scheme of decoration is the more difficult in that the material consists almost entirely of sherds, and these for the most part small, much worn at the edges and much scattered, so that any complete reconstruction has been impossible. The ware found at the site of the Chalkioikos, though in noticeably better condition, was no whit more amenable.

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[6] Holm, *History of Greece*, Vol. I. p. 294. A recent article in the *Illustrated London News* states that certain evidence has been found at Cyrene suggesting a somewhat earlier date for the foundation. Yet the difference in date does not seem enough to affect the argument.

[7] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 288 *sqq*.

[8] Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*, p. 23.

[9] *S.M.C.* p. 223.

FIG. 30.—LACONIAN GEOMETRIC POTTERY.

Patterns in order of frequency, from frequent *a* to rare *w*. Scale 1 : 2.

The Patterns.

The essential simplicity of the ornament is best seen perhaps in the fact that about 60 per cent. of the total yield of sherds show only parallel straight lines; when vertical these are generally either short, and grouped in rows along the rim, or they flank the handles, bounding a line of other ornament. The only noticeable feature of the horizontal lines is the habit of alternating between a thin and a thick line. This is a characteristic of Laconian pottery which continued throughout its development long after the abandonment of Geometric decoration (Fig. 30, *e*). The only patterns that occur at all regularly are (in order of frequency) zigzags, rows of lozenges, irregular blotchy lines usually arranged in slanting parallel rows, cross-hatching, simple maeanders, rows of dots, and chequers. The use of added white paint is comparatively rare, and is confined either to a zigzag or to a row of dots placed over a thick black line (Fig. 30, *p*, *q*, *u*). There is also a considerable quantity of plain black ware.[10]

The Fabric.

From the first it was noticed that some of the sherds were covered with a slip. This, which is found on the softer pinker clay, is usually very white and friable, but in certain cases it is dirtier and very thin, so that, especially when the clay has lost the red tinge, it is at times hard to be sure whether or no the sherd had slip. Very small quantities of apparently local ware have been found with very hard clay of a grey colour, but this is probably due to accident. Mr. Wace [11] first called attention to the metallic sheen of the black pigment used in Laconia during this period. The most striking examples of it are, however, confined to the ware without slip, especially to that with the hard red-brown clay, where the paint is often applied particularly coarsely; otherwise the paint is dull black thinning to brown, and is at times even red-brown. Yet the metallic sheen is a distinctive characteristic of Laconian ware both in this period and in the sixth century when it reappears.

The Shapes.

As for shapes, it is hard to speak very definitely with no authority but a mass of small sherds. Those restored in Fig. 31 have been chosen as typical. No great faith should perhaps be placed in them, but they are put forward to give the reader a notion of the probabilities. The parts of each were drawn to scale from actual fragments, but it is in the combination of parts, in the completion of a neck and shoulder by a likely-looking foot, that there is room for doubt. The work accomplished since the drawing was made shows four omissions. These are, first, a jug only not ventriconical through a slight curve in the profile of the belly, and sometimes of considerable size; second, a miniature hydria (of large hydriai there are no certain fragments); third, a small high cup with brim rather outsplayed, and a small ring handle at the lip; and fourth, a skyphos like Fig. 45, both of which latter are more common in the subsequent First Laconian period.

[10] This is true throughout the whole of the Laconian series.

[11] *Loc. cit.*

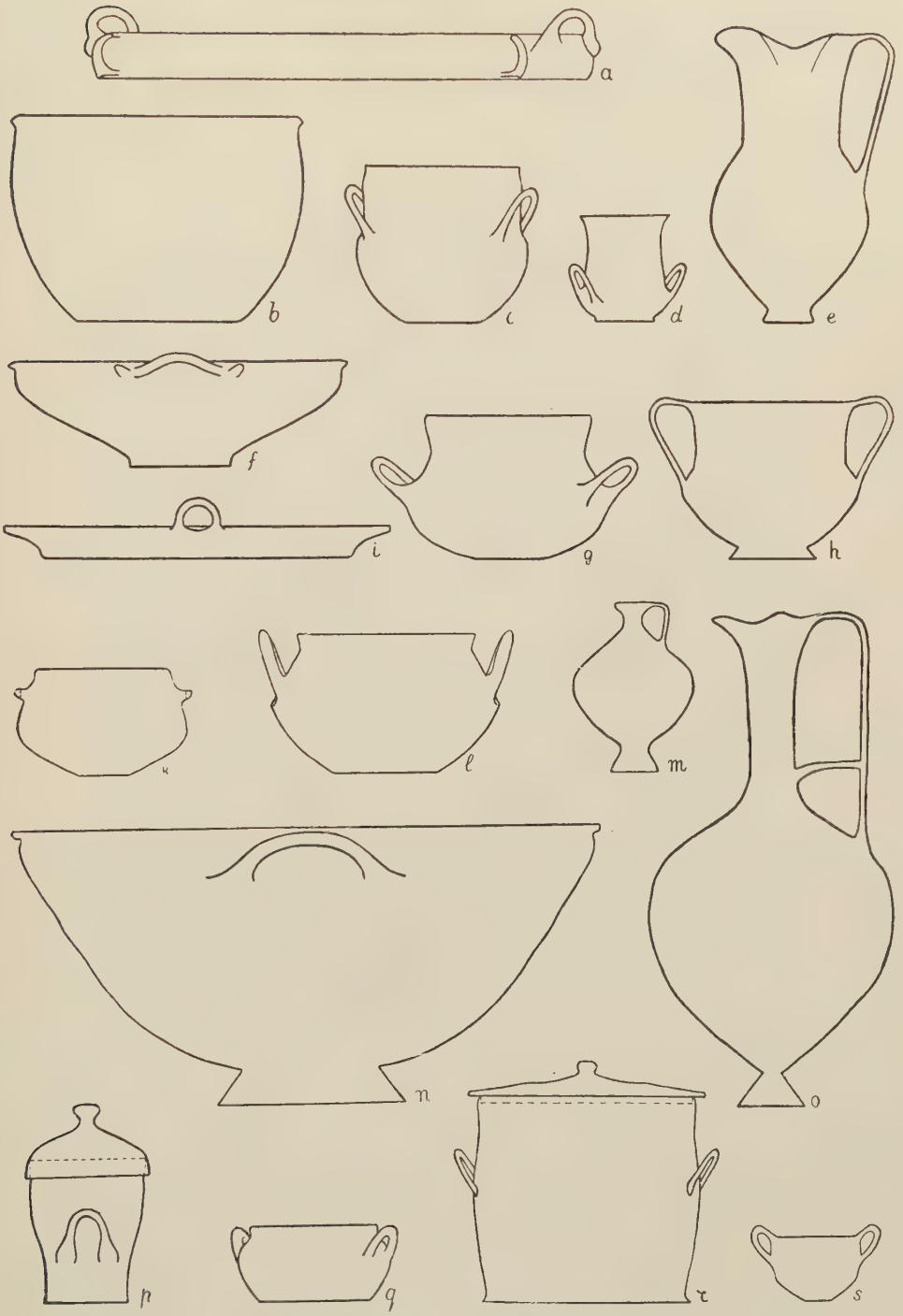

FIG. 31.—LACONIAN GEOMETRIC POTTERY.
A selection of probable shapes. Scale about 1 : 4.

Another shape (Fig. 31, *d*) that was already frequent, and was subsequently very popular to the end of the Laconian style, is the lakaina.[12]

Such evidence of the imitation of metal vessels as bowls with projecting, almost circular, handles square in section but with a deep groove round the outer

Fig. 32.—Laconian Geometric Jug with Trefoil Lip from Heroon. Scale 1 : 2.

edge is not uncommon, while jugs sometimes have their upright handle twisted like rope or wire. A noteworthy point is the frequency of pierced semicircular projections instead of handles on the smaller bowls.

[12] This name (λάκαινα) is given by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* xi. 484) to a drinking vessel, so called either because it was made of Laconian clay or because it had a shape much affected in Laconia. The shape to which it has been applied at Sparta is very frequent in, if not confined to, the Laconian style, is not suited by any name in use, and may well have been used for drinking.

In Figs. 32, 33 and 34 are seen the only Geometric vases of which we have the shape at all complete.[13] That shown in Fig. 32 was found at the Heroon further up the Eurotas, and is a very work-a-day vase indeed, having no slip, and being entirely coated with black glaze except for the zigzags in the shoulder.

The jug shown in Fig. 35 is a unique type which it is easy to complete by the addition of a high neck with trefoil lip. The unusual decoration in upright bands on the slipped surface is doubtless due to the peculiar form of the body, which is channelled perpendicularly like a cantaloup melon.

Fig. 33.—Laconian Geometric Plate. Scale 1 : 2.

Of the larger vases which must have been in use, few fragments have been found. At all times such seem at Sparta to have been thought too valuable or otherwise unsuitable for offerings. Fig. 36, however, shows the upper part of an amphora, which was pieced together successfully. In the variety of its decoration it is rather exceptional, but the most interesting point lies in the handles. It is not a case of a double handle, for the handle reaching to the rim on the left had no smaller handle under it, and the uppermost point to the right is the unbroken rim, so that there, too, there was no second handle. Such an inequality must have produced a very odd effect. The vase has slip, and is probably rather late.

[13] A third complete example was found in 1927, *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 54, Fig. 2.

So much for the general characteristics of the style. There are, however, some distinctions to be noticed between the pottery from the Acropolis and that from the sanctuary of Orthia and the Menelaion. The chief difference lies in the large proportion of slipless ware on the Acropolis; whereas at the sanctuary of Orthia this forms not more than 7 per cent. of the whole, on the hill it amounts to more than 80 per cent. It is, of course, a natural consequence of this that the sherds with hard red-brown clay and shining glaze are far more numerous on the Acropolis, being about 13 per cent. of the whole.

In the matter of patterns it is to be remarked that on the Acropolis only about 50 per cent. of the sherds show a decoration of parallel lines alone, while these form nearly 70 per cent. of the yield at the Orthia site; but it is the pattern of concentric circles (Fig. 30, *n*, *o*), that most clearly marks the difference between the two sites. So rare at the temple of Orthia as to be almost negligible, on the Acropolis the circles come next to parallel lines in frequency. All the other patterns mentioned above occur at both sites in about the same proportions, zigzags, rows of lozenges, and irregular blotchy lines (Fig. 30, *a*–*i*) being much the more common. Both sites also are alike in the scarcity which they show of such patterns as triangles (generally hatched), thick upright serpentine lines, chevrons, and, splotches of paint (Fig. 30, *l*, *s*, *r*); while the quatrefoil and the 'running dog' pattern occur in the Geometric proper only in isolated examples which may be out of place. Neither the swastika nor the circles joined by tangents ever occur as painted ornament, though the former is found on the base of the bronze horses of the period and the latter occurs incised on the handle of a jug (Fig. 38, *i*). The only sherds showing any kind of panelling are from the Orthia site, but these are few. Fragments of large jugs or amphorae (which often have the circle pattern) seem more frequent on the Acropolis. The pyxis (Fig. 31, *r*, *p*.), on the other hand, is not a common shape there, but at the sanctuary of Orthia it is found more often than any other, fragments of the bottoms and lids of this kind of vase being most familiar.

In view of another fact that at the Orthia site the ware of the Geometric age is succeeded by an unbroken line of later developments, while very little indeed of the pottery of the seventh and early sixth centuries was found on the Acropolis, is it possible to draw any conclusion from the differences just described?

The Amyklaion site, where first in Laconia Geometric pottery was found, also has very little ware with slip. On the other hand, sherds with the hard red-brown clay and coarsely applied gleaming paint form a very large proportion of its yield, so much so that this may well be called the 'Amyklaion' style. The fact that Late Helladic [14] pottery has been found here makes it conceivable that the 'Amyklaion' style is the earliest form taken by Geometric ware in Laconia.[14a] If this were so, then the larger proportion of sherds in the Amyklaion style on the Acropolis may indicate that this deposit shows an intermediate period

[14] *S.M.C.* p. 225.

[14a] Such a suggestion that the old settlement may possibly have been one of the first habitations of the new-comers does not, of course, imply any connexion between the two wares. There is no justification in the Laconian Geometric style for any *Bauernstil* theory.

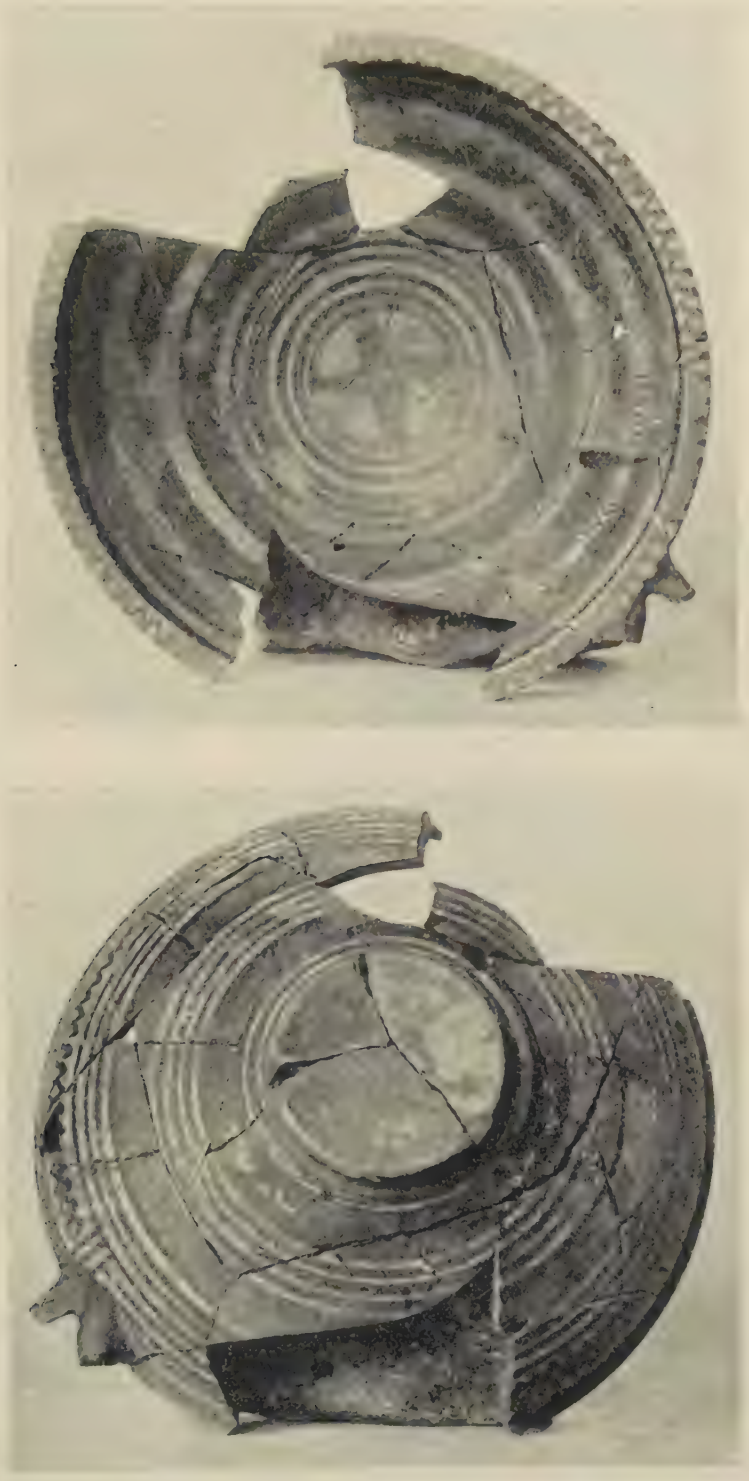

FIG. 34.—LACONIAN GEOMETRIC BOWL. Scale 1 : 2.

between that of Amyklai and that represented by the sanctuary of Orthia. An explanation of this would be, that towards the end of the Geometric period offerings on the Acropolis dwindled, while their numbers swelled at the temple of Orthia. This supposition is perhaps borne out by the scarcity of seventh-century ware on the Acropolis. Such pottery is not unknown at the Amyklaion,

Fig. 35.—Laconian Geometric Jug. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 36.—Laconian Geometric Jug. Scale 1 : 5.

yet the bulk of the Geometric pottery there seems early. Possibly the building of the famous throne swept away the remains of the succeeding periods.

The evidence for these suppositions is not of the best, yet it is impossible to suppose that the clear differences between the deposits on the Acropolis and at the temple of Orthia are merely local, seeing that less than a mile separates the two sites.

The earliest division of the period would then show red-brown hard clay

and gleaming paint laid coarsely on, with a greater fondness for hatching and for a pattern of triangles than was shown subsequently; this is the style of the Amyklaion ware (Fig. 39, *a*, *b*). This was succeeded by a rather finer ware and less coarse style of painting. Concentric circles then found favour on the larger vessels; this marks the deposit of the Chalkioikos. Subsequently the desire for a lighter ground and greater contrast with the paint caused the use of slip to become almost universal; the circles fell out of fashion, and a decided preference was shown for the pyxis form; the clay also is baked less hard, and is usually pink or red. This stage, which is that represented at the sanctuary of Orthia, must from the depth of the deposit have lasted over two centuries; two centuries of stagnation as far as the potter's art was concerned, for the technical advance shown in the use of slip had already been made at the time of the earliest offering here. The older fashion indeed, if it may be called so, never quite died out, but

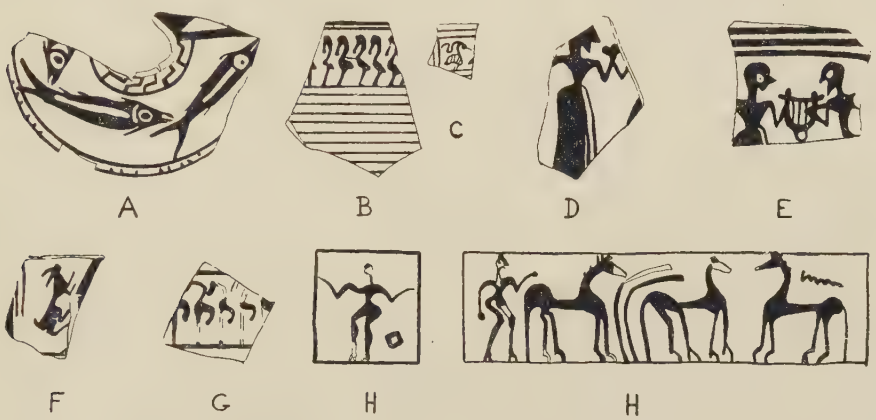

Fig. 37.—Figures from Laconian Geometric Pottery.
(B, C Proto-Corinthian.) Scale 1 : 2.

that it was virtually superseded at this date is clear from the fact that sherds without slip were no more frequent in the deepest layers below the cobble pavement than among the latest remains of the style.

Fig. 30 shows a selection of patterns arranged in order of frequency, taking all deposits together, from the top of the page downwards. Some of the very scarce sherds with figures are shown in Fig. 37 (from the temple of Orthia except *b* and *c*). It is noticeable that, contrary to what would be expected, most of these (*a*, *d*, *e*, *f* and *h*) occur on the ware without slip. The fragment *a*, which is the shoulder of a narrow-necked oil-flask, finds a parallel to its ornament in a sherd from the Amyklaion in the Sparta Museum. The interior markings are made by incision,[15] which is sufficiently remarkable at this date, for it was found almost on virgin soil. The clay is rather soft and light brown, and while it is hard to place the vase elsewhere there is room for doubt if it be local. *F* is interesting as a possible

[15] It appears that reservation was intended, but that owing to the artist's mistake recourse was had to incision.

Fig. 38.—Laconian Geometric Pottery. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 39.—Laconian Geometric Pottery from Chalkioikos. Scale 1 : 2.

example of Artemis πότνια θηρῶν in this period, for there is undoubtedly a figure to the right.

Figs. 38 and 39 show representative examples of the ware.[16]

Sub-Geometric.

Simultaneously with the introduction of the use of purple paint, and the new style that went with it, came a change to the Geometric ware. No sharp line can be drawn to mark the beginning of Laconian I, for it is probable that about half the extant sherds of that style were found with Geometric sherds. The new style, in fact, seems to have been confined at first to very small vases, so that for larger vessels the old continued to be used. This, however, did not remain unaffected, though the proportion of sherds showing the change is very small. Doubtless had the change been less sweeping this proportion would have increased, but the victory of the new style was so complete that very shortly the Geometric designs were killed.

[16] It is in place here to note the conclusions drawn from a study of the pottery found on the Acropolis during the subsequent campaign, 1924–27. Briefly, the only modification of what is written above that appears to be required as the result of that study is a recantation of the statement that 'towards the end of the Geometric period offerings on the Acropolis dwindled.' Though the deposit on the Acropolis is not well stratified, it appears to be certain that in the main it was the earliest part of the deposit that was struck in 1907. Not only was there a good proportion, about 50 per cent., of slipped ware among the Geometric of the second excavations, but there were sherds of the seventh and sixth centuries in sufficient quantities to support the view that offerings continued to be made at a normal rate. On the other hand, nothing was found to suggest that the belief that offerings began on the Acropolis earlier than at the Orthia temple is unfounded.

The metallic gleam of the paint was proved in 1927 to be due, as had been suspected, to very hard firing by the discovery of two sherds which joined, one of which had been burnt after fracture, the other not. The burnt sherd only showed the characteristic gleam.

The early nature of the typical 'Amyklaion' ware has been confirmed by further excavations undertaken by the German Archaeological Institute in 1925 (*Ath. Mitt.* lii, pp. 1 *sq.*).

This 'Amyklaion' ware is designated by Herr von Massow, following the shrewd perception of Furtwängler in 1904 (*Jahrbuch*, 1918, p. 127), as '*protogeometrisch*,' and the correctness of the designation is proved on the site (s. 46) by a stratum of it in front of the terrace wall undefiled by later sherds.

That the distinction is chronological and not geographical is proved, if proof were needed, by the presence of many sherds of the later styles in the upper layer (p. 49) and in the filling behind the terrace wall.

An interesting point is the comparative rarity (p. 48) of concentric circles in the 'protogeometric' and their comparative frequency in the 'geometric.' In view of our results at the Chalkioikos and at the shrine of Orthia it is necessary to suppose that, had the strata not been disturbed, at least two periods might have been distinguished among the 'geometric' of the Amyklaion, and we may think that offerings at the Chalkioikos began to be made about the time when the Amyklaion 'protogeometric' was giving way to 'geometric.'

The fact that a bowl (Fig. 31) of typical Laconian 'Geometric' owned by Professor Rubensohn of Berlin was certainly brought from Cyrene may give comfort to those who still believe in 'Cyrenaic' ware. But Herr von Massow rightly regards the vase as proof, not of the Cyrenaic theory, but of the existence at this early date of trade relations between the two districts.

It may be noted that though disturbance has left little pottery of the classical and later periods at the Amyklaion that little includes sherds of the post-geometric Laconian periods. Thus the presence of Laconian pottery at all the shrines in or near Sparta that have been explored adds force to the contention that its real home was Laconia.

Fig. 40.—Laconian Sub-Geometric Pottery. Scale 1 : 2.

The alteration may be summarised as an introduction of curved motives with one or two new Geometric patterns such as dots within squares, and the 'running dog' hitherto absent from Laconian Geometric. Figs. 40, 41 and 42 illustrate this new brief style.

Human heads too with large eyes, and rows of following animals treated in the reserved technique, are found in this style, and a not uncommon feature, found also later, is the addition of one or more human heads in relief below the lip or on the handle of the vase (Fig. 41, *c*). Parts of a quadruple pyxis were found with a head filling the whole space between each of the four chambers. These had perpendicular sides and a conical top which was cut off, leaving an opening the diameter of which is about two-thirds that of the chamfer. The heads are

FIG. 41.—LACONIAN SUB-GEOMETRIC POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.

hollow and pierced from crown to chin with a hole, probably for suspension. The style and technique of all these heads are those of the corresponding terracotta figurines found in the upper Geometric layers. They are probably to be traced earlier than the Sub-Geometric style proper. The reconstruction in Fig. 43 shows the kind of thing.

Here perhaps is the best place to mention a series of about twenty miniature vases, some of which were found quite low with pure Geometric ware, while a few lay with Sub-Geometric and Laconian I. They are round-bellied vases with an offset thick lip, one flat perpendicular handle rising flush with the lip, and three short legs (Fig. 83, 18). The clay is a very pale pink verging to buff and there is no paint. A few also were found at the Menelaion with Laconian I and Corinthian sherds. Their average height is ·025 m. They scarcely look local, but it is hard to believe that they were imported.

FIG. 42.—LACONIAN SUB-GEOMETRIC POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.

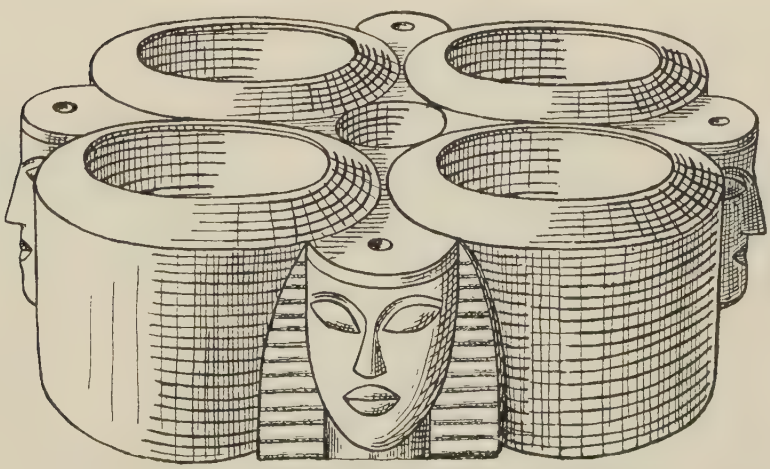

FIG. 43.—SKETCH OF QUADRUPLE PYXIS. LACONIAN SUB-GEOMETRIC WARE. Scale 1 : 2.

Laconian I.

The beginning of the Laconian style proper[16a] is marked by the introduction of the use of purple and an abandonment of Geometric patterns. In the earliest stage (Laconian I) the decoration is absolutely uniform. On the lip is a pattern of squares and dots (Fig. 44, A, B), found once on a slipless vase in Geometric technique), on the bottom is either a cross design (Fig. 44 A, *d*) or a plain pattern of concentric circles, and a series of rays rises from the base. This, so far, is the only design that can be called vegetable, and that only on the assumption that the rays represent leaves or sepals. A glance, however, at the Sub-Geometric sherds suggests that they are an elongated form of the rows of teeth that resulted from the complete blacking-in of the Geometric hatched triangle.

Though it is probable that the new style was at first used only for small vases, yet the narrow range of shapes is a change from the comparative variety of the Geometric period, which it seems was never again approached by the Spartan potter. At this time, early in the seventh century, four shapes only were found in abundance, the skyphos (Fig. 44 A, *g*, and *i* and Fig. 45), the open dish or plate (Fig. 44 A, *a*, *b*, *f*), the lakaina, now as generally in the Geometric age, with upright sides (Fig. 44 B, *a*, *b*) and a small bowl with offset lip (Fig. 44 A, *h*; 44 B, *e*). The narrow cup with outsplayed lip and one circular handle appeared less frequently (no completable example was found), and there were several miniature bowls (Fig. 44 B, *c*, *d*).

The most remarkable point in this is the abandonment of the pyxis, which, usually quite small, is perhaps the most common of the Geometric vases at the shrine of Orthia. Its use can only be guessed at, but it is not easy to see in which

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[16a] The appearance of M. Johansen's authoritative work on 'Proto-Corinthian' pottery (Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*) made it advisable to re-examine the grounds on which the approximate date (see p. 18 above) for the rise of the Laconian I style has been based. It would seem however that a revision of this date is hardly called for.

It is true that in M. Johansen's view the bulk of the sherds other than the ventriconical lekythoi are from spherical aryballoi, skyphoi without rims, and low pyxides (*loc. cit.* pp. 17, 21, 24, 31), which he puts together in his transitional period, to which he assigns the approximate dates 800 B.C.–725 B.C. (*loc. cit.* p. 185); and that this might suggest that the date, 700 B.C., for the beginning of Laconian I is too low, if the greater number of these sherds, about half of which were found with Laconian I, belong to a period closing with 725 B.C.

But, though M. Johansen does not mention them (and indeed they may not have been easily accessible), specimens of the ovoid type of aryballos (*loc. cit.* Pls. XIV–XV) which belongs to his 'Sub-geometric' style (period 725 B.C.–650 B.C.), are not infrequent among the Orthia sherds, and it appears that the rimless skyphos (*loc. cit.* Pl. XVII), and the low pyxis which are even better represented (*loc. cit.* Pl. XVIII), stayed in use during at least the earlier part of this period.

It would then seem that the proportion belonging to the later of these two periods is great enough to make 700 B.C. not unreasonable as a central date. Moreover it is to be observed that the pyxis shown in Fig. 85 *a* is placed by Johansen (*loc. cit.* p. 93, Pl. XXIV, 3) in his 'Archaic style Class A,' the earlier division of his 'sub-geometric' style, period, 725 B.C.–650 B.C. This corresponds well enough, in view of the mixed stratum in which the sherds were found, with the proposed date 700 B.C. for the beginnings of Laconian I. Equally in agreement is the presence in a similar mixed stratum of the ovoid lekythos with the dogs (Fig. 70*f*).

FIG. 44 A. Scale 2 : 5.

FIG. 44 B.—LACONIAN I POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.

of the new shapes a substitute was found. Indeed vases with lids from this time onwards are very rare in the Spartan pottery.

The plate of this period is distinguishable by the ribbing on the broad flat edge or lip, which is black (Fig. 44 A, *a*, *f*). This, yet more than the bolster handles (*e.g.* Fig. 47, *p*), which it keeps throughout its career, suggests an original in bronze.

For the next century and a half, that is, till the end of the third period, the Laconian fabric is at its greatest technical excellence. The slip, though always friable, is firmer than in the Geometric period and also perhaps less startlingly white, having more of a cream complexion, though this varies with individual pieces. The black glaze is easily distinguishable from that used earlier, being smoother, entirely without the metallic sheen often found on the Geometric

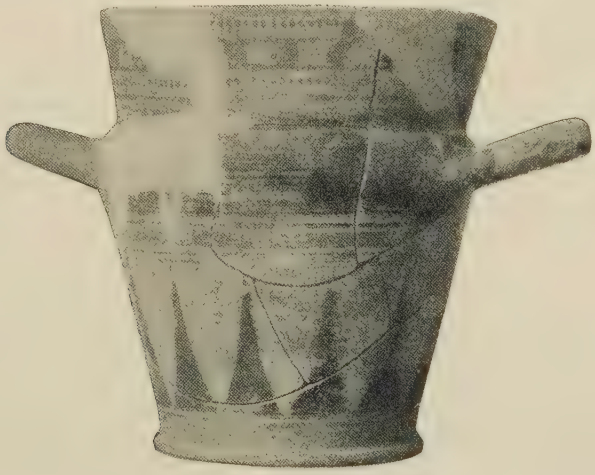

Fig. 45.—Laconian I Skyphos. Scale 1 : 2.

ware and recurring later, and in the deadness of the black, which has almost a bluish tinge. It is very firm and not easily scratched. The purple paint, confined to two or three horizontal lines, is of good quality, and till the end of the seventh century is generally applied direct to the slip.

Laconian II.

Very little of the ware of the second period was found at the sanctuary of Orthia, and this unexplained lack of offerings, though not enough to obscure the continuity of the style, left the course of the development from the first period to the third very uncertain. The excavation of the Menelaion, however, in 1909 (*B.S.A.* xv.) threw more light upon the ware of this interesting stage, which probably spread over the second half of the seventh century, though when judged only by the finds at the shrine of Orthia it seemed likely to have been confined to the last quarter.

A wealth of new patterns is to be observed; *e.g* (Fig. 46) z's, (*l*, *r*), chevrons (*a*, *f*), tongues (generally quite short) (*d*, *f*, *s*, *x*), steps (*b*, *c*, *d*, *f*), keys (*a*, *e*, *f*),

chequers (*m*), and rope designs (*x*), while on rims the square and dots of Laconian I still continue. The interesting point is that not one of these designs is naturalistic; though not 'Geometric' technically they are geometric in fact. The only possible exceptions are the tongues and rays, now first found double (Figs. 46, *f*; 51), and a pattern (Fig. 47, *r*) found also on Sub-Geometric ware (Fig. 42, *d*) in which an early form of the pomegranate design of Laconian III can be discerned.

The most characteristic feature at this time is the long-necked water bird, drawn usually with a black silhouette, and a tail in purple separated by a line reserved (Figs. 46, *a*, *f*; 47, *i*, *k*; 48, *a*, *g*; 49; 51). Sometimes the legs and wings also are purple (Fig. 48, *a*). Parallel with these are the animals drawn also in silhouette, with hand and eye outlined like those on Sub-Geometric ware; goats (Fig. 46, *o*), bulls, rams and swine (Fig. 50, *b*), lions (Fig. 46, *n*), dogs and hares (Fig. 46, *r*) are found, and like the birds are at this time invariably arranged in a procession. Fig. 49 shows a fish.

It is now that the Gorgoneion is first found (Fig. 47, *d*, and Fig. 48, *b*). The earliest painted example is that on one of the objects shown in Fig. 53. These are cylinders slightly widened at the upper end with pairs of holes in the lower rim. Both date from this time. It is at this time also that incision first began to be practised at Sparta if we except the Geometric vase mentioned above.[17] Though the reserved technique is the rule, incision is found with it in one or two cases on the same vase (Fig. 46, *f*, and Fig. 47, *f*). In the second instance the two are found in the same scene even, for there is no boundary between the incised bird's tail and the outlined heads. These, with hair dressed in three tails (cf. **VIII**), are a puzzle, for it is equally difficult to give them a meaning and to conceive of them as merely decorative. This combination of style is accompanied by a disuse of slip on the underside of the vase, a practice at this date quite exceptional. Other changes to be noted are the outsplaying of the lip of the lakaina, of which the belly is now decorated with a series of narrow rays, and the first introduction of the kylix (Fig. 47, *o*), although this does not appear to have been a favourite shape until the next period. It has always an offset rim, and seems to be a natural development from the bowl of Laconian I (Fig. 44 B, *e*). The quite short stem is covered with slip (Fig. 52, *c*, *d*) and painted with black and purple rings, though black stems (id. *e*) are, of course, also found. Now also there begins a substitution of slip with painted decoration of tongues or cross-lines or chevrons for the black ribbing on the flat lip of the plate (Fig. 47, *p* and *s*). In the plate shown in Fig. 54 the ribbing is kept but is covered with slip. This plate is one of two that have particular interest in that they bear inscriptions in white paint, facsimiles of which are shown in Fig. 86, Nos. 1 and 3. Frithisa is seen to be the donor of the plate illustrated, while the other fragment, which has the usual black rim, makes amends for the suppression of the dedicator's name by supplying a new form of the goddess' name, Forthasia, to compare with Forthaia on the ship of the ivory relief, and Frothaia of the bronze die **CX** and **LXXXIX.** These inscriptions are particularly interesting on account

[17] Another quite definite example of incised drawing on slipless Geometric ware was found on the Acropolis in 1927. *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 52, Fig. 1, *g*.

Fig. 46.—Laconian II Pottery from Menelaion. Scale 1 : 2.

FIG. 47.—LACONIAN II POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.

of their early date, for from the place of their finding they cannot be placed later than Laconian II, which means in all probability the close of the seventh century. And this date receives ample confirmation from the style of the vases.

A characteristic of the period is the fresh red of the purple paint, which is now often laid on very thickly.

This characteristic is found on the fine lakaina shown in **VII, VIII.** Found below the sand, it was clearly one of the last vases to be dedicated in the older temple, and the widely scattered position of the remains was probably caused by the work of building the new temple, on both sides of and within which they lay. The style bears this out, for the vase occupies a place of its own in the Laconian series. The absolute fact that it was destroyed with the destruction of the earlier temple leads us for convenience's sake to class it with the second period, but that it is later than the mass of ware which we call Laconian II is shown by the palmette and the lotus pattern, of which this is positively the first appearance, though in the case of the former the honour is shared by another sherd found in the same deposit. That, again, it is earlier than any piece that we class with Laconian III is shown by the whole look of the vase and of its fabric, but illustrations can never give the full force of this argument. The only detail on the vase that is distinctive of Laconian II, and has not yet been found in a vase of Laconian III, is the design of black, purple and slip chequers, but stress may be laid on the type of Gorgoneion compared with those known to be Laconian II (Fig. 53) and Laconian III (Fig. 60, *u*); on the very elaborate and ample character of the lotus pattern (the flower black with purple cross-bar and side petals, the bud purple with black cross-bar), as we know that as time went on this pattern became more slender and exiguous; on the elaborate and unincised character of the palmette, which is probably early compared with the incised variety (*a priori* this is likely considering the nature of Laconian II, and in fact there is only one example of it on a vase that is certainly late, the kylix in Athens belonging to Mme. Andromache Mela,[17a] an early example of Laconian IV); and on the fact that over a great part of this vase the purple paint is applied straight to the slip, and is of the thick, flaky and fresh-coloured nature mentioned above. Moreover, the vase is completely covered with slip. The position can perhaps be summed up by the remark that this is probably the earliest vase that would have been recognised before the excavation at Sparta as certainly belonging to the style known as Cyrenaic.

The black pigment has over a large portion of the vase turned a red-brown, especially on the inside, which, except for the tongues on the lip, it covers completely.

Incision is used throughout the bands of figures, of which the battle scene with warriors armed with round black shields and purple helmets and breast-plates needs no discussion, while the picture on the other side is too fragmentary to admit of any. The two scenes were divided at the handles on one side by a very elaborate incised palmette, the upper half of which only has been recovered, and on the other by a pair of sphinxes facing each other, which, although only the tip of the wing of the left-hand sphinx remains, is the first instance at Sparta of the heraldic grouping of figures, and beneath these, by a pair, only one of which is

[17a] *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 14.

extant, of those birds in flight, which were later very common on Laconian pottery as a *füll-ornament* or, on small vases, as a decoration for the base. These figures are peculiar for their technique in that the whole surface was covered with black paint on which the figures were then drawn with incised lines. The whole of the background was then covered with purple, leaving the figures black except for the hair and parts of the wings, which also were picked out in purple. This is one of the first examples of purple applied on to black.

Only a small part of the base was found, but this shows a band of hair sufficient to make it clear that the Gorgoneion was already in the place that it

Fig. 48.—Laconian II Pottery.
(*c*, *d*, Laconian III.) Scale 2 : 5.

made its own throughout the following periods (Fig. 60, *u*; Fig. 72, *z* and *cc*; Fig. 81, *dd*).[18] The height of the vase is ·182 m. and its diameter in its restored state varies from ·215 m. to ·223 m.

It is very clear that the handles, splendid examples of a practice that is common in Laconian III, especially on oinochoai, but is found also in Sub-Geometric times, are imitated from metal work. Fig. 65 shows a selection of handles belonging to clay vases, side by side with four similar bronze handles (*c*, *d*, *h*, *i*), of which *h*, clearly from a small lakaina, is a good parallel to this vase. No doubt there was here a second head under the outstretched foot of the running figure, but it is missing in each case, and so unfortunately are the arms of these figures, where the broken surface was probably too small to admit also of wings,

[18] The Gorgoneion is always treated in the old manner. Though incision may be used for details in the hair and snakes, the face as a whole is throughout dealt with in outline.

although the temptation to restore them was strong. As illustrative of the same tendency, attention may here be called to two sherds (Fig. 47, *d* and *e*) which have figure decoration in low relief filling circular panels on the sides of what may have been small pyxides. The first shows a Gorgoneion with a small tortoise to the right, the other a winged figure in rapid motion accompanied by a mouse. In view of the many winged figures among the lead figurines, this is perhaps to be considered an Artemis rather than a Gorgon, and may possibly be thought to add confirmation to Wide's interpretation of the epithet μυσία (on the lines of Apollo σμινθεύς) as applied to Artemis at a shrine on the way from Sparta to Arcadia.[19]

Exactly parallel in date with the lakaina just described is the small cup shown in Fig. 55. Although found below the sand it might be classed with Laconian III but for two things, the cross-pattern on its base (Fig. 46, *y*; Fig. 44 A, *d*), which is not found after Laconian II until a much later date (Fig. 77, *n*), and its shape, which is not found later, and except for the flange round the base is exactly that of the high wide-brimmed cups, of which many fragments were found in ware of Laconian I both at the shrine of Orthia and at the Menelaion. The fragments of

Fig. 49.—Laconian II Lid. Scale 1 : 2.

the stand for a large deinos shown in Fig. 57 were too much scattered for it to be possible to give it a closer date than the seventh century; the style, however, and especially the twist (cf. Fig. 46, *w*) and the tongues indicate the latter part of the century. The spirals and the complicated key-pattern on the foot are unusual, but can be paralleled in Sub-Geometric ware (Fig. 42). Comparable at least in size are the rims of two large bowls shown in Fig. 56, which must be put to this period. The black painted ridges are an example of a tendency inherited from Laconian I. The combination of paint and impressed ornament is unusual.

In Fig. 47 are mustered most of the sherds of Laconian II found at the sanctuary of Orthia. The fragments *ggg* are interesting partly because, though surely Laconian, by some accident their surface has become hard and almost grey, but chiefly because it is difficult to say of what object they formed part. It was not a vase, but may have been a kind of box. Parts, however, are curved, and other parts are flat and have the appearance of portions of a tympanum. Both the patterns and the metope-like rows of lions run perpendicularly and horizontally at right angles. Fig. 49, *a* and *b*, show the outside and inside of what was probably a lid. Another lid is seen in Fig. 58, *g*.

[19] Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 118. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Wace.

FIG. 50.—LACONIAN II POTTERY FROM MENELAION. Scale 1 : 2.

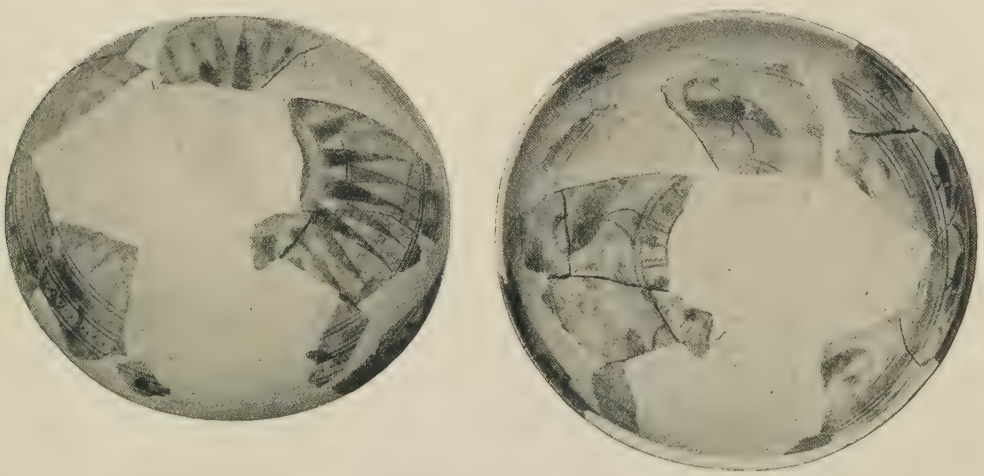

FIG. 51.—LACONIAN II BOWL FROM MENELAION. Scale 1 : 2.

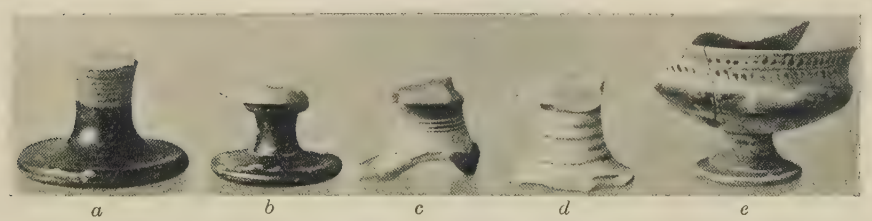

FIG. 52.—LACONIAN KYLIX STEMS. Scale 1 : 3.

The fragment shown in Fig. 50, *b* (which with Figs. 46, 51 and 58, though found at the Menelaion, is reproduced here to supplement the scanty remains of this period at the sanctuary of Orthia), well illustrates the processional nature of the decoration at this time. These friezes of animals so arranged and treated frequently in the outlined and reserved technique are particularly interesting, as both these qualities are generally accepted as characteristic of the Ionian schools of vase painting. That Spartan art drew much of its inspiration at this time from the other side of the Aegean is perhaps tolerably certain, but the difficulty about classing all the Laconian pottery with the Ionian on the strength of these characteristics is, that they were totally abandoned before the general adoption in the next period of the floral element in the decoration, which is equally accepted as an Ionian characteristic. Rather does it seem as if the floral motives belong

Fig. 53.—Pottery Cylinders. Laconian II. Scale 1 : 2.

to their age more than to any one school, and that the Ionian characteristics in the Spartan style were early dropped.

The sherds shown in Fig. 58, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, in spite of the apparently 'Geometric' quality of the black pigment, I am now inclined, because of the style of the drawing of the animals, to regard as Laconian II, late in the seventh century. It has unfortunately never been possible to fix how long the earlier technique survived on the larger vases because of the dearth of examples, but it now appears to be more probable that the technique lingered on towards the end of the seventh century than that processing animals of just this sort would have been drawn at its beginning.

Laconian III.

With the beginning of the sixth century the style reached its highest level. Not only are zones of birds and animals, natural and mythological, the rule, but on the better vases human figures are depicted, and the idea of a picture as some-

FIG. 54.—LACONIAN II PLATE. Scale 1 : 2.

thing other than mere decoration seems to have been grasped, while there is a good variety of ornamental patterns of which the favourite are vegetable in character. Plates, lakainai, oinochoai and kylikes form the bulk of the material, which it will be best to discuss in order.

Plates.

In place of the black channelled rim, which probably still partially survived, most of the plates, following the fashion started in the last period, show a smooth slipped rim decorated with a tongue pattern (Fig. 59, *r*, *s*), a wedge pattern, or more rarely with a zigzag (Fig. 59, *o*) or a lotus (Fig. 59, *q*). The under side of the broad rim is black, and, as earlier, the outside of the plate has a pattern of rays

Fig. 55.—Laconian II Cup. Scale 3 : 4.

either single or double (Fig. 59, *n*) stretching up to the purple band that borders the black of the rim. But the fine plate (Fig. 59, *o*) has a pattern of alternate rays (cf. Fig. 59, *a*), and a zone of animals is not unknown in this position. Sometimes, as here and on the sherd shown in Fig. 60, *g*, the inside is not black, but covered with slip on which is depicted a beast scene. It does not appear, however, that this space was ever used, as the inside of the kylix now began to be, for pictures that abandoned the principle of the frieze. The rule for the central decoration is a rosette surrounded by black and purple circles, while the base is either similar or has a Gorgoneion in a ring of chevrons or dots (Fig. 59, *k*, *n*; Fig. 60, *u*). A particularly fine specimen from the Menelaion is shown in **XVII.**

Lakainai.

There is little doubt that the simple style of lakaina with a broad black band on the lower part of the high neck continued, with, however, the substitution round the rim of a pattern of leaves springing from a central bough for the old square and dot ornament, but the typical lakaina of this period is a more ornate

affair. Eagles, deer, lions, sirens and sphinxes, sometimes with an odd headdress (Fig. 63; Fig. 75, *d*, *x*; Fig. 77, *g*), swans and cocks are found on the neck often arranged heraldically, and sometimes with a lotus or palmette between them (Fig. 59, *f*, *h*). Crosses frequently (Fig. 59, *k*, *n*) and rarely rosettes (Fig. 63) are found in the field, while in one case a lizard separates the figures (Fig. 60, *e*). Frequently the outer rim is black, though rows of dots and dashes (Fig. 59, *k*, *n*) are also found here; but on the inner rim a tongue pattern (Fig. 59, *i*) is the rule, above a purple band, while narrow rays continue to be the stock decoration for the low belly (Fig. 61 and Fig. 59, *k*); though finer examples (Fig. 60, *r*) sometimes show here a lotus or a leaf pattern; and a lotus, a tongue (Fig. 60, *o*), a leaf

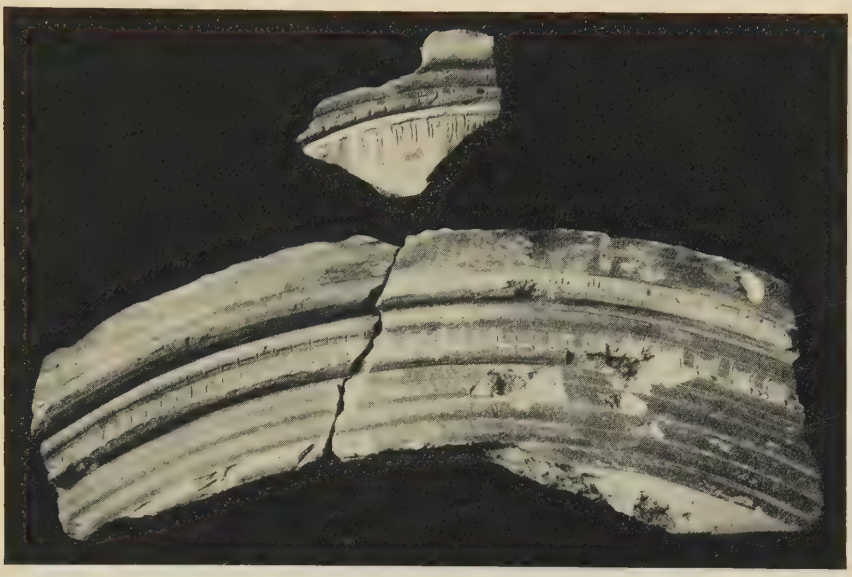

FIG. 56.—RIMS OF LARGE LACONIAN II VASES.

(Fig. 59, *l*, *p*) or a pomegranate pattern (Fig. 59, *m*) on the rim. The base is generally ornamented with circles in black and purple, sometimes enclosing a flying eagle. The better specimens of the lakaina have also handle palmettes like those familiar on the kylix. These are now generally incised (Fig. 60, *y*). A particularly fine example is that shown in Fig. 59, *l*, of which another fragment makes it clear that the scene was arranged symmetrically. All the figures, as is now universal, are incised and purple is used over black for the hair and horses' manes. Figs. 61 and 63 are typical examples of this form, while Fig. 62 is irregular in the form of its handles.[20]

Oinochoai.

Pieces of oinochoai are so many that, although only two are complete enough to admit of reconstruction (Figs. 64 and 73) (one belonging to the subsequent

[20] Among the miniature vases (p. 106) this form of handle is not uncommon.

Laconian IV period), a full description is possible. It is to this time and to vases of this kind that the channelled handles with relief heads chiefly belong. That they imitate metal originals is made more clear by the button on the inner rim of several examples on either side of the handle (Fig. 65, *b* and *m*, this last was photographed by mistake the wrong way up and should be looked at so that *q* lies below it), which represents the bolt of attachment. The palmette, also copied from metal work, is more usual than the relief head below the handle. The

Fig. 57.—Deinos Stand. Laconian II (?). Scale 1 : 4.

buttons are black with dots in white (white at this period is only found on a black ground where there is no slip in the immediate neighbourhood), the palmettes have slip and are picked out with black in the hollows, and the heads at this period have regularly slip with hair in purple and eyes in black. The trefoil lip is invariably black, while on the neck is a network of pomegranates (Figs. 64 and 66), often with a purple cross at the junctures, or else a leaf pattern (Fig. 59, *g*). A ridge painted with slanting lines as a rule separates the neck from the shoulder, which is either rounded (Fig. 73) or flat, meeting the belly at an angle (Fig. 65), and is decorated most often with a tongue pattern (Fig. 59, *g*; Fig. 66), though the

lotus (Fig. 64) is found, and one piece has an elaborate row of lotus palmettes (Fig. 60, *h*).[21] The frieze invariably presents the same variety of figures as the lakaina; the vase shown in Fig. 64, of which the height is ·23 m., has on each side a cock, a sphinx and a flying eagle arranged symmetrically between a central painted palmette (cf. Fig. 61) and the relief palmette at the base of the handle. Below the frieze and above the rays, single or double, or the pattern of tongues that reach from the base, come lines both black and purple; a z pattern (Fig. 59, *f*) is frequent, and sometimes a row of lotus (Fig. 59, *e*) is found. The favourite alternation of thick and thin lines (cf. p. 56) should be noticed (Fig. 59, *f*; Fig. 64). The base generally has a rosette.

Kylikes.

The stem of the kylix is now longer and more ornate than during the preceding period, though short stems and stems painted black are also found. Below rings of black and purple a pattern of tongues stretches down to the sharp edge of the splayed foot.

The favourite style of decoration for the interior as well as for the exterior of the kylix was, as numerous fragments attest, not unlike that preferred on other shapes, namely, a series of figure friezes with birds and beasts alternating with bands of patterns, among which the lotus and pomegranate predominated (Fig. 59, *d*; Fig. 60, *l*; Fig. 67). The first is a good example and is peculiar for the odd inequality of the scene. To the left are the hindquarters of a lion, incised with purple on the haunch. Behind is an upright bearded snake, also incised, with a series of purple dots representing scales. To the right are seen the legs of a pair of horses facing one another, between which is a water-fowl. The scale of the horses is so small as to make it a certainty that they had riders. What is unusual here is not the principle of isocephalism but the disconnection between the two parts of this continuous frieze. A decorative kylix rim is shown in Fig. 59, *c*, the outside of which has a pattern of single tongues purple and black, and in Fig. 67, *a* and *b*, are seen the outside and inside of a kylix entirely decorated in zones. The small part of the central design is quite obscure. The best fragment that has been recovered is perhaps the small kylix with the cocks (Fig. 68). This is a step in the direction of using the whole space as one picture, for by filling waste space by figures, the small bird, the ant and the snail, standing the other way up on the central disc, the painter has made it possible to consider it not as two friezes but as one picture seen from above. The skill lavished on the birds is in striking contrast with the careless execution of the tongue pattern. The combs and middles of the cocks are purple, and dashes of the same colour decorate their tails. A pattern of single pomegranates ornaments the outer rim, below which is a figure scene of the less edifying kind painted with care and gusto. The position in which the kylix shown in **IX, X** was found argues for it an early date in this period. This, however, is not warranted by the style of the vase, which, with a line of bare clay on the inner rim, and thin rather bluish-purple,

[21] Cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1907, Tom. IX. p. 384, Fig. 7, top right-hand corner.

FIG. 58.—LACONIAN II POTTERY FROM MENELAION. Scale 1 : 2.

FIG. 59.—LACONIAN III POTTERY. (*b*, LACONIAN II.) Scale 2 : 5.

forbids a position earlier than the middle of the period. Nothing should, of course, be allowed to outweigh the evidence of stratification, but since our knowledge of the development of Laconian vases is itself entirely derived from stratification, being based solely on a study of the characteristics of a very large number of pieces in relation to the layers in which they were found, truer regard is paid to that evidence over the site as a whole if we give full weight to the characteristics of the vase and hold that this one piece had become in some way slightly displaced.

The vase stands about ·105 m. high, of which the stem accounts for ·054 m., and in diameter the bowl varies from ·168 m. to ·155 m. The four winds are the readiest interpretation of these winged men in rapid motion, but that leaves unexplained the presence of the tree, and the bird-headed monkey seated on a stool. The one point in the decoration that suggests an early date is the want of proper appreciation still shown by the artist of the opportunities of the kylix form for the presentment of a scene, for the interior is treated as one wide frieze. The governing idea is still decoration. The exergue, which from now onwards came into common use on kylikes, is seen in what we may regard as its first stage both above and below, in the fragments of a small kylix restored in Fig. 69.

Remains of small bowls of simple decoration are fairly numerous, of which one with a ring in its handle is shown in Fig. 59, *a*. The sherds of Laconian III shown in Fig. 60 do not call for much comment; *g′* is perhaps the last appearance of the square and dot, here combined with the pomegranate, *a* is a floral pattern of which more would be welcome, *f* shows an ivy-leaf design very rare in Laconia but repeated in Laconian V (Fig. 75, *c*), and *c*, *d*, *l*, *o*, *r*, *w*, make it clear that meaningless space-fillers, though never frequent, are nevertheless to be met with by this time on Laconian vases.

Throughout the three periods just discussed a large proportion of the finds, probably about half, consisted of small vases in the local clay covered entirely with black paint, with horizontal linear ornament in purple and white, such as is often found on the inside of the lip on small vases of Laconian I and II, the outsides of which have slip. The majority of these vases which do not show any discernible development during the period in which they abound are small lakainai, bowls, cups like those of Laconian I and II (Fig. 44 B), and aryballoi. Lakainai of the form shown in Fig. 44 B, *a*, *b*, are fairly frequent in this style, and some oil-flasks have a conical shoulder reaching right up to the lip, and some combine this with a cylindrical body. A couple of vases (Fig. 70, *e*) in the form of helmeted heads belong to this class, and so also do the four vases seen at the two ends of each row in the same figure. Pieces of two peculiar vessels in the form of a swan decorated with white cross-lines and purple dots on the neck and round the rim may be classed with the helmeted heads, but should be placed definitely at the end of the seventh century. Circular lamps with several projecting wick-lips and covered with black glaze appear to have been not uncommon, and one with two long lips at either side has a decoration of white dashes on the outside of the circular rim, which is bordered by a purple line.

To this period also belong the fragments of moulded pithoi, one or two of which were found at the sanctuary of Orthia, while the majority came from the

FIG. 60.—LACONIAN III POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.
(Fig. 59, *l* and Fig. 60, *n* are from the same lakaina.)

Fig. 61 A.

Fig. 61 B.

Laconian III Lakaina. Scale 3 : 4.

Fig. 62 A.

Fig. 62 B.

Laconian III Cup with vertical Handles. Scale 3 : 4.

Heroon higher up the river-bank [22] **XI–XVI.** They are all in the local pink clay and show a high standard of excellence.

The facts about archaic pithoi with moulded applied ornament have been collected by M. Courby.[23] He [24] looks on the Laconian as the latest in date of the various groups, and suggests that it belongs to the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries. Yet even on the grounds of style the large fragment shown in **XV** and **XVI** must be put earlier, as the horses with their long backs show. This portion, hitherto unpublished, was of course not known to M. Courby. And confirmation would be given by a comparison of the fighting men with those of the lakaina of **VII** and **VIII.** **XV** shows the portion of this pithos found in the excavation of 1906 together with the piece with the horses at the

Fig. 63.—Laconian III Lakaina. Scale 1 : 2.

lower left-hand corner which was found in 1907. The drawing in **XVI** adds to these the extra amount given by the fragment in the *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris [25] which was bought by Le Bas [26] in 1844 at Magoula, a village a mile or two from Sparta. This piece by its overlapping with the piece found in 1906 proves the use of a mould in the manufacture of these vases. The present writer has no record of having observed on any of the Sparta fragments the coating of dark colour seen by de Ridder on the Paris fragment; nor is there any mention of anything of the kind in Mr. Wace's original description of the connected pieces.[27] To that description no additions seem to be needed, except the remark that in the very low crown to their heads these warriors are true Spartans, if we may judge from the usual archaic Laconian features as seen on the terracotta heads.

The most intriguing point about these pieces is the patterned ornament—inspired perhaps by metal work, of which so little has survived from Laconia. As M. Courby remarks the interlaced pattern of **XV** and **XVI**—to which may

[22] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 288 *sqq.*

[23] F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, chapters IV–VI.

[24] *ibid.* p. 92.

[25] de Ridder, *Vases Bibl. Nat.* No. 166.

[26] Le Bas, *Voy. Arch. Mon. Fig.* Pl. 105.

[27] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 292.

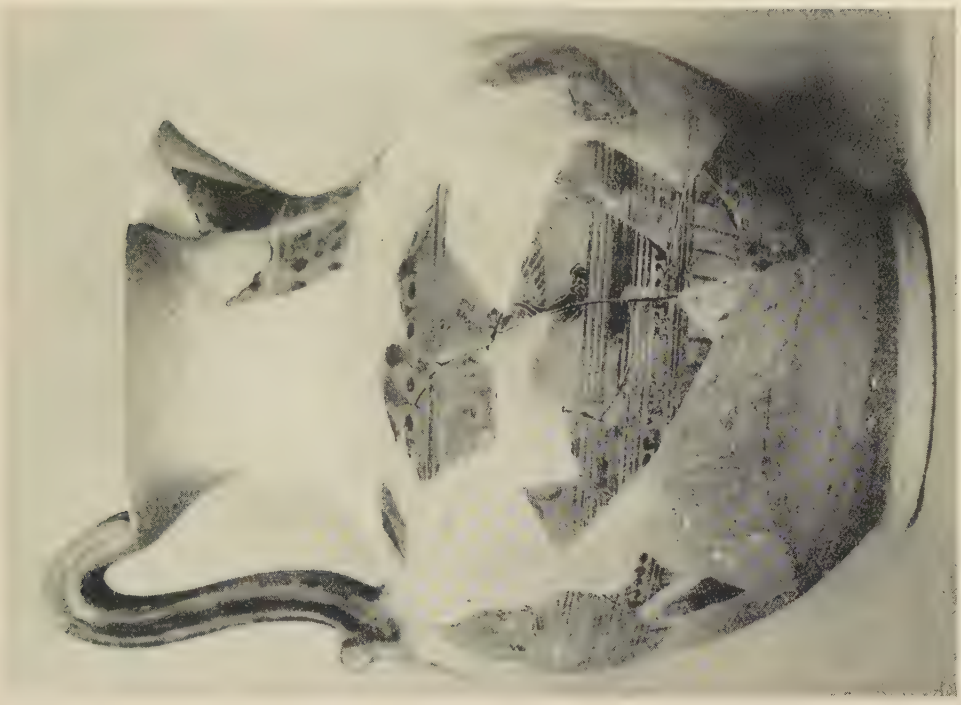

Fig. 64 B.

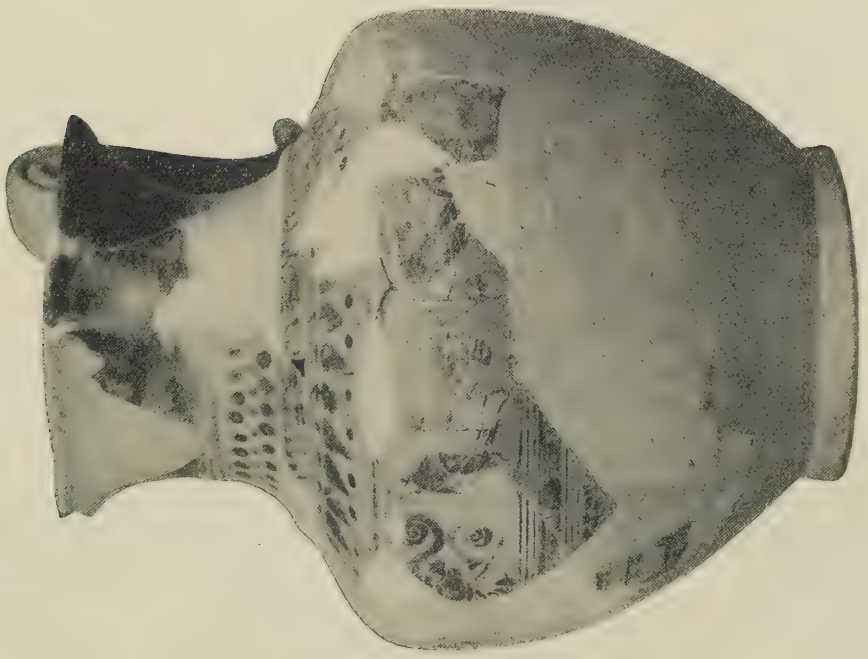

Fig. 64 A. Laconian III Oinochoe. Scale 1 : 2.

be added **XIII** A—is in the spirit of Laconian decoration though different in detail, and the same is true of the palmettes of **XIII** B. But the spiral of the handles **XIV** is very rare as a ceramic ornament at Sparta (but cf. Fig. 57). The surviving figure scenes, however, can well be paralleled on the painted pottery.

It is possible that **XI** A with its uninterrupted procession is from the seventh century, but it is not possible to trace any evolution in the Sparta pieces such as M. Courby (*op. cit.* pp. 44–53) found in Crete, and they must all be roughly contemporary. It should be noted that by an unfortunate error the rims shown on **XIII** were photographed upside down, while the handle fragments of **XIV** should be turned through a right angle and viewed from the outer edge of the page.

We may complete our references by mentioning the piece in the Boston Museum,[28] with a portion of a battle similar to but not the same as that on **XVI,** the piece already in the Sparta Museum before the excavation,[29] and the specimen, by some miracle preserved nearly complete, found in 1926 in the Theatre in the building behind the *scenae frons* [30] which gives a good idea of the general appearance of these very handsome vessels.

Laconian IV.

With the middle of the sixth century began the decay of the Laconian style, of which the symptoms are to be marked in the gradual degeneracy of the patterns, the inferior quality of the slip, and in an increasing taste for applying the slip only partially. The same shapes and patterns are used, so that there is no marked change other than is implied by the word degeneration. Thus no particular description of this phase is needed, but a comparison may be made between the patterns shown in Figs. 59 and 60 and Figs. 71 and 72, though unfortunately no photograph will show the inferior quality of the slip, which is often thin, washy and less white. The excellence also of the black pigment is now often gone, and the metallic sheen reappears over portions of its surface. The two oinochoai shown in Figs. 73 and 74 probably belong to this time or at least to the very end of Laconian III, for the slip, though spread over the whole, is very bad, and likewise the work is careless, and in one a further sign of degeneracy is to be observed in the omission of the twigs to join the leaves to the bough in the shoulder pattern. This bough is now never purple, as it often was in the best period. In Fig. 71, *b*, *c*, *h*, *i*, and in Fig. 72, *e*, *l*, *o*, *r*, *dd*, dispense with slip in part.

Laconian V.

In this period degeneration has advanced, for the use of slip has been entirely abandoned, and purple, too, has become rare as decoration, though it is still freely used for figure details. With the abandonment of the white ground the natural bar against the use of white paint was removed, and it was now freely used on figures, and particularly for female faces (Fig. 76, *c*). The change may be illustrated by Fig. 77, *l*, where the scales of the snakes are represented by white dots,

[28] *Arch. Anz.* xiii. 1898, p. 139, Fig. 50.
[29] *S.M.C.* pp. 223 and 235.
[30] *B.S.A.* xxvii. p. 199, Fig. 7.

FIG. 65.—JUG HANDLES, MOSTLY LACONIAN III, SHOWING DERIVATION FROM METAL WORK. Scale 1 : 2.

not purple as in Laconian III (Fig. 59, *d*). In this period or at the close of the foregoing was introduced a pattern of crescents, which becomes a favourite (Fig. 72, *n*, *o*, and Fig. 75, *q*, *w*). The base pattern of Laconian I and II is revived and found side by side with the rosette that is common on the base of the oinochoai of Laconian III and IV (Fig. 77, *i*, *n*), but the purple circles have been abandoned. Purple, however, is still used on the plate rim where the tongue pattern has been laid aside in favour of two ridges crossed by slanting black lines and each edged by a purple line on the inner side (Fig. 75, *t*, Fig. 77, *p*), while on the outside rays are supplanted by the new crescent pattern (Fig. 75, *w*; Fig. 77, *o*, *q*, *r*). The great degeneration of the lotus and pomegranate patterns, both now comparatively rare, can be seen in Fig. 77, *b*, *d*, *f*, *k*. The same lakaina fragments, both outside and inside, are shown in Fig. 76 *a b*, and Fig. 77, *b b*. They are both lengthened and thinned down. It will be seen that no change was made in the method of

Fig. 66.—Laconian III Oinochoe Fragments. Scale 1 : 2.

decorating oinochoai, and the same heraldic grouping of birds and beasts continues (Fig. 77, *a*, *c*, *f*, *h*; Fig. 75, *i*, *p*). It is regrettable that no more is preserved of the kylix shown in Fig. 77, *m*, for it must have been a very good and careful piece of work, to be dated probably to the early part of this period, which statement is probably true also of the lakaina fragment with the two horsemen, Fig. 78, *a*, and of the jug-neck (?), Fig. 78, *b*, for the design on which shown flat, see p. 104.

The exact date at which the form shown in Fig. 52, *a*, *b*, was generally adopted for the stem of the kylix is uncertain. The evidence of the finds leads to the supposition that the introduction of ridges round the stem and a rounded edge to the foot belongs to the period covered by Laconian IV, and the number of examples found with the pottery of a later date suggests that it was in general use at least to the close of the fifth century. It is very natural that a degenerated style should continue the tradition of a decorated stem by the substitution of an unglazed band of channelled rings for the black and purple lines of the vigorous period. This later form appears to be a particularly Spartan feature, which when seen on an Attic kylix is in most cases accompanied by a sufficiency of

FIG. 67.—LACONIAN III KYLIX FRAGMENT. Scale 1 : 2.

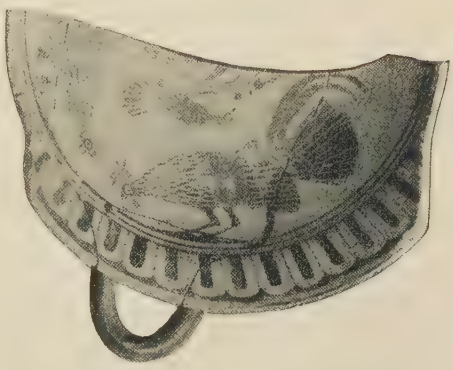

FIG. 68.—LACONIAN III KYLIX FRAGMENT. Scale 1 : 2.

FIG. 69.—LACONIAN III KYLIX. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 70.—Miscellaneous Laconian II Vases.
(*f* Proto-Corinthian. *g* Corinthian.) Scale 1 : 2.

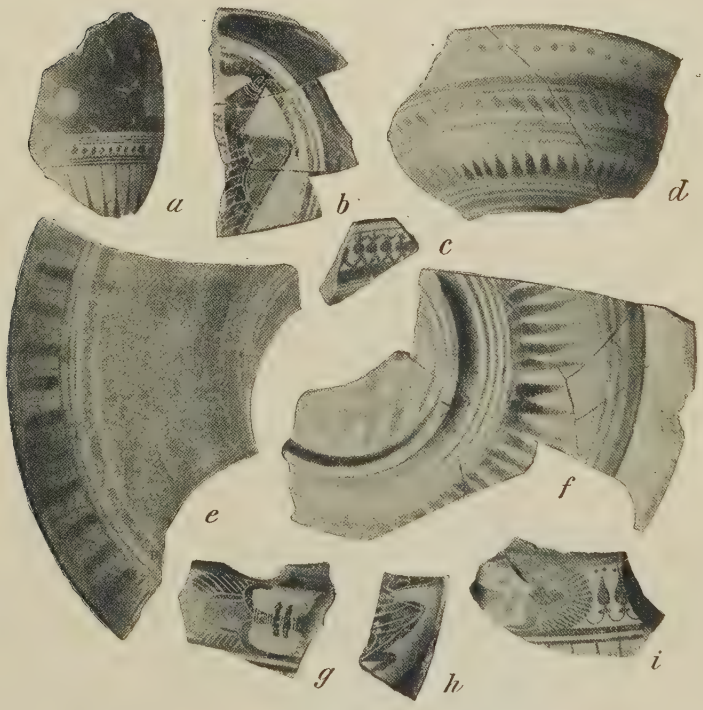

Fig. 71.—Laconian IV Pottery. Scale 2 : 5.

FIG. 72.—LACONIAN IV POTTERY. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 73 A.—Laconian IV Oinochoe. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 73 B.—Laconian IV Oinochoe. Scale 1 : 2.

other signs to make it probable that the vase is an imitation of Laconian ware.[31]

That the figures in relief so frequently found in Laconian III were still occasionally employed is shown by the bowl illustrated in Fig. 79, which is placed in Laconian V by the quality of its glaze, which covers it completely.

Laconian VI.

A complete abandonment of purple colour and sparing use of figures marks the last stage of the Laconian style. The glaze varies now between a washy brown for patterns and a hard shiny black for the plain portions of the ware.

Fig. 74.—Laconian IV Oinochoe Fragment. Scale 1 : 2.

A custom was introduced, but sparingly practised, of painting the design in yellow pink paint on a black ground, in which technique a considerable number of dedicatory inscriptions and one fragment with a figure scene [32] were found. The original leaf pattern of Laconian III and IV, which is seldom found in V, has a fresh vogue in a form that is just recognisable (Fig. 80, *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*, *m*, and Fig. 81, *m*, *o*, *p*), while the plates (Fig. 80, *k*, *l*, *n*, *o*; Fig. 81, *aa*, *cc*), of which the rim is now wider and curved back, have departed even from the standard that passed muster in the preceding period. As much may be said of the crescent pattern (Fig. 80, *l*; Fig. 81, *n*, *s*, *t*, *z*,), and the Gorgoneion (Fig. 80, *p*; Fig. 81, *dd*) is now a very sketchy affair. The tongue pattern is rarely found and a few debased scroll patterns (Fig. 81, *q*, *r*) make their appearance.

[31] Cf. *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 21. There are also many examples found at Taranto.

[32] Cf. *B.S.A.* xv. p. 38, Fig. 14.

Fig. 75.—Laconian V Pottery. Scale 1 : 2.

The fragment at *a* is from Menelaion.

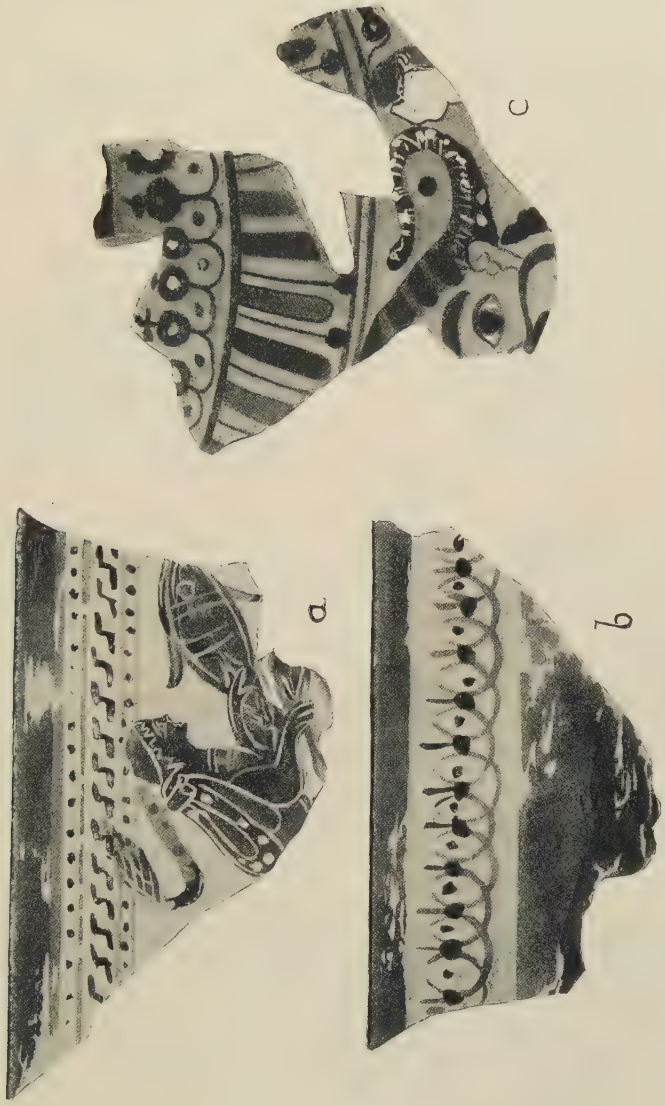

FIG. 76.—LACONIAN V POTTERY.
(*a*, *b*, Lakaina. *c*, Oinochoe.) Scale 2 : 3.

FIG. 77.—LACONIAN V POTTERY. Scale 2 : 5.

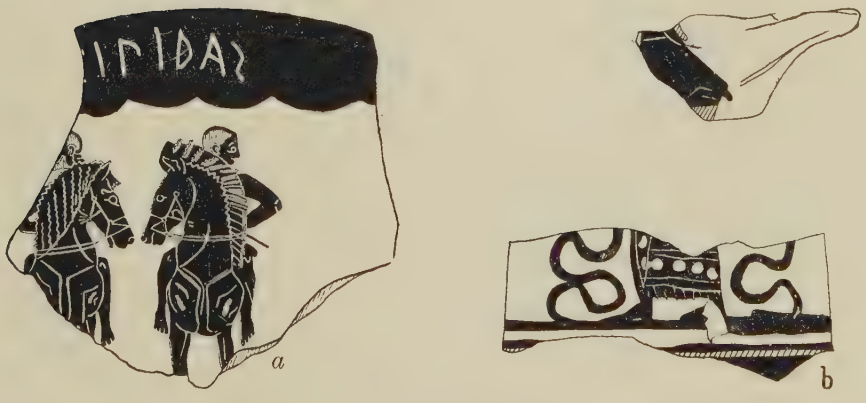

FIG. 78.—LACONIAN V. Scale 1 : 2. *a*, LAKAINA FRAGMENT. *b*, JUG-NECK.

FIG. 79.—LACONIAN V BOWL. Scale 1 : 2.

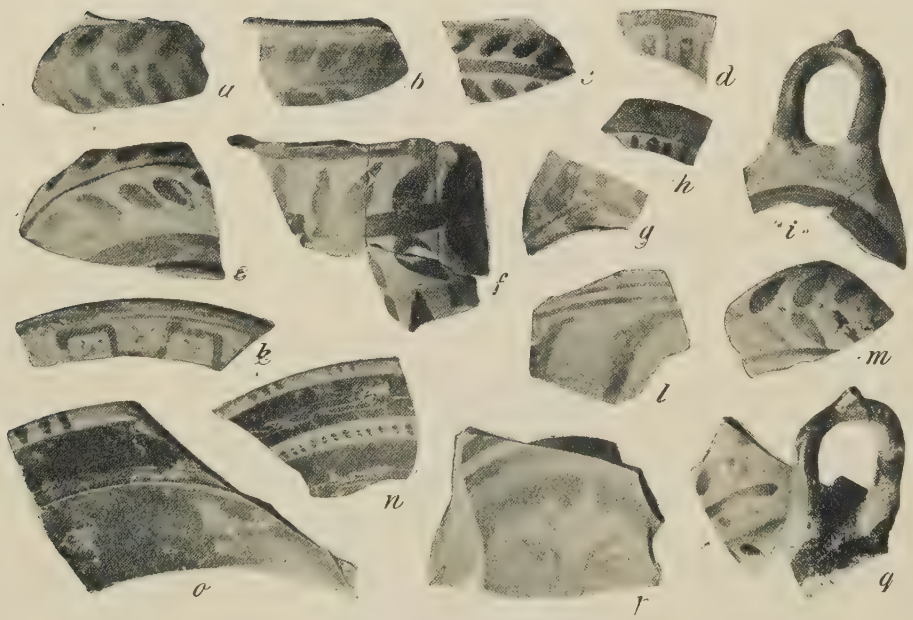

FIG. 80.—LACONIAN VI POTTERY. Scale 2 : 5.

Miniature Vases.

No description of Laconian pottery would be complete without mention of the mass of miniature votive pots which are to be found at the site of any shrine in the district. Very many were found at the sanctuary of Orthia, but

Fig. 81.—Laconian VI Pottery. Scale 1 : 2.

the greatest quantity was discovered in a temenos on the road to Megalopolis.[33] More than 10,000 were found there, of which about a third were painted with black glaze, while the rest were unpainted. Some of the better specimens showed added white (Fig. 82, *b*). The type *b*, *c*, *d* in Fig. 82 furnished nearly 50 per cent., the type *n*, *o*, *p* 20 per cent., the type *f*, *g*, *h* 17 per cent., while there are few of the type *q*, *r*, and the type *k*, *l* is more frequent at the sanctuary of Orthia than anywhere else.

[33] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 169 *sqq.*

Fig. 82.—Miniature Laconian Vases. Scale 1 : 2.

FIG. 83.—SHAPES OF THE LACONIAN VASE SERIES.

These vases are hardly found before the rise of Laconian I and fall off greatly in numbers in the sixth century, when the type shown in *k*, *l* seems to be the most popular at the sanctuary of Orthia.

Dating.

The excavation left no doubt as to the relative dates of the different divisions into which the ware falls, and broadly speaking the style was always corroborative of the spade. Absolute dates, however, presented more difficulty. The ceramic evidence gives three more or less fixed points from which to start; the probable date of the imported Proto-Corinthian ware (pp. 17 *sqq.*) puts the introduction of Laconian I to the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries, the position of the Arkesilas vase rather late in Laconian III,[34] and the presence of a sherd of Laconian III at Daphnai [35] in Egypt indicates that this division belongs to the

Fig. 84.—Proto-Corinthian Vases. Scale 1 : 2.

first half of the sixth century, while the stratum containing the Hellenistic vases dedicated by Chilonis found immediately above the Laconian VI layer must be dated to the middle of the third century B.C.

Three corroborative observations may be made. In the first place, there is nothing in the painted inscriptions on the sherds of Laconian VI mentioned above to prevent the assignment of that style to the later fifth and fourth century. Secondly, the strong probability that the Attic vase-painter Nicosthenes [36] knew and imitated the ware of Laconian III and IV leaves little doubt that its place is the sixth century. Thirdly, the few pieces found at Sparta of such Corinthian pottery as belongs to the latter part of the seventh century lay in company with Laconian II.[37]

The finest of the Laconian vases appear to have been exported, at any rate they were not dedicated in the local shrines. For a discussion of the dates to be

[34] *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 9.

[35] *Tanis*, ii. Pl. XXXII. 3, pp. 52 and 59.

[36] *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 29.

[37] Three Laconian II bowls were found at Taranto in 1910 in a tomb that contained also some poor pale-clayed Corinthian vases that would most naturally be dated to the end of the seventh century. I owe this note to the kindness of Professor Quagliati. They have been published by M. C. Dugas, *Rev. Arch.* 1912, pp. 88–105.

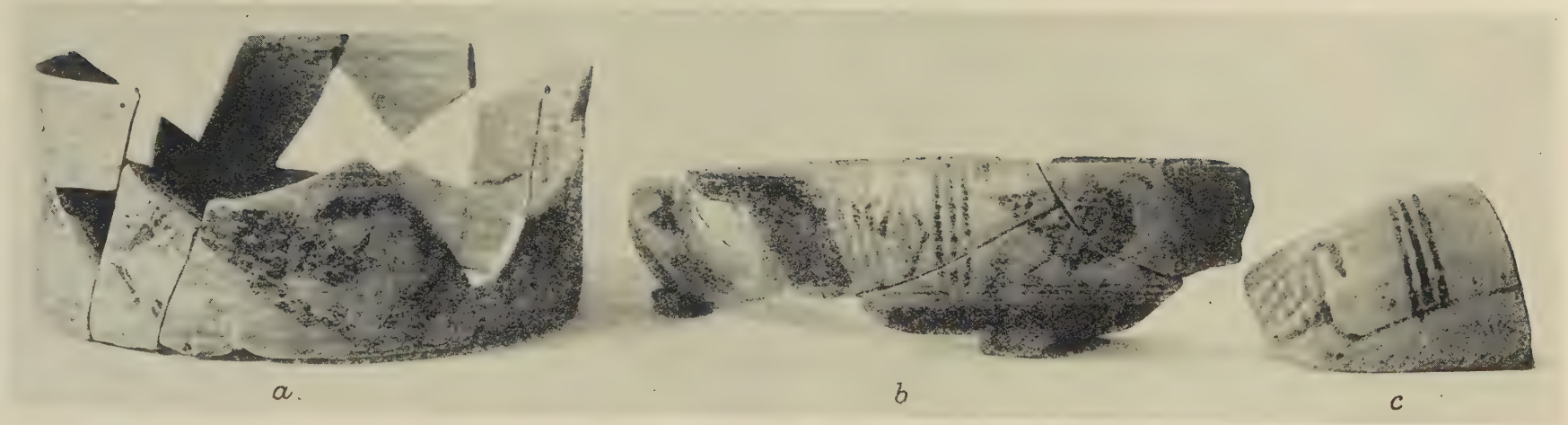

Fig. 85.—*a*, Proto-Corinthian Pyxis; *b*, Bird Bowl; *c*, Laconian imitation of Bird Bowl. Scale 1 : 2.

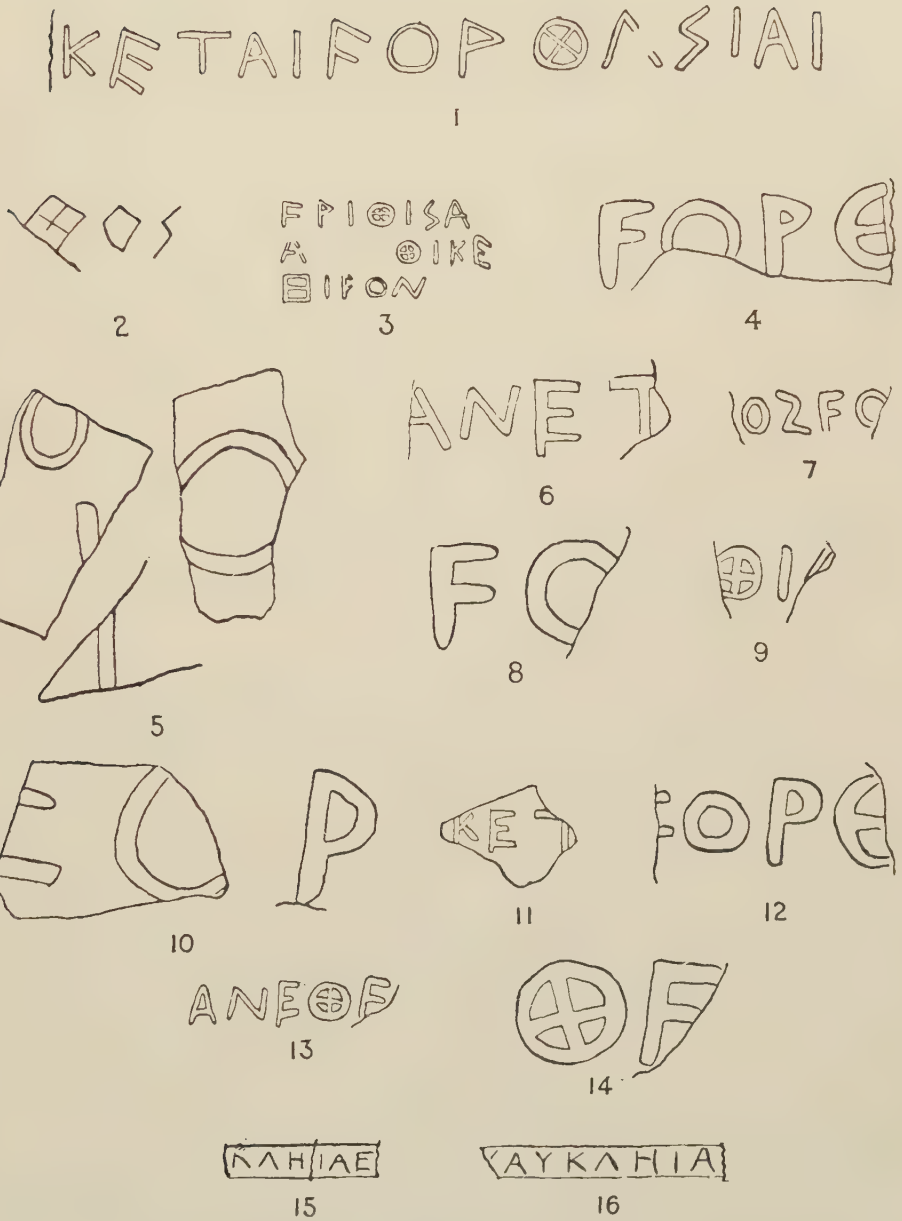

Fig. 86.—Inscribed Vase Fragments. Scale *ca.* 1 : 1½.

assigned to the exported vases known to the writer in 1910, the vases known hitherto as 'Cyrenaic,' none of which were found in Laconia, and of the influences that may have moulded the Spartan style, the reader is referred to a paper in the *Journal* of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies,[38] to which reference has already been made. The periods of most exports, if one may judge from the extant vases, were Laconian III and IV.

It should perhaps be pointed out here that, wide as is the field covered by the vases found at the Spartan sanctuaries, we cannot claim that these have revealed the full extent of the Laconian potter's range. The complete absence of the kantharos, which regularly appears on the Spartan tomb reliefs, suggests that fashion, or perhaps religious taboo, excluded at least one kind of vase from those considered suitable for dedication, and there may have been more.

The Laconian Style.

Summary of Characteristics.

Geometric.

A. Amyklai.

Red-brown, hard-baked clay. No slip. Metallic gleam to paint. Love of triangles. Very coarse drawing.

B. Chalkioikos.

Bulk of ware still without slip. Clay softer and lighter in colour. Concentric circles. Good proportion of A.

C. Orthia.

Bulk of ware with soft pink clay covered with slip. Small quantities of A and B persist. Few circles. Many pyxides. In general figures are rare. The order of frequency is birds, animals, men. Silhouette is the rule. Very rare examples of incised drawing.

D. Sub-Geometric.

Fabric of C. New patterns embodying curves. Large (?) vases.

Laconian I (700–635).

Shapes: skyphos, bowl, lakaina, plate, high cup with wide mouth.

Patterns: dot and square, rays, cross design on base.

Fabric: slip all over. Black and purple paint. Purple usually direct on slip.

Laconian II (635–600).

Shapes: skyphos, lakaina, plate, high cup with wide mouth, kylix, oinochoe.

Patterns: dot and square, z's, chevrons, tongues (quite short), steps, keys, chequers, ropes, rays, lotus, pomegranate (these two in early form). Silhouette animals and birds. Rarely figures incised.

Fabric: very rare partial disuse of slip. Black and purple paint. Purple usually direct on slip.

[38] *J.H.S.* xxx. pp. 1 *sqq.*

Laconian III (600–550).

Shapes: plate, lakaina, oinochoe, kylix, bowl.

Patterns: rays, dots, lotus, pomegranate, z's, zigzags, leaf and bough, chevrons, wedges, dashes, tongues, rosette on base. Birds, beasts and figures incised.

Fabric: very rare partial disuse of slip. Black, purple and occasionally white paint. Purple usually over black.

Laconian IV (550–500).

Shapes: as Laconian III.

Patterns: as Laconian III.

Fabric: bad quality of slip, and carelessness of painting. Partial disuse of slip regular. Purple and black paint, latter inferior quality, sometimes showing metallic gleam.

Laconian V (500–425).

Shapes: as Laconian III and IV.

Patterns: crescent added, rays less frequent, pattern of slanting lines on raised ridge adopted for plate rim. Otherwise as Laconian III and IV, but degenerated. Rosette and cross design on base.

Fabric: complete abandonment of slip. Purple paint rare as ornament but kept for figure details, for which white is now much used, especially for female heads. Inferior quality of black paint, often showing metallic gleam.

Laconian VI (425–250).

Shapes: plate, bowl, kylix, oinochoe.

Patterns: leaf pattern debased, crescents, dots (those on rim of plates replace slanting lines of V). Figures very rare.

Fabric: no slip. Black paint.

A synopsis of the development of the pottery through the six Laconian periods is given in tabular form in **Pls. XIX–XXI.** In these each of the six periods is given a separate horizontal row and each characteristic of fabric, shape, or pattern has a separate vertical column, its presence in any period being marked by a vertical line. For the conception and execution of these tables the School is indebted to Miss Elaine Tankard, an old Student, who worked at Sparta in 1924, 1925, and 1926.

Proto-Corinthian.

It was towards the close of the Geometric period that the Laconian potters met with competition at home for the first and practically the only time in their history, and it may well be that the importation of Proto-Corinthian ware was one of the influences that stirred them to produce the Laconian style. For this ware, at whatever centre it was made, reflected the first rays of Oriental influence to Sparta, and was the harbinger of the great artistic activity that marked the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries in Laconia.

The chronological position of Proto-Corinthian ware relative to the local pottery is clearly shown by the strata in which it occurred. Thus about 30·6 per cent. was found with Geometric ware alone, about 14·2 per cent. with Geometric and Sub-Geometric ware, about 37·3 per cent. with sherds of Geometric, Sub-Geometric and Laconian I, about 9·7 per cent. with Sub-Geometric ware and Laconian I, and about 8·2 per cent. with sherds of Laconian I only, with which in one or two cases were some fragments of Laconian II.

The clay of the fragments found at Sparta is very finely levigated, without slip, pale buff in colour, and very thin, the general thickness being about a millimetre and a half. The paint, which washes off easily, owing perhaps to the very damp condition of the site, is, as a rule, a light brown-red, though sometimes it is a pale brown, and rarely a dull black. The decoration is almost entirely confined to horizontal lines of extraordinary fineness, diversified at the lip in the case of skyphoi and pyxides by rows of short vertical lines alternating with vertical zigzags, which last are also found on the neck of the flat-bottomed, long-necked jug. In the case of skyphoi and aryballoi, rays rising from the foot, the first sign of Oriental influence on a style that is essentially Geometric, are usual but not universal. The open vases are covered with paint on the inside.

No new light was shed by the excavation on the development of this interesting ware, and for this unhappy fact, since it is in the forms that its development is chiefly to be sought, the utterly smashed condition of the vases must be held mainly responsible, although it must be confessed that evidence respecting the surroundings of some of the more complete specimens was unfortunately lost. The loss appears less serious when it is remembered that the position of more than a few pieces is required for such evidence to carry real weight. All that can now be said is that the skyphos (Fig. 84, *c*) was found alone with Geometric ware, and also with a mixture of Geometric, Sub-Geometric and Laconian I, that the ventriconical lekythos (Fig. 84, *a*) was found with Geometric ware alone (one example was found on the pavement of the early sanctuary), and with Geometric and Sub-Geometric ware, while no recognisable fragment is known to have been found with sherds of Laconian I, and that one or two examples of the almost spherical aryballos (Fig. 84, *b*) with decoration chiefly in horizontal lines were found with Geometric pottery. This is admittedly the earliest type of aryballos, and was perhaps more in favour at Sparta than the narrower and more elongated form, one specimen of which has a frieze of dogs in silhouette. Many fragments of low-walled pyxides and their lids were also found with Geometric and Sub-Geometric pottery. The example shown in Fig. 85, *a*, is exceptional in its frieze of animals, and was found in a mixed stratum that yielded also Geometric and Sub-Geometric ware, and some sherds of Laconian I. From a similar stratum came the aryballos with the frieze of dogs mentioned above (Fig. 70, *f*).

Thus we see that as far as it goes the evidence from Sparta makes no difference between the three forms, the spherical aryballos, the flat-bottomed jug with long neck and the skyphos, as regards the date of their first appearance, for specimens of all three have been found accompanied by Geometric pottery only, and the means for a more minute differentiation are lacking. There is, however, a suggestion that the skyphos had a longer vogue at Sparta than the others. As for

the cylindrical pyxis with linear decoration, there is no real indication that its introduction here is later than that of the other forms.

On the other hand, the fact that in the earliest graves at Syracuse the wide-bodied lekythos is already scanty [39] is an indication that the date at least of those Geometric sherds among which this kind of vase was found at Sparta is at any rate not later than 745 B.C., the date of the foundation of Syracuse.

Bird Bowls.

Fig. 85, *b* and *c*, shows two fragments of the well-known class of bird bowls, the manufacture of which is thought to have been carried on in Rhodes in the seventh century. The present vase (Fig. 85, *b*, reproduced also in Fig. 40, *l*) must come early in the series and belong to the earliest years of the century, for it was found with Laconian I pottery and Sub-Geometric. The other fragment, *c*, is undoubtedly Laconian in fabric, having the characteristic clay and slip, and is no doubt an imitation.[40]

Corinthian.

The sherds of Corinthian pottery found at the sanctuary of Orthia were very few in number, the most noteworthy being fragments of spherical aryballoi, which were in company with Laconian I and II. The best of these is complete and shows a sphinx and a bird, but unfortunately the colour has nearly disappeared, the incisions alone making the design plain. A ring-vase with the spout worked into a female head (Fig. 70, *g*) was found with Laconian I and Sub-Geometric ware. Another piece that deserves mention is the base of an aryballos showing a frieze of hares incised. This was found in a stratum that produced Laconian II pottery, as was also the lid of a large pyxis ornamented with a frieze of bulls, from the Menelaion.

Hellenistic.

The Hellenistic sherds from the shrine of Orthia were almost exclusively found in the region just east of the Later Enclosure wall.[41] They lay immediately below the foundation of the Roman building just above, and also mixed with, the ware of Laconian VI, most of which was also found in this part of the site. At the time of the excavation it was thought that the earliest of these sherds might be dated to the close of the fourth century B.C., and it was thus suggested that it was at about that date that the Laconian style came to an end. Further study of the available material has enabled Miss M. B. Hobling [42] to show in a valuable paper that none of the Megarian bowl fragments from Sparta should be dated earlier than the end of the third century B.C. Thus it now appears that the

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[39] *J.H.S.* xxxii. p. 340.

[40] For these vases cf. *Thera*, ii. p. 195; *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. p. 272; xxv. p. 71; xxviii. p. 168.

[41] **Pl. I.**

[42] *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 277 *sqq.*

bowls dedicated by Chilonis, probably in the middle of the third century,[43] are the earliest datable sherds among those which supplanted the ware of Laconian VI, and it is possible that the local ware continued to be made until some such date.

Besides the wares in relief dealt with by Miss Hobling there are a good many sherds showing white paint combined with incised ornament. Some of these are shown in **Pl. XVIII** (*a*, *b*, *c*, *n*, *o*).

J. P. Droop.

[43] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 112.

CHAPTER III

THE ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS

Introductory.

This chapter is largely based on notes and drawings made by Mr. Walter George at Sparta in 1912–13.

Mr. Woodward has re-examined almost all the material and has had fresh drawings made of a large proportion.[1] These are the work of Mr. Piet de Jong, architect to the School, who drew them under Mr. Woodward's supervision.

Mr. George's classification of the material and observations on points of construction, of clay, and of colour, have left little to be added; but certain changes have been made as a result of fuller study of the material in the light thrown on it by the discovery in the recent excavations on the Acropolis of several more pieces, especially of acroteria of very similar style.

Much use, moreover, has been made of H. Koch's article *Studien zu Campanischen Dachterrakotten* in *Roemische Mitteilungen*, xxx, 1915, pp. 1–115; and of Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren's *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period* (London, 1926), cited respectively as Koch and Van Buren, *G. R.*

The arrangement followed is strictly typological, except that the few pieces of obviously late (Hellenistic) date are relegated to a separate section at the end.

The archaic pieces, 39 out of the total 47, are of far greater interest, especially as material for comparison with similar finds from other sites.

Summary of the Principal Pieces found.

The principal types consist of disc-acroteria (Nos. 1–19) and antefixes (Nos. 20–29). Of the remaining ten early specimens, five (Nos. 30–34) are pieces of straight cresting with a dentil-border above, presumably from pediments or eaves; one (No. 36) is part of an eaves-tile, one (No. 37) is from a ridge-tile, one (No. 39) is apparently from a roof-tile of an unusually heavy moulded type, and the other two are of even less recognisable types; No. 35, consisting of four fragments which seem to belong together, is in an individual

[1] It is unfortunate that at some time subsequent to the excavation these fragments were sorted and in some cases their identifications lost. Architectural terracottas are by their nature in use it may be for several centuries, and their find-spot and level may therefore sometimes not tell us very much about their date and use: it is fortunate that the 19 levels and find-spots certainly known are sufficiently significant to indicate to us the general chronology and uses of the whole series.

style but may have been part of a sima, and No. 38, which might be from a sima, is quite unlike any other fragment from the site, and is not closely paralleled elsewhere.

I, i, ii. *Disc-Acroteria* (Nos. 1–19). There are fourteen items belonging to disc-acroteria with polychrome decoration, and five with a black-glazed surface only, one of which (No. 19) may perhaps come from a polychrome acroterion. How many acroteria are represented is doubtful. The absolute minimum is six, since four pieces (Nos. 1–4) are from outer borders with dentated edges all of different size and profile, and two more (Nos. 9 and 14) from outer borders without dentils.[2]

Six is almostly certainly too few, for among the other eight pieces the only certain combination is that of No. 6 with No. 7, both incomplete on all sides and decorated with a zone of scale pattern : No. 11 might go with No. 1 or No. 4 and No. 10 possibly with No. 9. Otherwise no combination looks at all probable. Thus we can hardly have less than eight separate acroteria and may have nine or even ten.

The type I, i, represented by Nos. 1–14 (**Pls. XXII–XXIV** and Figs. 87–88), is well known from the magnificent example, put together from numerous fragments, at Olympia, where it adorned the east end of the Heraion, rising high above the apex of the pediment, and connected by an elaborate arrangement of clay supports with the ridge of the roof behind it.[3]

All our fragments of decorated acroteria can be assigned to works of the same general type, Nos. 9 and 14, however, being without the dentil-border.

Though the Olympia specimen is the largest and best known it is far from unique. Actually no example is known to occur outside the Peloponnese and Ægina, but parallels, of varying degrees of closeness from within these limits, point to a wide distribution of the type. At Sparta itself more fragments have been found, from more than one acroterion, in the recent excavations on the Acropolis, some of which must have belonged to the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos.[4] There are some small fragments, hitherto unpublished, from the Menelaion, one of which is here reproduced (Fig. 89). A piece with red glaze only was found at the Heroon near the river bank, some 500 metres north of the Orthia site.[5] Amyklai also has recently yielded a small but characteristic fragment from the outer border of a polychrome acroterion with a profile very like that of the Olympia example.[6]

At Bassae the early shrine which preceded the fifth-century temple had an acroterion of large dimensions and very similar style, excelling that from Olympia in the variety of its component elements,[7] and in Ægina the Aphaia

[2] In the absence of a recognised term for these toothed projections from acroteria and cornice-slabs I use 'dentated' or 'dentil-borders' in preference to Mrs. Van Buren's 'dentellated' (*op. cit., passim*).

[3] *Olympia*, ii. pp. 190 *sq.* and Fig. 3; *Tafelband* ii. Pl. CXV.; Koch, pp. 48 *sq.*; Van Buren, *G. R.* pp. 180 *sq.* (9) (and cf. p. 50).

[4] *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 41, Fig. 2.

[5] Unpublished. For the site cf. *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 288 *sq.*

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* lii. p. 44, and Fig. 23; an unlabelled piece with scale pattern in the store-room of the Sparta Museum perhaps comes from the earlier excavations of Tsountas on the site.

[7] K. Kourouniotis, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, col. 276; Koch, p. 89; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 179 (4) and Figs. 55, 56.

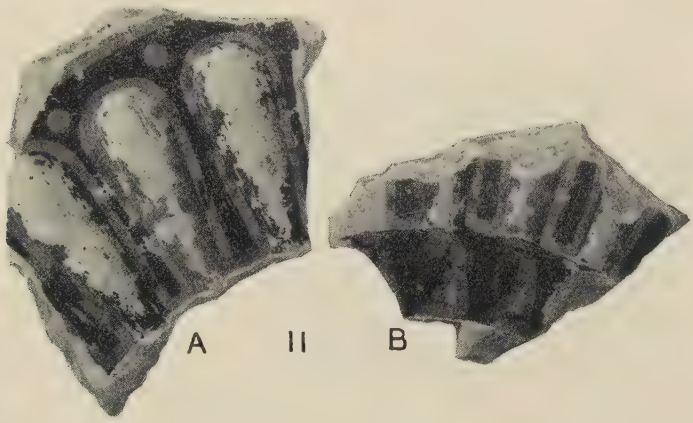

FIG. 87.—NOS. 10 AND 11. POLYCHROME DISC-ACROTERIA. Scale 1 : 3.

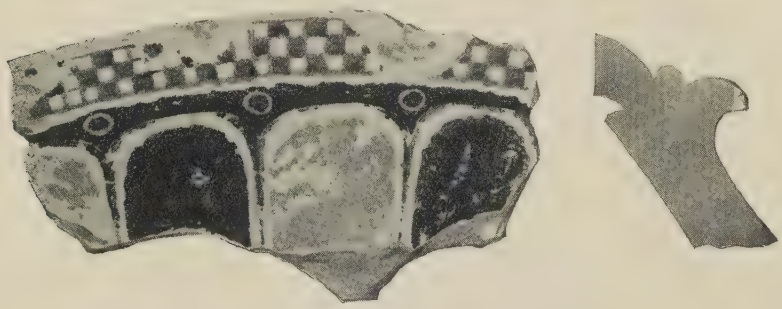

FIG. 88.—NO. 14. POLYCHROME DISC-ACROTERION. Scale 1 : 2.

temple at an early stage of its history was adorned with a disc-acroterion with a scale pattern exactly like those from Sparta and Olympia,[8] while similar fragments have been found in the recent German excavations at the Temple of Aphrodite Epilimeni.[9]

These pieces may be confidently recognised as the products of a single place of manufacture.

I, ii. The undecorated pieces (Nos. 15–19, Fig. 90) are too small to furnish us with an idea of their original appearance, and are chiefly interesting for their variety of profile.

No. 15, probably the earliest, seeing that it was found in the cist in the Early Temple,[10] has only a broad convex surface, elliptical in section and bent over backwards above. No. 17 has a plain cymation, and its upper surface curves back and downwards and is broken by a heavy torus; the

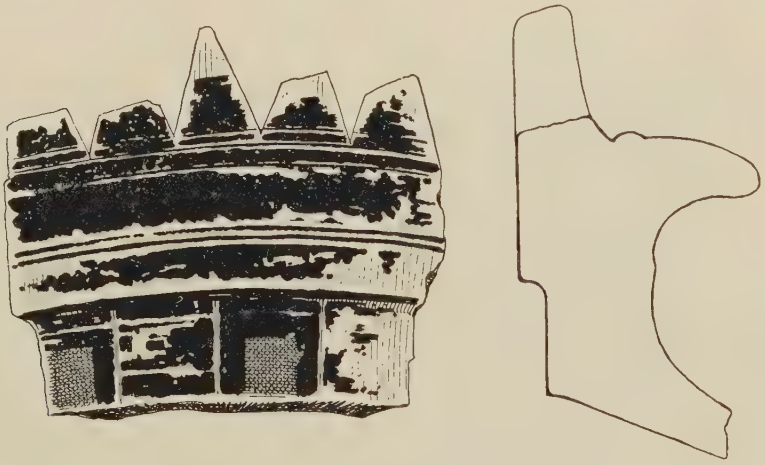

Fig. 89.—Acroterion Fragment from Menelaion. Scale 1 : 2.

position of the glaze shows that the front and back faces are rightly distinguished. No. 16 has more in common with the profiles of the polychrome pieces, but its poor glaze and coarse finish suggest that it is probably later than the other two pieces mentioned. No. 18, which has an unusual and much more complicated profile, can hardly be put very early, and might belong to the sixth century. No. 19, with tori only, may belong to one of the polychrome pieces; for plain black-glazed tori might well occur on one of them. The presence of these undecorated pieces with the coloured is of importance in considering their place of manufacture.

II, i, ii, iii. *Antefixes* (Nos. 20–29). Again we have to distinguish between decorated and plain types. The former, of which there are more, fall into two types, II, i, with incised patterns forming radial crescents enclosed in semicircles on a flat surface glazed all over, which is usually no larger than

[8] *Ægina*, i. p. 485, Fig. 403; Koch, p. 79: Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 179 (1).

[9] *Gnomon*, i. (1925), pp. 46 *sq.*

[10] Cf. p. 10.

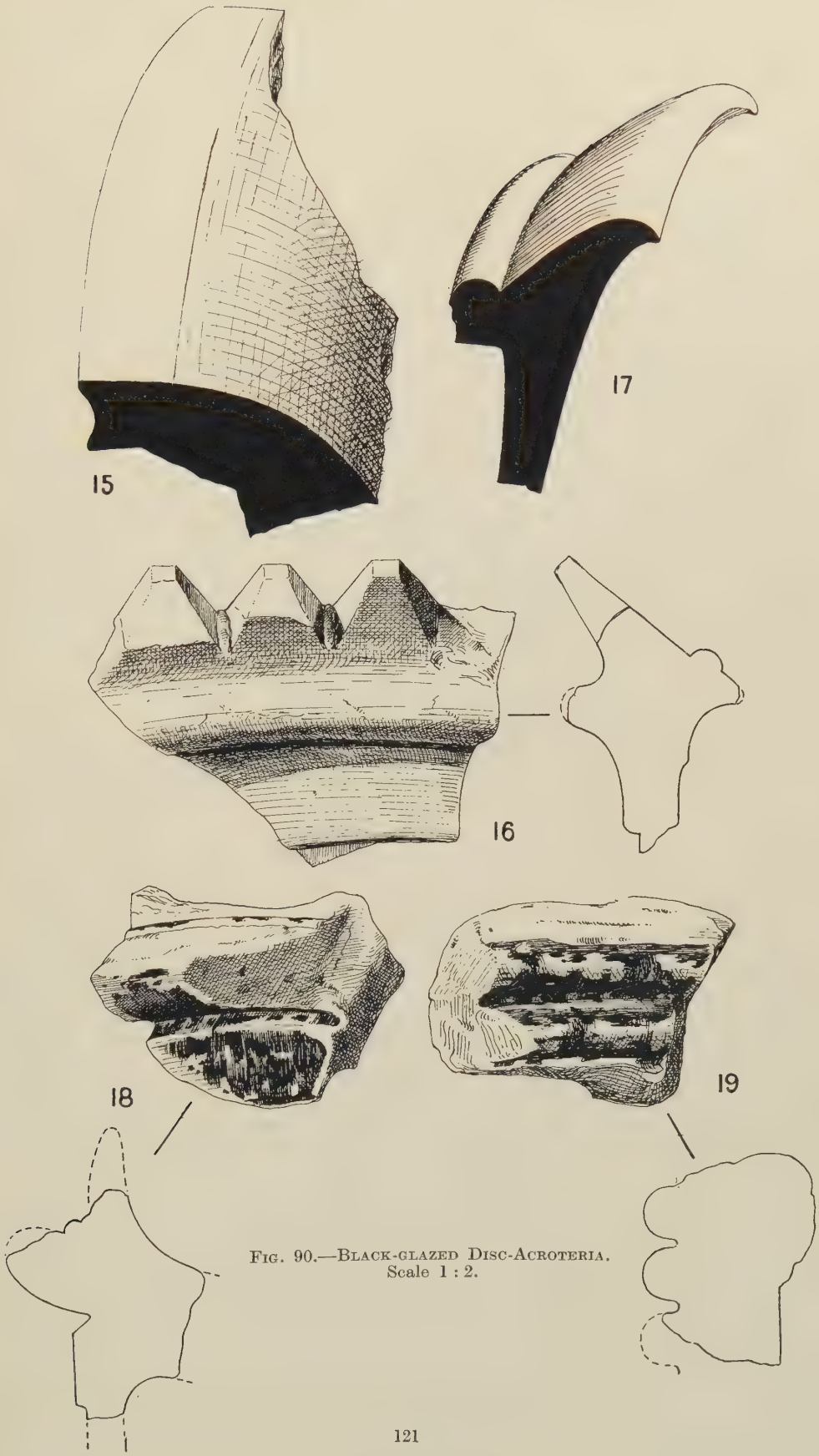

FIG. 90.—BLACK-GLAZED DISC-ACROTERIA.
Scale 1 : 2.

the end of the cover-tile which it masks: II, ii, with polychrome decoration, generally with moulded tori or other *motifs*, on the outer face, which is larger than the ends of the cover-tiles.

The first type, II, i (Nos. 20–23, Figs. 92–94), is known only hitherto in Laconia and at Tegea.[11]

The technique of all the examples is the same, viz. a coat of thickish black glaze sometimes turning to dark brown or dark green or mottled red according to accidents of firing, with incised ornament set out by compass, and with other colours, when used, laid over the glaze. It seems, however, that some of the fragments from the Orthia site may belong to larger antefixes projecting above the tile end. These would in this respect provide a link between the first and the second group, where the antefix is considerably larger in diameter than the tile.

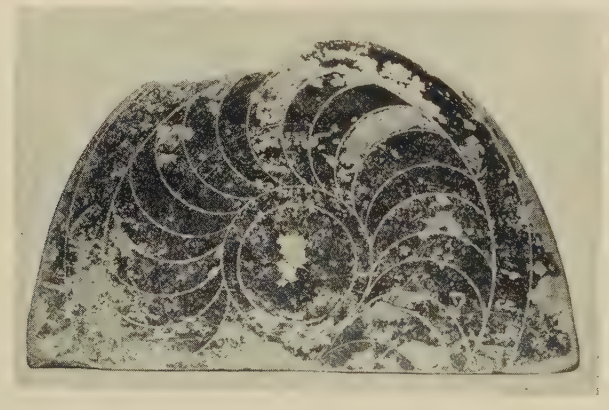

Fig. 91.—Antefix at Bonn. Scale 1 : 4.

In this connexion we may call attention to a painted piece from the Menelaion with features common to both first and second groups (Fig. 95). It is in two fragments, both complete above and showing that on the upper edge was a finely painted guilloche, with red centre, surrounded by five bands in red, white and black alternately. The front surface, incomplete below, has, like the upper edge, a good cream slip.

A tile broken off short projects from the back of the outer edge. This piece is much larger than any antefix from the Orthia site, its diameter being

[11] For the previously known material cf. Van Buren, *G. R.* pp. 134 *sq.* (2, 3, 4). The type has been found on the Acropolis at Sparta (1907 and 1925–27, still unpublished); three pieces were found recently at Amyklai (*Ath. Mitt.* lii. p. 43, and Fig. 22); there is at Bonn a complete specimen shown in Fig. 91, for which photograph we are indebted to Professor Kurt Müller, who states that though the piece was obtained in Athens, some authority may be attached to its attribution to the Hyperteleatic sanctuary (Koch, p. 95, Fig. 46; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 135 (3)); and there are four fragments from Tegea now in the Tegea Museum (Van Buren, *loc. cit.* (4)). One seems to have had a 'saw-tooth' border in white paint on its black ground. This type of antefix does not seem to have been found at Bassae, Olympia, Ægina, or at any of the other sites where disc-acroteria have come to light.

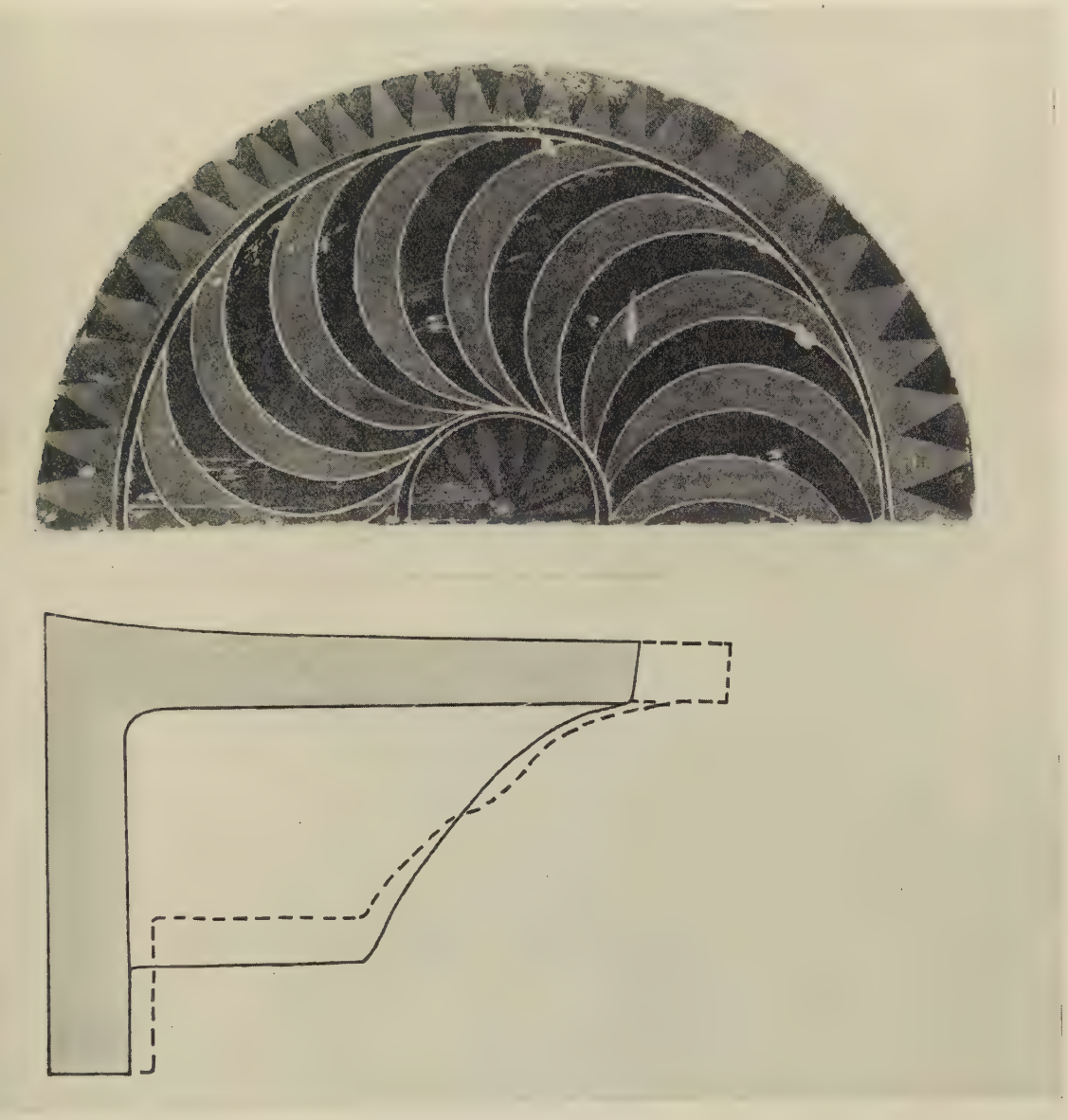

FIG. 92.—No. 20. PAINTED AND INCISED ANTEFIX. Scale 1 : 2.

he grey tone in the upper illustration represents faded white. In section edge of tile on l. is shown by broken, on r. by full line.

more than one and a half times that of the average cover-tile; yet in view of the tile-attachment it cannot have been an acroterion. But it does show

Fig. 93.—No. 21. Antefixes. Scale 1 : 5.

several of the *motifs* of the Orthia disc-acroteria translated from the black-glazed into a white ground technique, and renders some of their moulded

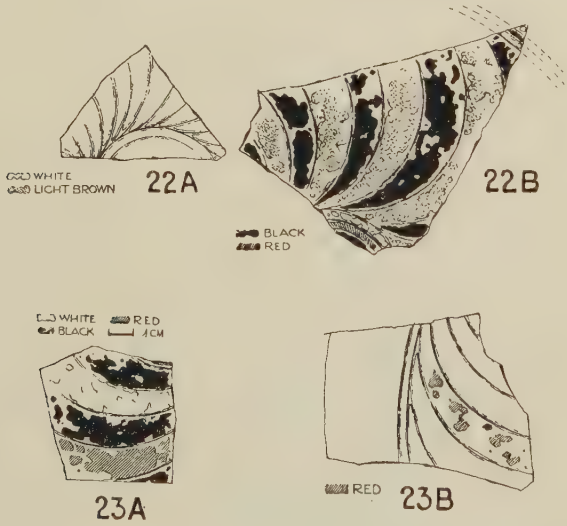

Fig. 94.—Nos. 22 and 23. Antefix Fragments. Scale 1 : 3.

elements in a flat plane, thus providing a link between the style of the disc-acroteria and that of both types of decorated antefix.

II, ii (Nos. 24–28, **Pl. XXV**). The second group has more variety, using moulded surfaces and a wider range of colours, and sometimes has a zone with a light-toned slip to vary the monotony of the dark glaze. This group of five

pieces will be more intelligible if compared with a fragment (Fig. 96) found in a trial pit about 120 m. to the north of the site. Since this can hardly be thought to have come from the shrine of Orthia it is not included in the

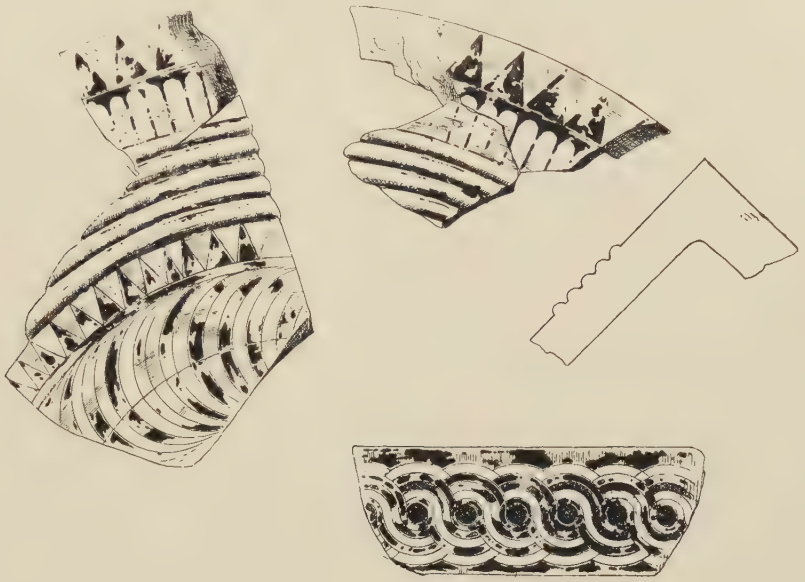

Fig. 95.—Antefix from Menelaion. Scale 1 : 3.

inventory, but is published here. That this group differs in technique from the first must not be taken as evidence of a difference in date without considering the evidence from stratification.

Nos. 24, 25 and 26 belong to simplified forms of this type, No. 24 having,

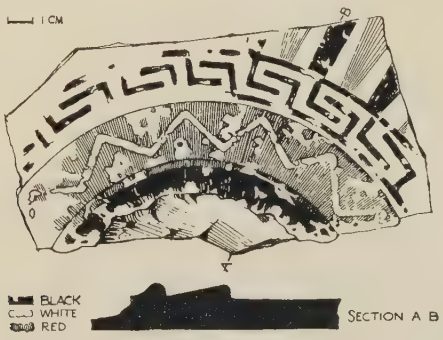

Fig. 96.—Antefix from Trial Pit some 120 metres north of the Sanctuary. Scale 1 : 3.

like the piece from the trial pit, a band of meander on a light ground. Nos. 27 and 28 are both small and have a creamy buff slip of good quality, but too much is missing to show whether they had also the dark glaze.

II, iii (No. 29A–G). The plain antefixes are seven, all incomplete, and much of a size. Six have black glaze and the seventh red. Some have a small

nail-hole near the centre of the base, which hangs down below the lower edge of the tile itself, no doubt for attachment to the eaves. Nos. 20–23 have a similar downward projecting base but no nail-hole. We may believe that such a simple type might belong equally well to the seventh or to the sixth century.

The Place of Manufacture.

It must be emphasised first that these disc-acroteria and antefixes formed the principal ornament in terracotta of the temple or temples on the site in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and, secondly, that similar objects have been found in varying quantities at the principal sanctuaries so far excavated in Sparta and in the vicinity. Moreover, no Laconian sanctuary has yet yielded any other type of architectural terracotta decoration,[12] and, further, we also have undecorated varieties of these types, which is strongly in favour of a local origin, a view which is confirmed by other considerations. The finer Bassae acroterion, as Mrs. Van Buren points out, has a zone painted with the typically Laconian *motif* of a frieze of pomegranate-buds,[13] and all its details can be matched among pieces found at the Orthia sanctuary or on the Acropolis; and this resemblance in details is equally true for the Heraion acroterion from Olympia and for the two from Ægina. This similarity can only be explained as due to a common origin, and, in view of the abundance of material found locally, Sparta has by far the strongest claims to have been the place of manufacture.[14]

In this connexion the term Λακωνικοὶ κέραμοι, which is twice met with in Attic inscriptions of the fourth century B.C.,[15] has some relevance. Dörpfeld was the first to point out that this term means the shallow valley-tiles and semicircular cover-tiles in which Spartan tile-makers seem to have specialised,[16] and there can be no question that their products had a long ancestry.

It is easy to believe that, if the Laconian make of tile was in demand in Athens and Eleusis in the fourth century, it would have been well known in

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[12] No. 35 is admittedly in a different technique. In any case it seems too small to have belonged even to the Primitive Temple with which it must be contemporary.

[13] Van Buren, *G. R.* pp. 18 and 179 (4).

[14] It should be noted that Koch, who did not know the Bassae material, sought the common origin for the Olympia type of acroterion (though he knew the few pieces from the Orthia site on view in the Museum) not at Sparta, but at Sikyon, on the ground of the Proto-Corinthian elements in its decoration. His abrupt dismissal of the possible claim of Sparta to have produced the type is based on a quite inadequate, and as we shall see erroneous, ground and comes oddly from so distinguished an authority (*op. cit.*, pp. 112 *sqq.*; especially p. 114, note 93, '*Sparta, an das man auch denken könnte, kommt eben deshalb kaum in Frage, weil die entsprechende Keramik dort keine Rolle spielt*'). He was certainly right, however, in pointing out that the Olympia type is not the ancestor of the two other main types of early architectural terracotta decoration, namely, those represented respectively by the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, and the earlier class of terracottas from Thermon, but is of independent and not necessarily earlier origin.

[15] *I.G.* ii², 463, l. 29 (cf. Caskey, *A.J.A.*, 1910, pp. 288 *sqq.* and p. 307); and *I.G.* ii², 1672 (= *Syll.*² 587), l. 188.

[16] *Ath. Mitt.* viii. p. 162; cf. Caskey, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 *sq.*

the Peloponnese at a much earlier date, and actually the Heraion at Olympia had not only a disc-acroterion of strictly Spartan type, but was roofed with tiles of the Laconian pattern.[17] Though larger than those from the Orthia site, their proportions are similar, and their glaze and clay are not distinguishable from those of the Spartan tiles. We may then regard it as proved that Sparta made for her own use and occasionally exported—at any rate for the Heraion at Olympia—the characteristic type of tile as early as the seventh century; and that the decorative acroteria and antefixes which she used on her own temples were equally of local manufacture; and further, that Spartan craftsmen made them for some of the great shrines of the Peloponnese before the end of the seventh century B.C.

Technique.

Any affinities in technique and *motifs* that these terracotta pieces show with Laconian pottery will be of importance not only as confirming their local origin but also, subject to one consideration (cf. p. 129), for purposes of dating. If the clay used by the potter is finer and tends to be redder than in the terracottas, it is due to the need for a more highly refined quality. But when the artist making the terracottas wishes for a clay of finer quality for his more delicate work he uses one identical with that used by the potter. Again, when he employs a slip of cream or buff tint it is indistinguishable from that found on Laconian vases of the period concerned. It would be pardonable to mistake, on grounds of technique alone, the fragment of a ridge-tile with buff slip (No. 37) for part of a straight-sided large vase.[18]

Turning to the technique, we find that the use on the decorated acroteria, on the antefixes with radial crescents, and on three of the five pieces of painted and moulded antefixes (Nos. 24–26) of white or red laid over a black glaze, proves to be a practice already familiar at Sparta on a class of small vases which continued to be made with no discernible development through the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[19] This practice may have sprung from the use of white on the dark paint of certain Geometric vases.[20]

The pieces, however, which have a light-coloured slip (Nos. 14, 24, 28, 29, 37) cannot be brought so directly into relation with the methods of the potter, except in so far that here, as in the pottery, when a light ground was desired the natural colour of the local clay made the use of a special slip necessary, and, moreover, that the range of colours, black or dark brown, purplish-red and white, is common to both. It must also be confessed that the peculiar golden brown used for the background in Nos. 30 and 32 is not paralleled in Laconian pottery, though all their other features confirm their local origin.

The use of incision would seem to raise a difficulty, for this practice is not found on the class of small vases mentioned above, and where it occurs on the slipped vases, especially in Laconian III and occasionally in Laconian II, it is

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[17] *Olympia*, ii. p. 168. *Tafelband* ii. Pl. XCVIII, 1–5.

[18] Mrs. Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 182 (14), describes the bowl-rim shown on p. 83, Fig. 56, as part of a disc-acroterion.

[19] Cf. p. 88.

[20] Cf. p. 56.

confined to figures of men and animals, and as a general rule does not appear in ornament [21] except in the palmettes by the handles (Laconian III).

Incision on the terracottas as a rule serves to mark the division between two contrasted colours, but Nos. 1 and 5 show an exception.

The incisions on the tongue pattern of the cymatia were probably meant merely as a guide for the painter and were never meant to be seen, which may indeed have been the origin of the practice. Later their decorative value was appreciated, and the lines were scored deeper. A comparison of individual *motifs* shows that the two most distinctive, scale-pattern and radial crescents are not especial favourites with the Laconian vase painter. The former is, however, common on Sicyonian vases of the latest class (dated *ca.* 650 B.C. onwards), particularly on the pyriform aryballoi, its distinguishing feature according to Johansen,[22] though a good example is found on an oinochoe of the previous group.[23]

Those of our acroteria with scale-pattern, of the context of which we have record, are dated by it to the sixth century or later, so that this does not disagree. It must be noted that on these vases the scales have the convex side downwards, while on the terracottas it is always turned upwards. This difference seems to point to an independent origin for this pattern on these two types of object.

The crescent pattern, familiar as a shield pattern on Sicyonian vases,[24] was known at Sparta before the end of the seventh century, as is shown by its frequent use on the shields of lead figurines of warriors in the Laconian II period, as well as later.[25] But as the antefix is not by origin circular, the use of this pattern on the incised antefixes would hardly seem to be derived from its use on shields. The *motif* is occasionally found on Laconian III pottery as an ornament in place of the more usual rosette on the base of a skyphos or lakaina,[26] and it appears too on a small painted votive shield from the Acropolis [27] which has a polychrome scale-pattern convex side uppermost on the inside.

The other decorative elements can almost all be matched on Laconian vases with different degrees of frequency. Though these may be said to be the common stock of the vase painter at many centres, the Spartan parallels are of sufficient interest to be grouped here.

The use of torus-mouldings singly or in groups appears on the foot of the large vase (Laconian II),[28] and is seen on the outside of two or three large bowls, not illustrated, of the same period. The black-glazed beaded rims of Laconian I plates and the ribbed handles of oinochoai exhibit the same tendency.

For decoration of the torus an oblique stripe as on No. 4 is found on the large vase already mentioned, on a plate rim with torus below, and in the

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[21] See, however, the bowl rim (Fig. 56, p. 83) mentioned above.

[22] *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, pp. 162 *sqq*.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 103 *sq*. and Fig. 56.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 155. [25] **Pl. CXCI**, 13–15.

[26] A few instances were found on the Acropolis in the recent excavations. *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 72.

[27] To be published, *B.S.A.* xxix.

[28] Fig. 57, p. 84.

oblique lines on the low ridge marking the transition from neck to shoulder of oinochoai of Laconian III.[29]

The guilloche, though a favourite with the bronze workers, is rare on the pottery (Fig. 46*x*, p. 74).

The chequer pattern (No. 14) is seen in the Laconian II lakaina,[30] and on the rim of a plate of the same period from the Acropolis.[31]

The step-pattern, familiar on the Olympia acroterion, though not clearly preserved on any of the Orthia terracottas, is seen in a simpler form on Laconian II ware.[32]

The hook-spiral of No. 11, a motive of wide distribution,[33] is well represented on the fine Laconian III plate from the Menelaion,[34] but is in general rare on the pottery. The same plate shows the triangle " saw-tooth " pattern. A tongue-pattern is among the commonest *motifs* on the rims of lakainai and plates in the Laconian II and III periods, alternating black and purple being the favourite arrangement,[35] but the white outlines seen on the tongues on the cymatia of our acroteria are an addition not used by the contemporary potter. The discrepancy is, however, only apparent, since the potter very naturally made no use of additional white on vases to which he gave a white slip ground. An exception is furnished by the large bowls mentioned above, for they have near the rim a cymation with black and purple tongues with white edges exactly as on the piece of decorated ridge-tile (No. 37) which serves better than any of our examples to link up the technique of the large Laconian vases with that of the architectural terracottas.

Dating.

On the whole it is the designs on the pottery of the last quarter of the seventh century (Laconian II) that bear most resemblance to those of the architectural terracottas. At that time figures were rarer than later and the potter was full of ideas for new patterns of a geometrical nature, many of which he quickly dropped when in the sixth century he began to devote more space to figures and confined himself to a narrower range of ornament, often of a floral nature. But the earlier patterns were more suitable for architectural ornament and doubtless remained in use, and therefore, because an architectural design is matched on Laconian II but not on Laconian III pottery, it is not necessary to assume that the architectural piece must be earlier than the sixth century. This view gains strength from the use of incision, which on the vases is certainly more frequent in the sixth century. It is, then, not surprising to find that five pieces of the polychrome acroteria were found above the sand in a sixth-century context.[36] It is, however, highly probable that some at least of the remaining

[29] Figs. 59*g*, 66*d*; pp. 87, 96.

[30] **Pl. VII.**

[31] *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 63, Fig. 7.

[32] Fig. 46*f*, p. 74.

[33] Cf. Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting* (Eng. Tr.), p. 31. Johansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 *sq.*, points out that it is very common on Sicyonian aryballoi of oviform type.

[34] **Pl. XVII.**

[35] Pp. 73 and 82, Figs. 48 and 59. An exception is mentioned (*B.S.A.*, xiv. p. 35) where all the tongues are purple.

[36] In the case of No. 1 the context is yet later.

pieces, though in the same style, belonged to the Early Temple, possibly to different stages of its history. One piece (No. 11) found in 1906 certainly came from a level connecting it necessarily with the Early Temple.

On the assumption made above that we have parts of eight or nine polychrome acroteria it is perfectly reasonable to guess that three or four should be assigned to the seventh century, to the Early Temple or to one of those other buildings that probably were on the site, though they have left no certain trace, for example a shrine of Eileithyia.

Of the five fragments of disc-acroteria ornamented with black glaze only we have the find-spot of one only, No. 15. This was found in the cist of the Early Temple, where it was associated with Laconian I and Geometric pottery, and we are justified in assuming that it belonged perhaps to the first stage of that building.

Of the four polychrome acroteria which we know belong to the period subsequent to the laying down of the sand, one, No. 1, was associated with deposits of which the earliest date is the early fifth century, and it is therefore possible to assume that all four, Nos. 1, 2, 9–10, and 13, come from the Later Temple, No. 1 being certainly a later restoration in the same style.

There is no anomaly involved in restoring a clay acroterion on the Later Temple in spite of its being built of stone and having a sculptured pediment group in poros. Moreover, the demand for and output of disc-acroteria and other decorative terracottas would not end abruptly at the time of building the Later Temple. And we may note that two acroterion fragments, Nos. 3 and 14, have a duller type of black glaze, and deterioration of the glaze is one of the signs of degeneration seen in the vases of Laconian IV, so that it is possible that they also come from a late sixth-century building. But against this is the purple of these two pieces, which is redder and less blue, which in the vases is an early sign.

The dating of the antefixes is still more problematical. The context of only one (No. 20) of those with incised radial crescents is known, and that belongs to the seventh century. On the other hand, two of the painted and moulded pieces (Nos. 25 and 26) come from above the sand in the first half of the sixth century, while No. 28 is from a stratum laid down apparently early in the seventh, contemporary with that in which the black disc-acroterion (No. 15) was found.

Of the seven plain antefixes, one (No. 29F), like No. 28, comes from a deposit of Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery, while No. 29G was found definitely above the sand in a deposit belonging to the first half of the sixth century, like Nos. 25 and 26.

We might perhaps then guess that the radial-crescent type belonged to the Early Temple and the painted and moulded type to the Later Temple, though No. 28, in spite of its incompleteness, suggests that this type may also have been found on one stage of the earlier building.

As for the plain antefixes, it is, of course, possible that some of the

antefixes on both temples were plain, or these again may come from other lost buildings.

III–IV. *Miscellaneous.* As for the miscellaneous pieces, the context of the fragment of decorated pediment-cornice, No. 30 (**Pl. XXVI**), interesting

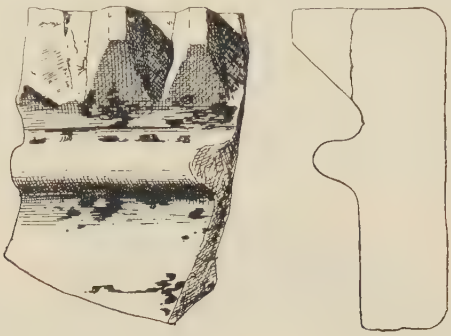

Fig. 97.—No. 34. Cornice. Scale 1 : 3.

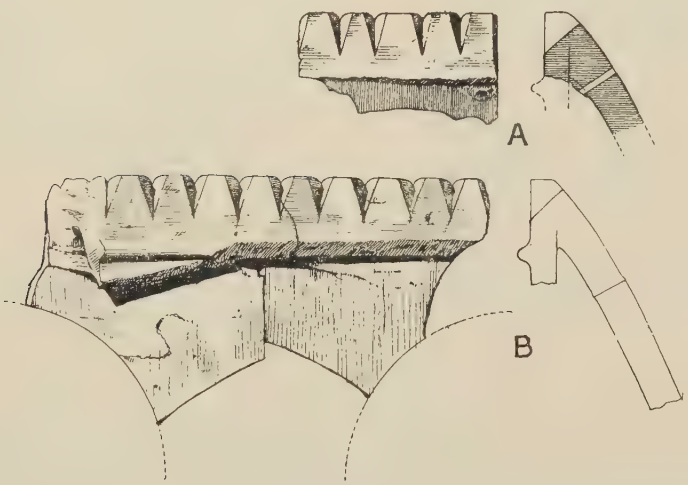

Fig. 98.—No. 33. Piece of Lateral Sima. Scale 1 : 6.

because of its unusual golden-brown glaze with details drawn on it in black, and because it is the only piece of its class to preserve part of a scale-pattern below the cymation, shows that it is of the sixth century, and so probably belonged to the Later Temple. The same is true of No. 34 (Fig. 97), a fragment of rather coarse plain cornice black-glazed.

The technique of No. 33 (Fig. 98) suggests that it is later than the rest of the early pieces and it may come from a restoration of the Later Temple.[37]

[37] This group, Nos. 30–34, is of interest, as similar members with dentil-borders above do not seem to be known hitherto from the Greek mainland. The nearest parallel seems to be the fragmentary cornice from the west pediment of the early temple at Neandreia in the Troad (Koldewey *Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, LI. 1891), p. 48, Fig. 68A; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 19), a site which also yielded an antefix with a feline subject in relief and with a dentil border above (Koldewey, *op. cit.*, Fig. 67).

On the other hand, the one piece of a very coarse eaves-tile, No. 36 (Fig. 99), is dated to the seventh century, and may be put to the Early Temple, to which it is possible that the ridge-tile (No. 37, Fig. 100) also belonged.

The sima, No. 35 (Fig. 101), is dated also to the seventh century, but is too small to be assigned to the temple.

V, VI, *The Hellenistic Tiles and Antefixes.* When rebuilt in late Hellenistic times the temple was again given a roof and "Laconian tiles," of which numerous fragments as well as of antefixes have survived. The only features of interest are the stamps on the former, discussed on p. 143, and the

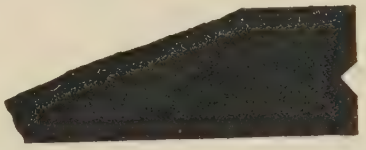

Fig. 99.—No. 36. Section of Eaves-tile. Scale 1 : 3.

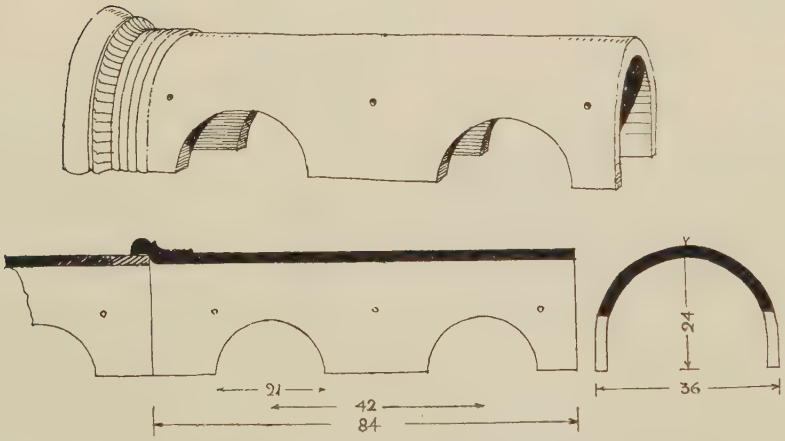

Fig. 100.—Restoration of Ridge-tile. Dimensions in centimetres.

variety in the types of antefix-ornament. These (Figs. 102 and 103) are all palmettes, some with and others without moulded borders, but in general they belong to common types and do not merit detailed discussion.

VII. *Plain Roof-Tiles.* There is little to say about the very fragmentary plain tiles. The system of roofing seems to have been the same for the Early Temple and for both the stages, Archaic and Hellenistic, of the Later Temple.

The sketch in Fig. 105 aims at combining the tiles typical of the Early and Later Temples with the ridge-tiles (as No. 37) and the incised antefixes (Nos. 20–23). The dimensions of the tiles are drawn to scale, and the width of the roof is taken from that assumed for the Later Temple.

The fragments show that the essential features of Λακωνικοὶ κέραμοι remained unaltered, shallow valley-tiles with slightly tapering convex cover-

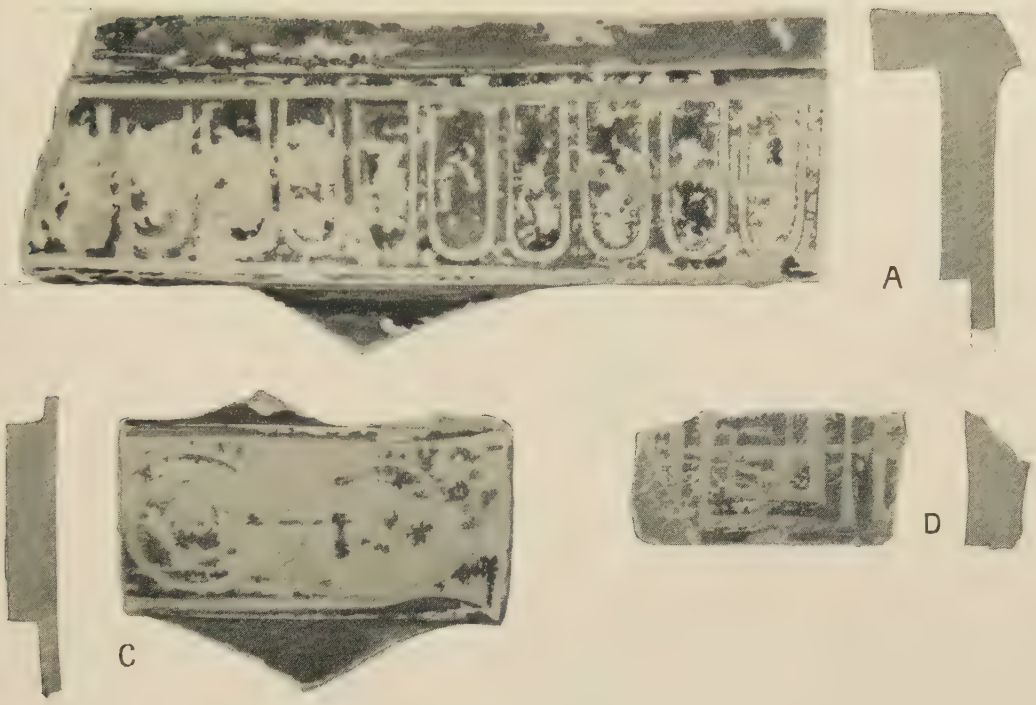

Fig. 101.—No. 35. Pieces of Sima. Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 102.—Moulded Antefix from the City Wall.
Scale *ca.* 1 : 4.

Fig. 103.—Moulded Antefix.
Scale 1 : 4.

tiles laid over their vertical joints. The dimensions of these, as proved by those of the antefixes, varied little between these buildings, and probably the width of the valley-tiles was not much altered either.

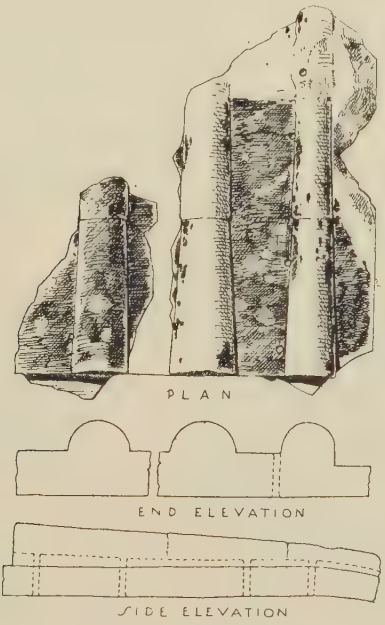

Fig. 104.—Roofing Tile. Scale 1 : 6.

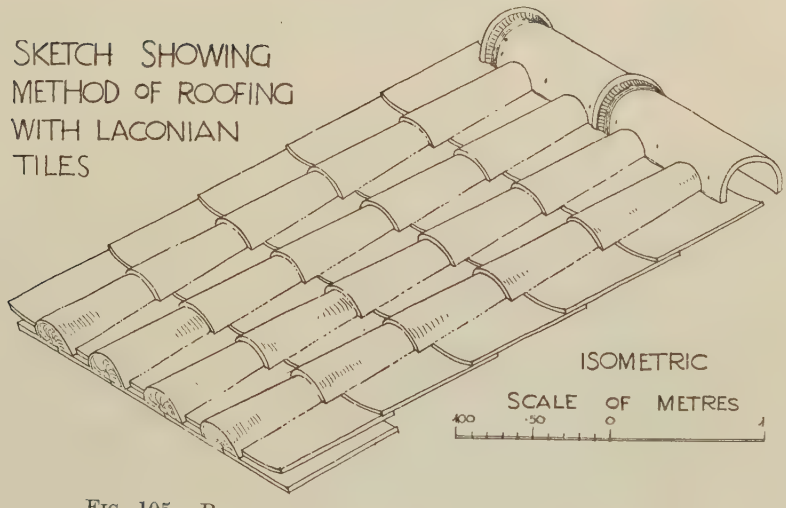

Fig. 105.—Reconstruction of Temple Roofing System.

The stamped tiles are our warrant for ascribing to the Hellenistic Temple a roof of the same style.

W. S. George.
A. M. Woodward.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Catalogue of Architectural Terracotta Fragments.

I, i. Disc-Acroteria. *Polychrome* (**Pls. XXII–XXIV**).

1. A–E **XXII.** Five fragments,[38] of which A, B, C join. The compass-marks used for the setting out of the whole scheme, as well as of the separate scales, are clearly visible.

Found with pottery of Laconian V and VI.

2.[39] **XXIII** above.[40] Fragment similar to No. 1, but from smaller acroterion. Shown in facsimile.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

3. **XXIII** centre.[40] Similar fragment. Clay more pink, and red rosier with less blue in it.

4. **XXIII** below.[40] Similar fragment. Surface much damaged. The bolder and more effective profile suggests that this may be earlier than No. 3.

5. **XXIV.** Broken all round.

Painted decoration: (*a*) scale-pattern on black ground: red with white border, black with black, white with black, red with white; (*b*) guard-stripe[41] between incised lines divided into short lengths coloured (from l. to r.) black, white, red, black, etc.; (*c*) uncertain, perhaps a similar *motif* with colours differently arranged, traces of red being visible above the white and of white above the red. Conceivably this was a band of step pattern as on the Heraion antefix from Olympia.

6. **XXIV.**[42] Broken all round.

Colour-scheme of scales: red with black border, white with red, black with white, and so on. At the back is a raised horizontal rib, through which run two vertical holes for securing it, this being the only fragment of disc-acroterion from the site with definite traces of the method of attachment.[43]

7. **XXIV.** Broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) guilloche-band on black ground with black centres, and

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[38] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 12; Koch, p. 94, 1 and Fig. 45; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 181 (12). Koch and Mrs. Van Buren attribute these pieces to two separate acroteria. But the slight differences in the length of the chevrons and the height of the tongues are not surprising in an acroterion of this size, and, if A, B, C, on which these details are slightly larger, were placed nearer the top of the curve, we have an adequate reason for regarding the difference as deliberate.

[39] Koch, p. 94, 2; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 182 (12). It may be pointed out that where the descriptions referred to differ from the present publication they are in error.

[40] The pale blue-grey tint was once white. The sections have a conventional tint, not that of the clay.

[41] Convenient term borrowed from the technical vocabulary of the study of carpets.

[42] Found on the surface in 1925 by Dr. A. von Massow of the German School, who kindly placed it in the Sparta Museum.

[43] Cf. the Heraion acroterion for an elaborate system of struts at the back, *Olympia*, ii. pp. 190 *sqq.* and Fig. 3 (Bormann); Van Buren, *G. R.* pp. 180 *sq.* (9).

bands successively white, black and red; (*b*) narrow white guard-stripe between incised lines; (*c*) scale-pattern, black with white border, red with black, and white with (?).

This may belong to No. 6 though it does not join.

8. **XXIV.** Broken all round.

Colours of scales as Nos. 6 and 7.

9. **XXIV.** Fragment of plain outer edge.

Colour-scheme of scales: white with black border, red with white, black with red; background white. The absence of a dentil-border is no bar to its being thought part of a disc-acroterion. The projection at the back is indeed broken, but when complete cannot have been structural, for it is too weak to have supported a further member rising above it. It is therefore impossible to place this elsewhere than on the outer edge of an acroterion, with which its large diameter (*ca.* 1 m.) agrees.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

10. Fig. 87.[44] Broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) traces of fascia; (*b*) quarter-round moulding merging into flat surface above, black; (*c*) thin red guard-stripe; (*d*) band composed of triangles alternately upright and inverted, the former all white, the latter alternately black and red; (*e*) scale-pattern as No. 6. The flat fascia below may well have contained, when complete, moulded gadroons as Nos. 11 and 12.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

11. A, B. Fig. 87. Two similar fragments broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) uncertain; (*b*) fascia black with red hook-spirals to l. with small white patch on each; (*c*) large radially set gadroons alternately black and red, outlined white, on a black ground. In each spandrel a white spot; (*d*) white band without incisions, incomplete.[45]

Found beneath the sand with seventh-century pottery.

12. **XXIV.** Broken all round. Similar to No. 11, but spandrels have no dots and gadroons are slightly longer. Traces of a torus above. Behind a moulded rib but surface unpainted.

Technique of Nos. 1–12. Clay light brown to brownish-pink. First glazed all over (except inner surfaces) with a thin brownish-black; then the pattern incised with a tool; then red and white filled in over the black.

13. A, B. Two fragments with remains of gadroons.

A, Ht. ·116 m. Single gadroon red, with traces of white surrounding stripe.

B, Ht. ·075 m. Red fragment broken off background.

Technique: the red is laid directly on the soft and pinkish clay.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

14. Fig. 88. Fragment from outer border.

Decoration: (*a*) band of tongues alternately red and black with flat surface projecting from slightly sunk background. Traces of white outlines

[44] Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 182 (13), but dimensions incorrect.

[45] Hook-spirals directly below gadroons appear on the great acroterion from the Heraion at Olympia.

to tongues; incised circles in spandrels; (*b*) separated by a groove, and set at obtuse angle to (*a*), narrow fascia with three rows of black and white chequers. The profile of the back is noteworthy.

Technique: clay finer and of a warmer red than on Nos. 1–12. Red more of a Pompeian shade with less blue in it. Black lustreless. Red and white laid directly on the clay.

The find-spot is lost, but it is noteworthy that in the kindred vase-maker's art a very red purple and the direct application of it to the ground are characteristics of Laconian II, as also are the chequers.

I, ii. Disc-Acroteria. *Black-glazed.*

15. Fig. 90, facing l. Fragment from upper rim, comprising a narrow out-turned edge. Concave in profile, and part of the convex face of the uppermost member with a strong elliptical curve. The back very roughly modelled.

Technique: thin brown-black glaze much decayed over pale yellowish sandy clay.

Found with Laconian I and Geometric pottery inside the Early Temple.

16. Fig. 90.[46] Fragment from rim. Moulded and glazed back and front.

Technique: poor purplish-black glaze much decayed on hard red clay. Rough work and probably later than No. 15.

17. Fig. 90, facing r. Fragment from outer edge.

The black glaze on the face and the upper surface shows that this piece is part of an acroterion, though the profile is unique on the site.

18. Fig. 90, facing l. Fragment from upper edge. Damaged condition makes angle at which section is set uncertain. Good black glaze on front and on back as far down as fracture. The intricate profile suggests a fairly late date.

19. Fig. 90, facing l. Broken all round. Curve of torus mouldings implies a large diameter.

II, i. Antefixes. *Painted with Incised Radial Crescents.*

20.[47] Cf. Fig. 92.

A. Semicircular antefix forming the outer end of a semi-cylindrical cover-tile of which a portion is preserved at the back. As usual the base of the tile does not come down so far as that of the antefix; ·04 m. less on l., ·03 m. on r.

Technique: the dark greenish-brown glaze (once black?) is laid on the clay before the patterns were incised. The white is painted over this glaze.

B, C. Similar. Faces only preserved. C is a shade larger than A, but we need not doubt that they are uniform and contemporary. All three were found rather to the south of the Early Temple in a seventh-century context.

21. A, B, C. Fig. 93. Antefixes differing but slightly from No. 20.

[46] Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 183 (19).

[47] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 322; Koch, p. 92, 2 and Fig. 43; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 134. See note 39, p. 135.

Here the crescents are coloured successively black, purple and light red, and there are traces of white in the outer border. A preserves a small bit of cover-tile.

Technique: unlike No. 20, the antefixes of this group were made in two pieces, the antefix proper being made separately and scored with deep cross-hatching round the edge at the back: the tile portion was then pressed on with soft clay inside.

22. A, B. Fig. 94. Two fragments from antefixes of similar but larger type, with the crescents reversed and springing apparently from a complete circle.

A. Crescents coloured from l. White, black, white, red, white, black, etc.

B. Inner circles: bands of black, red and white. Outer circles: bands of white, black and red. Crescents alternately black and thin brown, from which last white has probably faded, rather than red.

23. A, B. Fig. 94. Two fragments with crescents of a scale similar to No. 22 but arranged as Nos. 20, 21.

A. Complete below: glaze spreading over lower edge to depth of ·003 m.; crescents black, red, black, grey (? white), black, red. Hard red clay.

B. Complete on l. and below (?). Remains of five crescents, of which the middle one is red, the rest all (?) black.

II, ii. Antefixes. *Painted and Moulded, but not Incised* (**Pl. XXV**).

24. **XXV.** Broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) shallow torus, black; (*b*) flat fascia bordered above and below with parallel pairs of white lines between which a pattern of tongues alternately red and black outlined in white; (*c*) torus with groove above, black; (*d*) fascia slightly concave with cream slip, on which a simple meander; (*e*) remains of recessed fascia (?). Back plain and flat.

Technique: black paint of ground thin and brownish and of meander similar. Red a dull deep rose. No guiding incisions. Meander drawn free-hand. Almost certainly an antefix, though there is no sign of the tile-attachment.

25. A, B. **XXV.** Two fragments broken all round.

Decoration: A. (*a*) Traces of fascia with uncertain pattern. A, B. (*b*) On broad fascia pattern of tongues alternately red with white edges and black with white edges touched with red. (*c*) Two tori, black.

Technique: poor and rather thin black glaze on fine firm clay; apparently the tongue pattern is on a ground originally white-slipped, as white seems to show through the black tongues. In that case the red and black tongues were painted over it and the spandrels and separating lines were laid on in black at the same time. There is the possibility of a general or partial repainting of this piece.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

26. **XXV.** Broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) uncertain; (*b*) torus, black; (*c*) flat zone with tongues

alternately red over black and black, outlined with white, and springing from the uppermost of two narrow white lines.

Technique: poor brownish-black glaze. Red faded to pale greyish-red, and white to a dull blue-grey. Careless work.

Found with Laconian III pottery.

27. **XXV.** Broken all round.

Tongues framed in black and painted alternately red and black on a light buff slip. Traces of torus above.

Technique: slip laid over surface, then all tongues painted black, the alternate tongues coated later with red. Good firm clay and even slip, but drawing careless and black of poor quality.

28. **XXV.** Broken all round. Unusually thick, ·021 m.

Buff slip on which a palmette with lobes alternately black and dull brownish-purple, with frame lines purple. Purple centre.

This is the only painted palmette. It is suitable for an antefix, but might possibly come from a ridge-pole palmette with the edges not modelled.

Found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery.

II, iii. Antefixes. *Black-glazed or Red-glazed only.*

29. A–G. Seven incomplete examples painted merely with the glaze used for the tiles of which they formed the outer end.

A–F. Black glaze.

G. Red glaze.

Three have a nail-hole *ca.* ·010 m. in diameter and from ·020 m. to ·027 m. above the base, and three show traces of the tile at the back.

The red-glazed piece, G, was found with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery, and one of the black-glazed, F, was found with Laconian III pottery.

III. Straight-edged Simas and Cornices (**Pl. XXVI**).

30. **XXVI.** Piece of upper member of pediment-cornice (?), broken all round.

Decoration: (*a*) traces of scale-pattern, white (?) scale with black border, and red spandrels; (*b*) brown band with incised line below; (*c*) torus in brown with black pattern, perhaps chevrons; (*d*) Doric cymation with tongues in black outline on brown ground separated by incised lines; (*e*) base of dentil-border.

Technique: the whole surface was covered with a light brown glaze almost golden in tone, certainly never black, over which the other colours are laid. Rather poor work.

We have nothing to help a restoration. The thickness suggests a large cornice, and the scale-pattern is not inappropriate to the raking cornice of a pediment which carried a disc-acroterion similarly decorated.

Found with Laconian III pottery. Yet the colour-scheme suggests the ideas of Laconian V.

31. **XXVI.** Cornice.

Decoration: (*a*) fascia with "saw-tooth" pattern brown on black; (*b*) torus; (*c*) Doric cymation with black-edged purple tongues separated by incised lines; (*d*) dentil-border black, perhaps with brown triangles.

Technique: hard pinkish-brown clay with good quality paint, dark brown glaze on upper surface of back rib.

32. **XXVI.** Similar cut tongues alternately black and red, which last have black border with incised guide-lines.

Technique as 31, but less blue in the red.

Conceivably Nos. 31 and 32 may come from the raking cornice of a pediment of the Primitive Temple.

33. A, B. Fig. 98.[48] Two sima fragments.

The circular openings, ·274 m. in diameter and ·420 m. apart on centres, in the back member, which is set back at an angle from the vertical front face, make it almost certain that this is a piece of lateral sima with a cresting rising ·104 m. above the cover-tiles, over a pair of which the openings would exactly fit. The front face would have hung vertically to mask the ends of the rafters. The method of attachment is, however, by no means clear. The nail-hole by the finished edge of the small bit, A, probably served to bind it to its neighbour.

Technique: firm red clay with good light red glaze on outer face.

34. Fig. 97. Plain cornice.

Firm coarse clay with poor black glaze on face.

Found in what proved mainly a sixth-century deposit.

IV. Miscellaneous (**Pl. XXVII**).

35. A–D.[49] Fig. 101.

It is probable that C and D, broken all round, should be combined with A and B, complete on top, and be considered parts of a sima slab (?), with at least three decorated fasciæ separated by thinner recessed fasciæ. There is no evidence as to the original height.

Technique: the clay is reddish-pink, rather soft and finely cleaned. All the decorated fasciæ were first covered with a thin cream slip. The designs seen in the figure were reserved in this slip by the application of black-brown glaze on A, B and D, and on C, apparently, of a deep brown-red glaze, though it is possible that black was used for the alternate coils. Both slip and glaze are much decayed. On B the face of the abacus above shows traces of a meander. The recessed fasciæ have dark brown-black glaze.

The rearward projection at the back of the upper member points to this having been a piece of sheathing; but there is nothing similar from Sparta or from any other Greek site known to us.

A and B were found under the sand with seventh-century pottery, with

[48] Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 183 (18). Erroneously described as part of a disc-acroterion.

[49] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 20; Koch, p. 93, 4; Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 80 (30). See p. 135, note 39.

which indeed the reserved technique used has an affinity. B was found in the Early Temple. The unusual technique of this piece has led to doubts whether it is local, yet there would seem nothing foreign in the clay or slip.

36. Fig. 99. Fragment of eaves-tile.

Technique: fine sandy-brown clay with black glaze on lower surface. On face traces of oblique black band.[50]

Found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery.

37. **XXVII** and Figs. 100 and 105. Decorated ridge-tile, broken all round.

Decoration: plain tile with light buff slip; tori black; tongues alternately black and reddish-purple over black; on fillet uncertain design in white on black with black outlines; edge uncertain, perhaps plain fillet or torus in black. Nail-hole in tile portion. Decorated end widens to fit over the next tile.[51]

38. **XXVII.** Large uncertain fragment, complete below and on right.

Decoration: (*a*) at foot fillet with black glaze; (*b*) upright tongues alternately red and black with borders of white overlaid, with coarsely incised lines along the base and vertically between each.

If correctly shown this piece is from a sima slab. Inverted it might less probably be from a hanging cornice below a pediment.

Its coarse style seems to place it in the seventh century.

39. A, B. Fig. 104. Two fragments with large raised ribs; apparently roof-tiles, but will not connect with normal Λακωνικοὶ κέραμοι. The larger complete on right. The ribs get higher and wider towards the lower edge. There is a rebated border along the right side, and apparently along the lower edge. The ribs are moulded at irregular intervals as if to imitate overlapping joints. The upper end seems bent at a very obtuse angle with the lower part, but the purpose of this is obscure.[52] There is a row of nail-holes following the edge of the right-hand rib.

Technique: well-cleaned reddish clay. Good lustrous glaze.

V. Antefixes with Moulded Ornament.

(i) *With Palmettes and no outer Border.*

40. A. A complete example of the exact type of antefix published in *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 14, 15, Fig. 5 (on r.). Traces of reddish-brown glaze.

B–F. Fragments of five others.

41. A, B. Fig. 102. Two small fragments. A complete example of the same type from the city-wall is illustrated.

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[50] Cf. the eaves-tiles of the Heraion at Olympia, also undecorated. *Olympia*, ii. p. 169; *Tafelband* ii. Pl. XCVIII.

[51] A more ornate and perhaps earlier piece of such a ridge-tile was found on the Acropolis in 1925, but is not yet published. Cf. the examples from Gela (Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. Pl. XXIV, 2, and text col. 284, Fig. 211, and col. 430 *sqq.*) and Thermon (Van Buren, *G. R.* p. 67). Fig. 100 is based on the Gela specimen.

[52] The angle is too flat for a saddle-back ridge-tile.

42. A–E. Five fragments of a type similar to No. 41, but with large spirals in relief at the lower corners, and no ornament along the base.

43. A–C. Three small pieces of seven-frond type, either No. 41 or 42.

44. Small fragment, fronds of which curl away from centre.

(ii) *With Palmettes and outer Border.*

45. Fig. 103. This shows traces of red glaze. At the back are remains of tile, below the lower edges of which the face hangs down *ca.* ·03 m.

46. A–D. Four fragments similar to No. 45, but with bead and reel along base, and wave-pattern round circumference. Traces of red glaze.

Now there is no doubt that the antefixes grouped here in § V are of a type that was in use in Hellenistic days, as its occurrence in connexion with the City wall shows; but the fact that one piece of No. 46 was found below the pavement in the Arena, and another at about the edge of the sand with Laconian II and Laconian III pottery raises the question whether the type may not have originated earlier.

VI. Ridge-Pole Palmette Antefixes.

47. A–B. Two fragments, both apparently Hellenistic or later (?).

A. Broken above. Ht. ·13 m.; br. ·14 m.; th. at base ·07 m.; above, ·04 m.

Remains of palmette with seven (or nine) incurving fronds and scrolls reaching to outer corners below. Curve of base indicates radius of ·15 m., suggesting that the support below had a corresponding curve.

B. Complete on l. only. Ht. ·10 m.; br. ·06 m.; th. ·04 m.

Remains of two scrolls, on one side in relief, on the other impressed; outer border on each side recessed. Soft red clay, no glaze left.

VII. Plain Roof-tiles.

It is by archaeological context, and perhaps fabric, not by dimensions, that we must distinguish between earlier and later valley-tiles, and, where no antefix is attached, between cover-tiles.

We have a few small fragments found definitely below the sand and assignable, therefore, only to the Early Temple: two pieces ·015 m. thick, two pieces ·02 m. thick, both from cover-tiles with diameter *ca.* ·28 m.–·30 m., and two pieces of valley-tiles, both black-glazed, ·011 m. and ·016 m. thick. These last were found with No. 29 F. Two pieces, one with black and one with red glaze, ·011 m. and ·015 m. thick, and three fragments, ·011 m., ·016 m. and ·017 m. thick, all from valley-tiles. These eleven pieces were all found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery.

The few pieces which may plausibly be allotted to the Later Temple probably come from restorations. Their recorded find-spots show that they were associated with Laconian V and Laconian VI pottery, which implies a date not earlier than the fifth century.

Mention must be made of a small piece of valley-tile with an inscription incomplete and unintelligible scratched on its unglazed convex side (Fig. 106

It is unfortunate that the best preserved cover-tile should have been found in 1906 in Trench B, which subsequently proved to have cut deposits of different dates at the same level. But the quality of the glaze and texture of the clay compel us to associate it with the antefixes with incised crescents (No. 20), and like them it almost certainly belongs to the seventh century.

Complete at narrow end (inner diameter ·18 m., outer ·21 m.). Length ·80 m. Outer diameter at widest part preserved ·265 m.

Probably little of the length has been lost, and it was used for the reconstruction in Fig. 105.

Fig. 106.—Inscribed Valley-tile. Scale 1 : 1.

VIII. Stamped Tiles.

It seems convenient to print here a tabulated summary of the information on stamped tiles from the site contained in Mr. Wace's articles and in the tile-register.

(i) Three types showing that the tile belonged to Orthia, *i.e.* was made for her temple. See p. 33, Fig. 18.

(A) (Type 18 [53] = *I.G.* V. 1, 864) : Ἱεροὶ Βορθείας (82 examples).
(B) (Type 19 = ,, ,, 865) : Βωρθείας ἱεροί (59 examples).
(C) (Type 20 = ,, ,, 866) : Βορθείας ἱαροί (5 examples).

Mr. Wace dates A and B to the rebuilding of the temple in the early second century.[54] The form of ω in B permits, but does not necessitate, so early a date.[55] Mr. Wace attributes C to the Imperial period and suggests that only a few tiles were then made for repairs.

(ii) Two types on tiles belonging to Eileithyia.

(D) (Type 21 = *I.G.* V. 1, 868) : Ἱεροῦ Ἐλευσίας (18 examples).
(E) (Type 23 = ,, ,, 867) : Δαμόσιοι Ἐλ(ε)υσίας (2 examples).

D, by virtue of its splayed ξ and small ο, may be third century B.C., while E, retrograde and clumsy, can hardly be earlier than Imperial times.

(iii) :

(F) (Type 13 = *I.G.* V. 1, 857B) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας Νι(κίων ?) (7 examples).
(G) (Type 15 = ,, ,, 862A) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας Φιλοκλῆ[ς] [56] (1 example).
(H) (Type 16A = ,, ,, 862B) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας Φιλ(οκλῆς) (1 example).
(J) (Type 17A = ,, ,, 850) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας (65 examples).

[53] Mr. Wace's type numbers kept for convenience of reference.

[54] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 38 *sq.*

[55] For early use of curved letters ϵϹϣ cf. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, iv. pp. 73 *sqq.*

[56] The second λ wrongly omitted in the *Corpus*.

(K) (Type 24 = *I.G.* V. 1, 854) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας (3 examples).
(L) (Type 26 = „ „ 858) : Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας Πολύαρχ(ος) (1 example).

Mr. Wace has shown that the many varieties of this stamp, some of which are followed by the name of a contractor, were not made for Athena, but at the state tile factory attached to the shrine of Athena Alea.[57]

It is reasonable to think that Type J may have been supplied to Orthia, but that the other types may either be 'strays' or have belonged to the City wall where it passed close to the shrine, though long since washed away.

(iv) Four tiles intended for the wall and so stamped were found in or adjacent to the sanctuary.

(M) (Type 8 = *I.G.* V. 1, 904): Δαμόσιο(ς) τειχέων ἐργών(α) Καλλ(ί)ππου (2 examples).

(N) (Type 30B = *I.G.* V. 1, 899) : Ἄρχιππος δαμόσιος τειχέων (2 examples).

A few more fragments, mostly small with various types of stamps not included in either of Mr. Wace's articles,[58] call for mention. Little can be made of most of them, and their presence may often be accidental. Several have merely a single name, presumably of the maker. The lettering is represented in type which it is hoped will not prove misleading.

(O) (= *S.M.C.* 407 = *I.G.* V. 1, 916*a*). [Ὀν]ησιφόρο[ς].

(P) [Ξε]νάκων. (complete on l. ?).

(Q) Φίδων.

(R) - - νίδα[ς].

(S) Τρίτ[ων ?].

(T) Possibly Ὀλυμπ - - (retrograde).

(U) (*a* and *b*).[59] (?)Νομο - - - - . ευλ (retrograde).

(V) - - ωος (?)

(W) (?) Δ[αμόσιος] - - - - .

(X) [Δαμόσιος] Ἀ[θάνας (?)].

W. S. G.
A. M. W.

[57] For a contrary but less reasonable view see Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, p. 168, note on No. 887.

[58] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 344; xiii. p. 17.

[59] Mr. Wace thought these two were parts of similar stamps. Any restoration must be merely conjectural, but it is just possible that one or other, if they are not identical, might contain some form of Ἐλευσίας in l. 2.

CHAPTER IV

THE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

The excavation yielded a very large number of terracotta figurines, which form an uninterrupted series, beginning with figurines found in association with Geometric pottery, and so to be dated to the seventh, the eighth and even to the ninth century B.C., and continuing right down to the fourth-century deposits of Laconian VI pottery. After this there is, no doubt due to the accidents of the history of the site, a long break, and the only later terracottas found are the few types that were found amongst the walls of the Roman amphitheatre, and can therefore hardly be earlier than the middle of the third century A.D.

The circumstances under which all these terracottas were found have been sufficiently described in the chapter of this book on the History of the Sanctuary: in all the deposits of votive offerings, both below and above the layer of sand, they were abundant. There were no special deposits of terracottas; nothing at all to be compared to the great mass of masks that was found to the south of the temple; the exact place in which any specimen was found is therefore of no importance. What is needed is to arrange them in a correct chronological series, and this can be done from a knowledge of the kind of pottery, and in general of the character of the deposit in which they were found; the dating, therefore, of the terracottas rests on the same evidence as the dating of all the other classes of finds, and this is discussed in the chapters on the History of the Sanctuary and on the Pottery.

Like all the other classes of objects, except perhaps the lead figurines, the terracottas were very much broken, and of the total number found only a very small proportion are more than fragments. But it was possible to do a certain amount of mending, often of pieces which were actually found many yards apart, and the number of fragments that refuse to be classified is not very great.

Unless the contrary is stated, all the figurines were made in moulds and not modelled by hand, although in some cases the mould-made figures have been afterwards more or less worked upon. In some cases, notably the figures of Type VI, the head is made in a mould and the rest of the figure hand-made. In many, if not in most cases, the figures seem to have been painted, but paint and slip have for the most part either wholly or partially disappeared. This is to be put down to the dampness of the soil acting upon the soft clay. Wherever the paint has been preserved, it is identical with that on the vases from the same deposit: which means to say that if the vases are of local make, so too are the figurines.

The clay is unusually fine and very soft. The colour varies, perhaps with the intensity of firing, from pink to a very brilliant red. A harder and darker

red and also a very hard and gritty grey clay with a slaty tinge are less common. All these varieties must be taken as local, since they are all found in the certainly local pottery, or are represented in the ruder hand-made figurines, which nobody would ever have imported: the clay of these is, moreover, easily distinguishable from that of analogous figurines found at Tegea, at the Argive Heraion and elsewhere.

The figurines may be classed as follows, with their approximate dates :—

		B.C.
I.	Orthia standing :	
	a. With hair not divided	700–600
	b. Hair in separate locks; no polos	740–600
	c. Hair in separate locks; with polos	700–500
	d. Flat figures with chiton	635–550
II.	Orthia with animals :	
	a. With a standing lion	700–500
	b. As a pendant between two horses' heads	635–500
III.	Orthia enthroned; roughly hand-made figures	700–600
IV.	Miscellaneous throned figures	700–635
V.	Figures of Orthia on horseback	700–550
VI.	Sitting figures of Orthia, perhaps equestrian, and heads of such figures	700–500
VII.	Miscellaneous figures of Orthia	All dates.
VIII.	Nude female figures	All dates.
IX.	Nude male figures	All dates.
X.	Heads broken from figures or from vases :	
	a. Heads with two-peaked cap	660–500
	b. Large male heads from vases	Before 675
	c. Miscellaneous heads from figurines	All dates.
XI.	Small masks	425–250
XII.	Terracotta plaques	All dates.
XIII.	Handmade figurines :	
	a. Human	740–500
	b. Animals	740–500 (?)
XIV.	Miscellaneous terracottas.	
XV.	Vases in the form of men or animals	About 700–500
XVI.	Terracottas of the Roman period.	After 250 A.D.

If we except the small hand-made grotesque figurines of Class XIII, *a*, it will be seen that the great majority of the figures are draped females (Classes I–VII). As there is no reason to suppose that the practice of making dedications to the goddess was commoner amongst women than men, it may be assumed that all these are figures of Orthia herself. The equestrian figures, the preponderance of the horse over other animals, and the number of fragments of what may have been figures of Orthia on horseback (Classes V and VI), point to some close connection with the horse, in which connection we may remember

the frequency of the horse among the small limestone reliefs published here in Chapter VI.

Type I. *Standing figures of Orthia*, falling into four classes :

a. **XXVIII.** Standing figures, with the masses of hair falling over the shoulders, not divided into separate locks[1] : the waving is indicated by horizontal markings. The dress is a long girded chiton; the polos is rare. The arms are generally held to the sides; in one case a wreath is carried. The face is not oval, but triangular with a pointed chin. The nose is big, the lips thick, and the almond-shaped eyes formed simply by an incised line. The features are very large for the face.

The usual traces of paint and slip are found, but no well-painted example has survived.

There are 22 examples, of which, however, only five are complete. With them may be reckoned 12 *protomai* with features of the same type, some being complete in themselves, others broken off vases. Of the whole 34, only four were found outside the period of Laconian I and II pottery; the type thus began about 700 and lasted until 600 B.C.

b. **XXIX.** Standing figures. The hair descends over the shoulders in separate plaits or waved tresses; no polos. The body is draped in a long chiton, the columnar lower part of the figure being disproportionately tall. The arms adhere to the sides; the waist is slightly indicated; the feet are not shown. The figure stands upon a rectangular base. Height from ·16 m. to ·20 m. The figurines are thin and modelled only in front, the back being flat or slightly hollowed : n one case the traces can be seen of the piece of wood used to scrape off the superfluous clay whilst the figure lay in the mould. Traces of a white slip are frequent, especially on the face and hair, although the paint has generally disappeared. But on one example, **XXIX, 4,** the face, neck and girdle are white, the hair is black and the dress purple. Also a fragment of a skirt, belonging apparently to this type, **XXIX, 6,** shows a pattern characteristic of the Geometric pottery with which it was found; there is no doubt that whatever paint all these figurines ever had, followed the contemporary style of vase-painting.

FIG. 107.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINE (Type I, *b*). Scale 3 : 4.

[1] The *Etagenperücke*, Poulsen, *op. cit.* ch. xi.

In all 45 examples of this type were found, for the most part fragmentary. There were also 6 heads, **XXIX, 7,** and 7 *protomai* **XXIX, 5,** broken from vases of the same type and found in the same strata. The type ranges from the Geometric period to Laconian I, that is, from before 740 to 600 B.C. It can hardly have begun much before the earlier of these dates, because of the whole 58 (45 + 7 + 6), only six are to be placed before 740 B.C., as having been found in strata containing no pottery but Geometric; nor is it likely to have lasted much after 600 B.C., the examples to be dated later being three only—too few to prove anything beyond perhaps a mere survival.

With this type may be classed four examples ranging from Geometric to Laconian I deposits. A water-colour of one is shown on Fig. 107: they differ only in having some modelling on the drapery, which falls in a kind of pleat in the centre of the skirt.

c. **XXX** and **XXXI, 1–4.** Standing figures with the hair as in the last type, but wearing a polos, beneath which there is generally a row of small curls on the forehead. The arms are held to the sides; the feet are often shown, but the square base of the last type hardly appears. The long chiton, belted, generally shows no details, but in some instances, **XXX, 1, 3, 4,** the apoptygma of the Doric chiton appears as a line across just below the breasts; in one figure the fibulae on the shoulders are modelled. It is remarkable that the figurines which show the Doric chiton so clearly all belong to the sixth century, when the actual pins and fibulae have become rare: the goddess may well have adhered to an older fashion. The figures are generally somewhat square in section, the front only being moulded and the back either left rough or only slightly worked. Traces of white slip are common. One example, **XXXI, 4,** is fully coloured with purple and black paint on a buff slip: it dates to about 625 B.C.

The total number found was 37, of which more than half are quite fragmentary. The earliest occurred with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and the latest with Laconian III and IV. One example was found with Laconian V. Their chronological range may therefore be taken as from about 700 to perhaps as late as 500 B.C.

Here may be classed a set of figurines, all probably from one mould, of which an example is shown in **XXXI, 3.** The body is columnar; the dress shows no details except a narrow waist; the hands are held to the sides. A large polos is on the head; although the hair is no more than a formless mass, the oval form of the face puts these figures here rather than with those of Type I, *a*, where the face is always triangular, narrowing to a pointed chin. Of the seven found, three were with Laconian II pottery, and so belong to the thirty years or so before 600 B.C.; three are of uncertain provenance, and one, found with Geometric, Laconian I and Proto-Corinthian sherds, would seem to have worked down to a level lower than its proper place in the stratification.

d. **XXXI, 5, 6.** Standing figures very flat in section with the breasts apparently exposed. The dress is the Doric chiton with shoulder fibulae connected by a cord which forms a loop in front below the breasts at the top of the drapery. No heads are preserved. There are five examples: two with Laconian II

pottery, two with Laconian III and IV, and one of uncertain context. Their date is therefore late seventh and sixth, probably early sixth, century. The two examples figured are both painted back and front with purple or black on a light slip.

Type II. *Orthia with animals, as Potnia Theron.* Here are two classes :

a. **XXXII, 1–3,** and on Fig. 108 a water-colour drawing showing more clearly the example photographed on **XXXII, 1.** The examples seem likely to be all from the same mould. The goddess wears a high polos with decorations in very low relief. The hair falls over the front of the shoulders in long separate tresses, as in the figurines of Type I, *b*, *c*. A lion in relief stands up on his hind paws against the skirt of the goddess, who holds the near paw in her l. hand and rests her r. hand upon his head. Only one complete example was found, but of fragments there were eight skirts with the lion, one head and bust, and two busts. In date they range over the sixth and seventh centuries, the earliest having been found with Laconian I, and the latest with Laconian III and IV pottery.

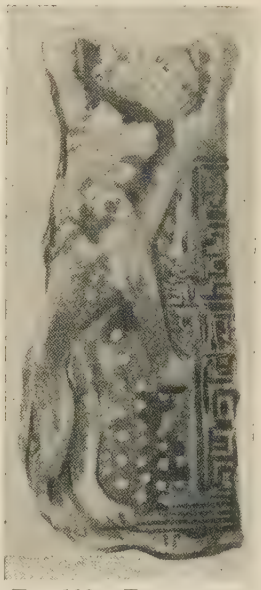

Fig. 108.—Terracotta Figurine (Type II, *a*). Scale 3 : 4.

b. **XXXII, 4, 5.** Pendants consisting of the head of Orthia between two horses' heads. These objects have already been published and discussed by M. S. Thompson, and the illustrations to his article showing them and similar figures in lead and ivory are reproduced on Fig. 123 and **Pl. CLXXII.**[1] Nine examples were found, all of red unpainted clay moulded on the front only, thin, and behind quite flat. On the lower edge there are three holes, and the similar pendants in lead show that these served to attach three hanging buds, or perhaps immature pomegranates. Of these nine examples, seven were in the range of Laconian II, III and IV pottery, and thus date between about 625 and 500 B.C.; one was from an uncertain context, and one was apparently much earlier, for it was associated with Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery.

With these may be classed some small profile heads of horses, moulded on one side only. These are exactly like one side of the pendants here described, but they date a little earlier, for two were with Laconian I pottery, and one with Laconian I and Geometric : this puts them to the earlier part of the seventh century.

Type III. *Hand-made figures of Orthia enthroned* (**Pl. XXXII, 7–11**).

These are very roughly hand-made figures, always of a soft and friable red clay without either paint or slip. No complete example was found, but five are in fair condition : the three best with some detached heads are shown on the plate. The thrones have at the back and sides a low solid rail which rises into a pair of pointed projections at the back corners, and the horizontal

[1] This article appeared in *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 286.

arms are flattened in front into disc-like endings. The legs of the thrones are long and rather clubbed at the ends. Immediately above the back of the throne rises the neck and head of the figure. The body and skirt—the dress is the only sign of the sex—are represented by a flat strip of clay laid in the seat of the throne; in all our examples it is broken off where it falls over the front. The heads are extremely crudely formed; in the more careful examples the goddess is possibly wearing a stephanos or polos, and at each side of the head falls what may be a veil, but is more likely to be masses of hair.

There are 16 examples, mostly very much broken, and besides these, 19 legs of thrones and 10 heads, which from their general appearance probably belonged to such figures. The original number was therefore considerable. All except two, one earlier and one later, fall into the period of Laconian I and II pottery; their date is thus from about 700 to 600 B.C.

Type IV. **XXXIII, 1–6.** A few miscellaneous seated figures fall under no fixed type. Those on **XXXIII, 1,** and **XXXIII, 3,** are female, and therefore probably represent Orthia. The former was found with Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I, the latter with only Laconian I pottery, one early and one late in the seventh century. Two others, **XXXIII, 2, 4,** which are apparently male, are rather earlier, having been found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I, *i.e.* between 700 and 675, and the other two, also probably male, are of uncertain date, although one, **XXXIII, 5,** was probably found with Laconian I pottery.

Type V. *Figures of Orthia on horseback* (**Pl. XXXIII, 7–10**).

Here are classed the only certain examples of this type. Of the six found, the three best examples are shown. One, **XXXIII, 10,** is nude: two such, both hand-made, were found, and both with Laconian I pottery only, and so to be dated to between 700 and 635 B.C. The other two are draped. In one **XXXIII, 8,** the goddess is sitting on a kind of saddle; the head is moulded, the rest of the figure hand-made. It was found with Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and therefore dates to about 700–660 B.C., unless indeed the absence of Geometric sherds was accidental, in which case it would be earlier. The other, **XXXIII, 7,** is a moulded figure of the goddess with side-locks and a polos, sitting on a hand-made horse. There is a curious flattening on the front of the body, and above it a projection which is perhaps a breast. The head was found with Laconian I and the body with Laconian I and II pottery: it may be dated to about 635 B.C. On both these figures a certain amount of white paint still adheres. Of the two other examples, one was found with Laconian I and one with Laconian III pottery: the type seems to range, therefore, over the seventh and the first half of the sixth century.

The series of apparently seated female figures classed below as Type VI may perhaps belong here. But whether this is so or not, it is plain from the number of hand-made figures of horses with the trace of something broken off their backs that the type of a figure on horseback was a common one. This trace in some cases demands that the rider was seated side-saddle, and always allows its possibility, and these figures must therefore be interpreted as the remains of female riders, such as are described in this paragraph. In all 30

examples were found, ranging in date from two found with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery, and so between 740 and 675 B.C., to one fourth-century example with sherds of Laconian VI. But the great bulk of them were found with nothing earlier than Laconian I, and with Laconian II, III and IV, and so belong to the period between 660 and 500 B.C., much the same as the six figures on horseback described above.

Four hand-made figures were found of horses with riders astride, and so probably male. One, found amongst the Roman masonry and so of unknown date, is shown on **XXXIII, 9.** Of the other three, one was found with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery, one with Laconian III and IV, and one amongst the Roman masonry.

Type VI. *Seated figures, perhaps equestrian, and heads of such figures* (**Pl. XXXIV**).

A long series of fragmentary seated female figures was found, of which eight of the best are shown on **XXXIV, 1–8.** There were also 19 fragments, and with these go the heads shown on **XXXIV, 11–14.** Of these heads, 11 were found with the same chronological range as the seated figures; from their high poloi and general appearance they seem to belong here. Of these figures the heads are from moulds, but the bodies are almost always hand-made. The clay is generally hard and bluish-grey; but two at least are of the usual soft red clay. The figures are seated, but without a chair of any kind and probably originally were affixed to horses, and so belonged to Type V above. Although they vary a good deal in shape, most of these figures wear a high polos, and all have the Doric chiton with shoulder-pins connected by a chain. One, **XXXIV, 6,** shows the chain, and below it the apoptygma of the chiton; another, **XXXIV, 2,** has between the chain and the apoptygma a vandyked edge, which seems to represent jewellery of the kind seen on so many of the similar figures from the Argive Heraion. They are generally unpainted, but there are two exceptions. Of these, one, **XXXIV, 5,** was found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery; the other, **XXXIV, 7,** is a moulded figure covered with a cream-coloured slip, upon which are painted a necklace with pendant, the chain or cord between the shoulder-pins, the girdle, and down the front of the robe an embroidered band of black maeander pattern. It was found with Laconian II pottery and so belongs to the end of the seventh century. These figures as a whole range over the seventh and sixth centuries: the earliest were found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery; the very latest with a mixture of Laconian IV and V.

Type VII. *Miscellaneous figures, presumably of Orthia, mostly of late date.*

a. **XXXV, 5.** Figure with polos and hair in tresses. The lower part of the body is columnar, and above this is a flat depression, and below it two knobs, perhaps breasts. This same depression is found also on the equestrian figure on **XXXIII, 7;** it is likely that it is the mark of attachment of a separately moulded pair of wings. The figure is flat behind. It was found with Laconian II pottery.

b. **XXXV, 2.** The upper half of a comparatively large figure: height ·13 m. The hair falls in three locks over the shoulders, and on the forehead

is arranged in curls under the polos. There are traces of red paint on the chiton. It was found in the layer of sand, and so dates to about 600 B.C.

c. The l. half of a bust of Orthia; the l. arm is flexed and on the hand a bird is perched. Of the sixth century; found with Laconian III and IV pottery.

d. **XXXV, 1, 3, 4, 7.** Fragments of about 14 draped female figures were found, distinguished by their relatively large size. They seem all to have worn the Doric chiton with shoulder fibulae; the arms are more or less free; there is some modelling at the back; the lower part is notably rectangular in section. Of the examples shown, one, **XXXV, 3,** was found with Geometric, one, **XXXV, 1,** with Geometric and Laconian I pottery, and the two others, **XXXV, 4, 7,** were found amongst the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre and are therefore of uncertain date. Others were found with Laconian III and IV pottery.

e. With these may perhaps go the figure on **XXXV, 6.** It was with Laconian VI pottery.

Type VIII. *Nude female figures* (**Pl. XXXVI**).

a. **XXXVI, 7.** A figurine with the r. hand held in front of the body; found with only Laconian I pottery, and so belonging to the middle of the seventh century. This figurine—I quote Mr. Farrell's description[2]—' shows finer technique than any early terracotta at the shrine of Artemis Orthia, and is complete except for the lower part of each leg. The figure and limbs are slim, the hair is in spiral curls over the forehead and descends upon each shoulder in a heavy mass divided by horizontal waves. The texture of the hair is indicated by fine engraved perpendicular lines. The head is covered with an unusually low polos resembling that worn by Hera on coins of Argos. The arms are undercut, but the back is only roughly modelled.' The clay is hard and presents a smooth, slightly lustrous surface, which, probably owing to irregular firing of the paint, is mottled red and black. A second figurine in this attitude was found, but its date is uncertain.

b. **XXXVI, 2.** A female figure on a plaque with the hands in the same position. The masses of hair are marked with horizontal lines. The whole is covered with a white slip. Dates to the middle of the seventh century.

c. **XXXVI, 3, 4.** Of these figures five or perhaps six examples were found, all from the same mould. They have often a thick background, formed by the clay overflowing from the mould. With one some Geometric and with another some Laconian II pottery was found, but Laconian I was never absent: they may be dated, therefore, to the years on both sides of 650 B.C.

d. **XXXVI, 5.** This broken torso was found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery, and so falls between 700 and 675 B.C. That on **XXXVI, 6** is of unknown provenance.

e. **XXXVI, 1.** A broken figure found with Laconian III and IV pottery, and therefore of the sixth century. The head alone has traces of a white slip.

Type IX. *Nude male figures* (**Pl. XXXVII, 1–6**).

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[2] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 65.

Apart from the small hand-made figurines, very few male figures were found. They are all made in half-moulds, and are therefore flat at the back.

a. **XXXVII, 2.** Preserved only from chin to knees; the arms are held to the sides; the hair descends in two locks over the front of each shoulder. In the middle of the breast a large hole. Made of the soft red clay. Found with Laconian I pottery.

b. **XXXVII, 5.** A fragment of a similar figure, but with the arms bent. Its date is not known, as it was found at the beginning of the excavation by the bank of the river before the stratification of the site was determined.

c. **XXXVII, 1.** A smaller figure covered with black paint. The head is too large; the hair falls in locks and covers the hands, which are held up in front of the shoulders. Found with Laconian IV pottery, it belongs to the second half of the sixth century. A fragment of another example, possibly from the same mould, was found by the bank of the river.

d. **XXXVII, 3, 6.** Eight examples, some from the same mould, of a nude male figure of the so-called *Dickbauchdaemon* type. They are standing with bent knees and a protuberant, creased abdomen. The hands are held to the sides. There are traces of paint, and the clay is red and very soft, which partly accounts for the blurred look of the features. One was as late as Laconian IV, but the majority were found with Laconian I pottery and must be dated to the earlier part of the seventh century.

e. **XXXVII, 4.** A single figure somewhat resembling the last, found with Laconian I pottery.

Type X. *Heads broken from figures or from vases* (**Pls. XXXVII, 7–10, XXXVIII, 1–5**).

a. **XXXVII, 7–10.** *Small heads with a two-peaked cap.* When they have any sign of hair, it falls in separate locks, **XXXVII, 8, 9.** One, **XXXVII, 10,** has large earrings. In one case, **XXXVII, 8,** a crudely hand-made body was found to join on, and this was with Laconian I pottery, but the type, of which 10 were found, goes as late as Laconian IV.

b. **XXXVIII, 1–4.** *Heads broken from vases, mostly probably male.* The faces are larger than those of most of the figurines. There were 15 found, nearly all with Geometric pottery, and any traces of paint on them are of the same style. They must date, therefore, to years before 675 B.C.

c. **XXXVIII, 5.** Head found with Laconian III and IV pottery. This is one of the 10 miscellaneous broken-off heads that were found of various dates, all belonging to figurines of the various types here discussed.

Type XI. *Miniature Masks* (**Pl. XXXVIII, 6–11**).

Here are classed a number of hollow-backed heads, complete as such; the eyes are sometimes pierced. The commonest are those of which **XXXVIII, 9, 11** shows specimens. They wear a crown and are finished off square below. They were found always with Laconian VI pottery (425–250 B.C.), and were especially frequent in the deposit among the house-walls to the east of the altar. The clay is generally of a deep, dull red, and so friable that unbroken specimens were quite rare.

With these may go six other heads, of which **XXXVIII, 6, 8, 10** are three

specimens; they are a little earlier—found with Laconian III–VI—and are not of so fixed a type. The head on **XXXVIII, 7** was with Laconian VI pottery and is no doubt later than the others. It is likely that all these little masks bear some relation to the full-size masks, for which *v.* Ch. V and p. 181.

Type XII. *Terracotta Plaques* (**Pl. XXXIX**).

Of terracotta reliefs we have one tolerably preserved (Fig. 109), and fragments of eight more. Those whose date is known are here described in chronological order. Thus Nos. 3 to 5 were found with only Geometric pottery, which puts them to some time before 740 B.C.; No. 6 with Geometric and Laconian I, and so to about 700 or a little later; Nos. 7 and 8 with Laconian I pottery only, and so to the middle of the seventh century, and No. 9 with Laconian V, and therefore of the fifth century. The very close analogy between these plaques and the ivory plaques will be seen if, *e.g.*, Fig. 109 is compared with the ivory on **XCIV,** or **XXXIX, 6** with those on **CIV.** The examples are in detail:

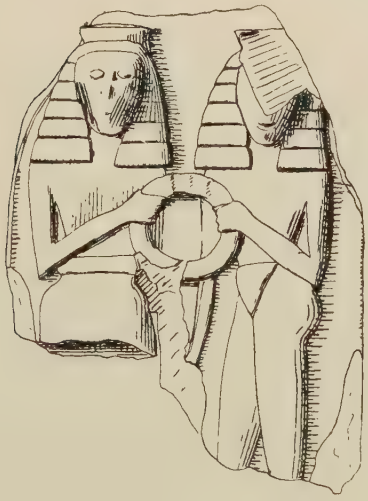

Fig. 109.—Terracotta Plaque (Type XII). Scale 1:2.

1. (Fig. 109.) Plaque now measuring ·13 by ·095 m. It is broken below and at the top corners: the edges also look as if they had been broken away from something. It preserves the remains of a white slip and, on the edge, of a Geometric pattern. The back is painted black. It was found below the inner ring of the Roman foundation to the south of the great altar in a deposit which showed a good deal of confusion; there is, however, not much doubt that it belongs to the Geometric stratum; the latter half of the eighth century is its probable date.

The subject is a man (r.) and a woman (l.) holding, he with his left and she with her right hand, a circular wreath, whilst their other hands are clasped. The man wears a triangular loin-cloth, the woman a girded chiton; both wear a polos, and have the same arrangement of the hair in masses marked by horizontal divisions.

2. A fragment, on which only an arm and the thighs of two figures remain; belongs apparently to a similar plaque: it is from a slightly smaller mould.

3. **XXXIX, 1.** Fragment showing legs of a pair of horses, probably yoked to a chariot. Traces of white slip and black paint.

4. **XXXIX, 3.** A small broken plaque showing a griffin-headed sphinx Found low down in the Trial Trench A in the first year, and so probably with nothing later than Geometric pottery.

5. **XXXIX, 2.** Top right-hand corner of broken plaque showing a man either in or mounting a chariot with one arm stretched forward.

6. Lower right-hand corner of a plaque similar to Nos. 1 and 2, showing a man's feet and shins.

7. **XXXIX, 5.** Fragment of a sphinx, the wing and hinder parts. It differs from the other plaques only in having the ground cut away.

8. **XXXIX, 4.** On a curved wheel-made sherd, and therefore from a vase, a pair of legs, and behind them the shaft of a spear: the subject might be one warrior following another.

9. **XXXIX, 6.** Fragment of the top edge of a delicately made thin plaque. The part preserved shows a man's hand grasping a spear and the front of the plume of his helmet.

Type XIII. *Handmade Figurines* (**Pls. XL, XLI**).

These fall into two classes, (A) human or quasi-human and (B) animal. The clay of which they are made is described by Mr. Farrell: The clay is usually smooth and soft with a tendency to red, but is rarely of the bright red colour of the other terracottas. There are a few examples of a fine, light, hard clay, grey in colour and usually splashed with bands or blotches of thin dark blue paint which becomes indelible, apparently owing to the absorbent nature of the clay. In a few cases figurines of this clay are covered with a slightly lustrous glaze.

A. *Human or quasi-human*, **XL.** Of such small figurines no less than 293 were found. Owing to their small size they are less broken than the larger moulded figures, and of the total number only about a third (88) are too fragmentary to be classified. Their distribution is very wide. The details are given below in describing each type; the general result is that of the whole number only 12 were found with Geometric pottery only, seven with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian, and, at the other end of the scale, seven were found with nothing earlier than Laconian V and VI pottery. All the rest fall between these, and belong to the period from the beginning of the Laconian I style to the end of Laconian IV. That is to say, they are rare before 700 B.C., the date assumed for the beginning of Laconian I, and probably even the earliest examples do not date long before 740 B.C., when Proto-Corinthian begins, for it is reasonable to bring the few Geometric examples as near as possible to the great mass of the succeeding period, and are equally rare after 500 B.C. Between these two dates, 700 and 500 B.C., they are extremely common. It is possible that their rarity in the later period may be at least partly due to the comparative scantiness of all finds; but this is certainly not true of the earlier end of their range, because the mass of Geometric pottery is very great, and if they had been commonly made at that time, would certainly have appeared in our deposits.

FIG. 110.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINE (Type XIII, A 1). Scale 1 : 2.

For the way in which these figurines are modelled I quote Mr. Farrell, who says: The very great majority of the figurines appear to be intended for bearded males. As, however, one undoubted female figure is rendered with a chin hardly distinguishable from a beard, it is not possible to be certain on this point. . . . The heads of these figurines are roughly treated in various ways, but fall into two distinct divisions, according to whether the head is

regarded as in profile or as in full face. The most carefully made of the former have rounded heads with very marked projecting nose and beard. The mouth is sometimes omitted. The sides of the face are flattened, and the eyes represented either by a flat ring or disc, or by a small hole. A simple method of making this type of head was to take the ball of clay which was to form the head and nip the front of it into a vertical edge, from which the nose and beard were then cut (*e.g.* **XL, 14**). In one undoubtedly female figurine the face is of the same type. In others the head is little more than a continuation of the neck, but some attempt at a profile rendering of nose and beard is generally made. The full-face type also represents a man, or more probably a satyr, with beard and whiskers. In the most summarised version the face is concave. It is made by pressing in the front on a clay ball; a small excrescence is added in the middle to indicate a nose, and three holes are pricked around it for eyes and mouth.

They may all be classed under the following types :

1. **XL, 1–7.** The figurine on **XL, 1** appears also in Fig. 110. Columnar figures having only a head and rudimentary arms; the column expands a little at the bottom to make a rough base. From a breakage sometimes observable towards the bottom of the column in front it may be inferred that some of these figures were ithyphallic. The type is common (57 examples), and is the only one clearly to be traced in the Geometric period, four having been found with nothing but Geometric pottery. All the other early pieces are unfortunately no more than fragments of indeterminate character. The type continues as late as 500 B.C.

2. **XL, 8.** Roughly-made figures shaped like a standing trefoil or cross, plainly a degeneration of the columnar type of human figurine. They have no signs of paint. The 10 examples all fall within the range of Laconian I pottery, from 700, that is, to 635 B.C. : the evidence further shows that they are rather late in this period.

3. **XL, 9.** Ithyphallic figures in a squatting posture. There were 51 examples : a few were found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and the type therefore goes back to before 700 B.C. They are, however, not common so early : it is after the end of Proto-Corinthian (660 B.C.) that they become frequent, and in the sixth century they are extremely common. A few were found with Laconian VI pottery.

4. Bestial or quasi-human figures, in the same posture as the last type : mostly ithyphallic. Only six were found, with the same range as that of the last type.

5. **XL, 10.** Men standing with one hand, right or left, raised to the head, and the other on the genitals : often ithyphallic. The seven examples were nearly all found with no pottery but Laconian I, and may therefore be dated to between 660 and 635 B.C. Earlier than this Proto-Corinthian would have been expected.

6. **XL, 11.** Figures of women in a sitting posture with the legs apart; the pudenda are often marked conspicuously. The examples—11 were found—range over the sixth and fifth centuries. The figurine on the plate, showing no signs of sex, may perhaps be a grotesque tumbler.

7. **XL, 12.** Standing figures with separated legs, some originally riding on horses. The provenance of only two is known: one was found with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery; the other with nothing but Laconian I.

8. **XL, 13–15** and Fig. 111, the same as **XL, 14.** These are figurines showing a man sitting down before a table, upon which his hand rests. On the table are generally what appear to be loaves, though they are only very clearly shown in three instances. Of these figures more or less complete there are 16, and six broken examples with only the table. They belong to the seventh century, being found with Laconian I and II pottery; with Laconian III and IV they hardly occur at all.

9. Fragments of human figures which cover all these types, but are too much broken to allow of further classification. Of these there are 122, of which 34 are heads.

10. **XL, 16, 17** and Fig. 112. Three hand-made figurines stand apart

Fig. 111.—Terracotta Figurine (Type XIII, A, 8). Scale 1 : 2.

Fig. 112.—Terracotta Figurine, from Front and Back (Type XIII, A, 10). Scale 1 : 2.

from these classes. These are: (1) a man carrying an animal over his shoulders, **XL, 16** and Fig. 112); (2) a man playing a flute, **XL, 17**: (3) a standing figure like those of the columnar type above, but with a bag slung over his neck and hanging down in front.

B. *Animal*, **XLI.** Numerous hand-made figures of animals were found, amongst which the horse enormously preponderated. The numbers were: Horses, 58, **XLI, 1–6;** cattle, 9; birds, 6, **XLI, 8, 9;** dogs, 7, **XLI, 10–13;** goats, 4; rams, 3, **XLI, 7;** couchant animals, probably sheep, 5, **XLI, 15;** tortoises, 3, **XLI, 14;** uncertain animals, 7. The number of horses is thus greater than that of all the other animals put together, and when to this are added all the equestrian figurines, and the reliefs in soft limestone, the preponderance of the horse amongst animal votives becomes still more conspicuous.

These animal figurines are not uncommon (10 examples) in the early strata in which only Geometric pottery is found, and later with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian there are eight examples. Sixteen are spread over the period of Laconian III to VI and the deposits of Hellenistic pottery, and thus run from 600 to perhaps 300 B.C. The bulk, however, are found with Laconian I and II

pottery, and so belong to the years between 700 and 600 B.C. This scarcity in the Geometric strata and the sixth century points to an actual rarity of this class of offering, as the remains from both these periods are very abundant.

The figurines are generally unpainted; exceptions are the dogs on **XLI, 10, 12,** the tortoise on **XLI, 14,** and the horses on **XLI, 1–4.** Two of these, **XLI, 5** have also remains of plastic harness.

A few figures deserve special notice. One of the horses, found with Geometric pottery, is noticeable as being an exact version in terracotta of the " Geometric " type of bronze horse found in such numbers at Olympia.

Among the cattle was a small squatting figure with a disproportionately large bull's head, but otherwise apparently human. This Minotaur was found with Laconian I pottery.

Two of the birds, of which one is on **XLI, 8,** are probably doves. Another, found with Laconian I pottery, is the head of a hawk on a rather arger scale, **XLI, 9.**

FIG. 113.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINE OF A BEAR (Type XIII, B). Scale 1 : 2.

The figure shown in Fig. 113 from a water-colour may be taken as a bear.

The tortoise, **XLI, 14,** was found with Laconian I pottery. Another was found with Laconian III and IV, the same sixth-century date as the bone tortoises on **CXV.**

The couchant animals are terracotta versions of the common type of ivory carving described on p. 230 *sqq.*

XIV. *Miscellaneous terracottas* (**Pls. XLII, XLIII, 1**).

1. **XLII, 1.** Bearded head of a man with a pointed hood: broken from a figurine. With Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and so dates to about 700–660 B.C.

2. **XLII, 2.** The fragmentary shoulder and back of a hollow figure, with a trace of drapery and a bow slung over the back. Almost certainly associated with Laconian II pottery, and so contemporary with some figures from the Menelaion, which are made of the same smooth, very fine, grey clay.

3. Fragment of a face with a very sharp nose. The face is in white, and the eyes, brows, nostrils and perhaps a moustache are delicately but childishly painted in purple. Of the sixth century.

4. **XLII, 3.** Lion's mask with a hole behind each ear. With Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery : therefore about 700–675 B.C.

5. **XLII, 6.** Fragment of a horse's head (·13 m. long), with the mane painted purple and the nose black. Sixth century, with Laconian IV and V pottery.

6. Ox's leg, well modelled. Length ·06 m. With Laconian VI pottery.

7. **XLII, 4.** Crouching quadruped, with the body painted black and the features picked out in black. The striped muzzle and frill round the neck suggest a lion. Found to the south of the altar in a confused deposit.

8. **XLII, 7.** A pomegranate, represented just after the fruit has set and the petals fallen, when the crown at the top of the fruit is very conspicuous.

We found 22 examples, from ·915 to ·04 m. in length. The earliest were found with Geometric pottery; the latest with Laconian IV and V.

9. Four cubical dice numbered with pips in the usual way from 1 to 6. Size from ·016 to ·028 m. One was found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery; one with Laconian I only. To be dated, therefore, to about 700–675 B.C.

10. **XLII, 8.** The upper part of a model of a temple. It has traces of black paint, and the roof-tiles are marked and at the side the triglyphs. Uncertain date.

11. Small model (·028 m. long) of a plasterer's smoother. Date uncertain.

12. Small double-axe found with Geometric pottery. Of exactly the same form and size as the very common bone double-axes.

13. **XLIII, 1.** Fine unpainted head in smooth red clay; flat at the back. Height ·15 m. The modelling is vigorous, especially the mouth and chin. The hair hangs in crimped locks. The nose has been lost, and the eyes, which must have been prominent and formed by pieces of clay applied and imperfectly welded to the face. Evidence to place this head chronologically is unfortunately not forthcoming, but a comparison with the smaller heads compels me to place it before the building of the later temple and therefore not later than the seventh century. In the same position was hair from the right side of a similar head, but about twice as large. In an uncertain deposit was also the left side hair from a head the same size as the first one.

14. There were several fragments of figures on a large scale. All were found with Laconian III and IV pottery, and so belong to the sixth century. In detail they were :—

(*a*) A foot in a shoe. From the toe to where the instep is broken, ·12 m.
(*b*) A foot on a stand. Length ·10 m.
(*c*) An arm, clumsily made. Length ·09 m.
(*d*) A hand, about half life-size.

15. **XLII, 5.** A grotesque squatting figure upon a rectangular stand, with a huge mouth, a pointed fringe of beard, staring eyes and a broad flat nose. It dates to the end of the seventh century, having been found with Laconian I and II pottery. A second example from the same mould was found : it had remains of a white slip. The lower part is gone, but the broad flat cap is better preserved.

16. (Fig. 114.) A group of a man, and on each side of him a woman with her right hand in the 'Cnidian' position : they are probably divinities. It was found in the layer of sand, and was therefore cast aside about the year 600 B.C.

The figures are in high relief upon a thin ground surrounded by a deep rim. The heads are large and the eyes open and staring. The hair is in the 'Egyptian' style, in large masses on each side of the head, and distinguished only by broad horizontal divisions, as in many of the other figurines. The bodies and limbs are slight and the general execution somewhat rude and blurred.

The clay is of a bright red, but harder than that of most Spartan figurines. There are traces of a thin and very adhesive yellow slip or paint.

17. In addition to these there are a hundred or more fragments of figurines all belonging to one or another of the types described, but hardly worthy of more detailed mention: often indeed too much broken to be classified at all. There are as well about a dozen pairs of feet on stands, which belong to the various types of standing figurines.

Type XV. *Vases in the form of men or animals* (**Pl. XLIII, 2–4**).

Seven of these were found of very varying dates. They are:—

1. Head and shoulders of a female figure, which formed the upper part of a vase, the lip rising from the crown of the head. Found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery.

2, 3. The backs of two more such heads from vases. They date to the sixth century, having been found with Laconian III and IV pottery.

Fig. 114.—Terracotta Group. Scale 1 : 3.

4. The bust of a similar thelymorphic vase, with breasts and extended arms. Found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery.

5. **XLIII, 3.** Aryballos in the form of a head. The face is painted white, and the border round it with purple and black stripes alternately. The lip of the vase, which, as in the next example, surmounted the head, has been broken off. Found with Laconian I pottery.

6. **XLIII, 2.** Unpainted aryballos of the same date, the vase having the shape of a female head.

7. **XLIII, 4.** Aryballos in the form of a monkey. It is made of almost white clay. The creature is squatting with its legs drawn up. A snake in relief coils across the breast, and a small quadruped, whose head is lost, probably a little monkey, sprawls over the left shoulder. It was found at the beginning of the excavation in circumstances which do not permit of precise dating, but the nature of the clay would assign it to the Menelaion group of figurines, and its date is therefore probably with Laconian II, the latter part of the seventh century.

XVI. *Terracottas of the Roman period* (**Pls. XLIV–XLVI**).

These terracottas were all found above the level of the top of the foundation of the Roman theatre: the date of this building, which we have put to about A.D. 250 or even later, gives us, therefore, a *terminus post quem* for all these figurines. The excavation afforded no other evidence of their date.

The method of making was in all cases the same. The front and back of the figure were made separately in moulds, and stuck together whilst the clay

was still wet. The figures are thus hollow and open below. As usual, a certain amount of handwork was applied to the moulded figures, but the result is in all cases very rough. The clay is red and hard baked. The figures seem not to have been painted at all.

The types found are as follows :—

1. **XLIV, 1.** Male nude figure standing with the arms held to the sides. The modelling is supplemented by sunk lines which serve to indicate the main points of the figure. The hands are quite shapeless. The head is lost.

2. **XLIV, 2.** Male nude standing figures : the arms and head broken. Of these four examples were found, of which the best is shown. The work is soft and poor. The abdomen is prominent. Three or four roughly-made bases probably belong to this type.

3. Artemis with a dog. This group, which must have been about ·30 m. high, is represented only by a number of comparatively small fragments. The goddess was standing, and the dog on his hind legs fawning upon her. The figures stood on a base inscribed ΠΕΙΘΕΡΟΣ. A hand holding a torch very likely belongs here. The work is very poor. The fragments found represent at least five, probably as many as 10 examples.

4. **XLV, 1–4.** Standing figures draped in a long robe and wearing a conical cap. The back is plain, and has a small hole in it. The left arm is covered; the right hand holds a jug. There were at least 32 of these figures, mostly, it seems, from the same mould, but only one is complete.

5. **XLIV, 3.** Draped female figure. The folds of the robe are rendered by incised lines. The hands are shapeless. The head has not been preserved, but locks of hair fall over the shoulders in front. The plate shows the better of two examples.

6. **XLV, 5.** Part of an extremely clumsy figure of Artemis running towards the right.

7. **XLV, 6.** Standing draped figure, of which there were at least four examples, though none preserves the arms or the head. The projection behind the right shoulder is possibly part of a wing.

8. **XLVI, 1–4.** Fragments of an Artemis figure wearing above her tunic the skin of an animal, the tail of which hangs down in front below the girdle. At least five figures are represented, but from different moulds.

9. **XLVI, 6.** Fragment of the bust of a draped female figure with long hair, falling in tresses over the shoulders in front.

10. **XLVI, 5.** The best of nine fragments of a female figure wearing a sort of cloak, of which the point falls down in front over the skirt. Something was held in the left hand.

11. A number of female heads belonging probably all of them to these Artemis figures. The hair is generally parted below a stephanos.

12. **XLVI, 7.** Dog's head with a collar; perhaps broken from a group of Artemis with a dog.

13. **XLVI, 8.** Broken-off head; possibly of a sheep.

14. A fragment of relief showing the front part of a horse.

15. Fragment of the face of a Gorgon.

16. Broken-off hand, half life-size, holding three apples.

17. A rather smaller broken-off hand.

18. Fore-arm and hand, ·13 m. long, very clumsily made.

19. **XLVI, 9.** With these figurines were a great number, but nearly all broken, of the plain cups, of which one is here shown.

R. M. Dawkins.

CHAPTER V

THE MASKS

1. *The Character of the Deposit.*

The history of the masks from the shrine of Orthia like that of the ivories and the lead figurines can be recovered only by aid of the pottery stratification. As the evidence of the excavation shows, the second temple was built about 600 B.C., and its construction necessitated the levelling of the site by means of a layer of sand which sealed up the greater part of the earlier deposits. This sand-layer is naturally a chronological factor of the highest importance and is now accepted as the dividing line between the pottery classes Laconian II and Laconian III, which respectively cover the periods 635–600 and 600–550 B.C. The deposit of masks begins in small quantities below this layer, but becomes far larger immediately after the completion of the new shrine. We have no reason to doubt that the second temple marked a great step in Spartan prosperity and cult-development, such as we might expect after the fortunate close of the Messenian wars, and such as is described by Herodotus [1] in the reigns of Kings Leon and Hegesicles.

Both north and south of the temple the surface of the sand-layer falls away, as appears well in the section on the line E–F on **Pl. IIa.** During the periodical clearings of the temple, rubbish was thrown out on both sides of it, and these depressions were gradually levelled up with a *débris* of broken votives of all kinds which the subsequent erection of the Roman amphitheatre with its concrete foundation has fortunately preserved for us in such remarkable quantities.

Among these accumulated votives an important place is occupied by the masks. The southern rubbish heap in particular contained a remarkable store of fragments closer packed, and therefore unfortunately more broken, than the more diffused deposit on the north side. Masks were first brought to light during the earliest operations under the river bank in 1906, and again in digging a pit at a corresponding position south of the temple in the same year. In 1907 a few fragments were found in the arena of the Roman theatre and among the temple foundations. In 1908 the whole area between the temple and the river bank yielded a great store of masks and the southern rubbish heap was fully excavated, while a few more masks were found in the precinct below the Roman foundations. But by far the largest number came from the two rubbish heaps north and south of the temple, which occupy a comparatively restricted area.

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[1] Herod. i. 65.

It is to be noted that the stratification of the masks is clearer on the south side than on the north. On the south side the great bulk of the masks belong without doubt to the sixth century and are found above the sand-layer with Laconian III and IV pottery. Very few fragments were found below, many thousands above the dividing line. On the north side, however, while much of the deposit below the river-bank was beyond the limit of the sand-layer and certainly later in date, a considerable number of masks, and those not the least important, were found below the sand. But it must be remembered that these particular deposits lie precisely in that region of the sanctuary which the lead and pottery prove to contain the votives belonging to the very last period before the sand was laid.[2] We must not, therefore, hastily conclude from the presence of some of the best masks below the sand that masks were dedicated on a large scale for some time before the foundation of the later temple. It is certain that masks were dedicated before the later temple was built, and some, as will be shown later, go back to the early part of the seventh century, but everything points to a sudden development in the popularity of votive masks in the closing years of the century when Laconian II pottery was already passing into Laconian III.

Cogent evidence for the intimate connexion of the masks in the highest levels below the sand with those in the lowest levels above it is to be found in the fact that casts from the same mould are found both above and below the sand-layer (cf. p. 15).

The numbered masks found below the sand in the northern area are Museum Nos. 77–100 B, besides 109 fragments of smaller size. On the south side 200 small fragments were definitely below the sand. Above the sand we found on the north Nos. 1–60 with several thousand smaller fragments, on the south several thousand fragments but very few masks whole enough to receive a museum number. As mentioned above, the southern rubbish heap was closer packed and the contents were therefore more completely shattered. In the arena itself we found 208 fragments altogether, of which only very few came from below the sand.

It will thus be obvious that a very small proportion of the recovered fragments are earlier than 600 B.C. Moreover, we have no reason to suppose that a smaller percentage of seventh-century masks has been recovered than of their sixth-century successors. Owing to the sand-layer, the seventh-century votives of the Orthia shrine have been preserved for us at least as well, if not better, than the votives of the next century, and we can reasonably take the recovered fragments of each century as standing in the same proportion to the total number of offerings. When, therefore, we count the seventh-century mask fragments in hundreds and the sixth-century fragments in thousands, we can confidently assume that masks were ten times as common in the later century as in the earlier.

The masks may be divided into seven types,[3] namely :—

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[2] *V.* p. 27. Appendix to this chapter, p. 176.

[3] Each has numerous subdivisions. *V.*

A. Clean-shaven, bald, wrinkled type, probably female—'Old Women.'
B. Normal unbearded male type—'Youths.'
C. Normal bearded male type—'Warriors.'
D. Realistic type—'Portraits.'
E. Satyric type with pointed ears—'Satyrs.'
F. Medusa type with protruding tongue and tusks—'Gorgons.'
G. Fantastic exaggerations and grotesques—'Caricatures.'

The earliest masks of all were found with sherds of the latest Geometric and the first Laconian style, together with some of the ivory figures of couchant animals discussed in Chapter VIII.

Some twenty fragments, including Nos. 85 and 95, were found here, and the types represented were 'Old Women,' 'Warriors' and 'Caricatures.' One 'Warrior,' indeed, was found in a purely geometric layer, but stress cannot be laid on a single instance. At the same time these twenty fragments can hardly be dated later than the first half of the seventh century. We may attribute a few score fragments to the succeeding generation, and, as we have seen above, some twenty-six numbered masks and about 300 fragments to the closing years of the century. Our conclusion must be that the custom of dedicating masks arose early in the seventh century and began to become popular at its very close.

The lower chronological limit of the masks is Laconian V and VI (500–250). The masks of Laconian VI are all small miniatures such as are illustrated in **XXXVIII, 6–11,** and have no special individuality of their own, since masks of this type can be paralleled from most ancient sites. These miniatures make their first appearance towards the end of Laconian V, and we may reasonably doubt whether the finer and larger masks survived long into the fifth century. The masks which occur with Laconian V are not many in number and they are invariably poor in quality. They consist of about fifty fragments, 'Old Women,' 'Youths,' 'Warriors,' and 'Caricatures.' All these masks are poorly made and hastily finished (**LIII, 1; LX, 2; LXI, 2**). Our conclusion then is that the great bulk of the masks belong to the sixth century, that is to say, to the periods Laconian III and IV, with sherds of which most of them were found.

We may restrict the real popularity of mask votives even more closely. The great mass of the masks was found in two rubbish heaps, each only a few yards in area, and, moreover, there is among this mass a remarkable similarity in style and technique. Both the rubbish heaps belong to the lowest stratum above the sand layer. Therefore, in addition to attributing almost all the masks to the sixth century, we are probably justified in assigning decidedly the greater quantity of them to Laconian III, or the period from 600 to 550 B.C. And it is significant that the technical character of the masks that are painted resembles pottery of Laconian III more closely than that of any of the other periods (cf. p. 169).

In dealing with a chronological arrangement of the masks we are, in fact, very much worse off than in the case of the pottery or the lead figurines.

Although the material is large, most of it belongs to two contemporary deposits which stand to some extent by themselves, and are not widely distributed among other votives. The pieces outside these two deposits are few in number and as a rule very fragmentary. The evidence from stratification, in fact, leads to the rejection of any *a priori* stylistic classification. The rough classification in the *Annual* of 1906, according to which **LV, 3** and **LVI, 1** preceded **XLVII, 3,** and **LIII, 2** was put at a later date, is not justified by the evidence, since all these masks belong to the main body of the sixth-century votives. It has already been mentioned that 'Old Women,' 'Warriors,' and 'Caricatures,' occur both in the seventh and in the fifth centuries. It is not even possible to put the 'Caricatures' as a general rule earlier than the more humanised types, because the earliest mask of all, No. 85, belongs to the milder class of 'Warrior,' while the fantastic No. 72, which caricatures a warrior, is one of the latest.

There is, however, some indication of date in the technical working of the mask. The masks, Nos. 77 to 100 B, found below the sand and therefore definitely early, are almost invariably of a bolder, freer and less conventional type than those of which the context is later. These later masks are poorly and hastily made. It is significant in this connexion that the 'Portrait' type is entirely of the sixth century and that no example of 'Satyr' or 'Gorgon' falls in the fifth.[4] These more vigorous and individual creations, the more elaborate examples of fantasy and realism, are mainly connected with Laconian III or at latest Laconian IV. This technical criterion seems to be the only safe one at our disposal.

We can state with some certainty that the more original masks belong to the period before 550, and that after that only 'Old Women, 'Youths,' 'Warriors' and 'Caricatures' are found with any frequency. We can further affirm that the best technique and modelling are found in the same period and that from 550 onwards the features get flatter,[4] the wrinkles less pronounced and the work hastier and cheaper. The masks tend to become smaller in size, ending at last in miniatures; the paint gradually disappears as the clay deteriorates. In a word, the stylistic development of the masks is analogous to that of the pottery with which, as is natural, they are closely allied.

2. *Classification.*

Type A. 'Old Women.' **Plates XLVII–XLIX.**

This is the commonest type of mask, though in the number of better preserved specimens it ranks second to the 'Caricatures.' Its generic marks are a high bald forehead in which the parietal bones are usually much emphasised, heavy wrinkles on forehead and cheeks and a grinning mouth. It is

[4] The flat type of painted mask shown in **LVI, 2**, the style of which suggests very primitive workmanship, is not to be classed among the earliest of the series, since from the character of its colouring it is probably contemporary with Laconian IV pottery. From this one instance the danger of these stylistic generalisations will be clearly seen.

normally clean-shaven. These characteristics at once led to the suggestion that the type represents the ugly feminine masks mentioned by Hesychios under the headings βρυδαλίγα and βρυλλαχισταί. While nearly all are clean-shaven, it will be noticed that **XLVIII, 3** shows an example with beard and whiskers, and that the incisions on the chin of **XLVII, 1** presumably indicate a beard. These variations, however, in no way disprove the identification of this type with the αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα γυναικεῖα of Hesychios, and it is highly probable that we have here representatives of the βρυδαλίγα which he mentions (cf. p. 173).

Type B. 'Youths.' **Plates L, LI,** and **Plate XXXVIII, 6–11.**

While most of the seven types of masks are of a grotesque character, the 'Youths' and 'Warriors' stand out from among the others owing to their moderate and human appearance. The 'Youth' type is distinguished by a clean-shaven chin and a normal style of hairdressing. Small fragments of noses, ears and hair can hardly be distributed between the two types, since the beard is the only distinguishing characteristic. The 'Youth' type never occurs in the seventh century, but is common in the fifth. In all probability it made its appearance not long before 550 and may even have originated in Laconian IV. Its three subdivisions are certainly chronological, and may be taken on the evidence of the pottery found with them as corresponding roughly with Laconian IV, Laconian V and Laconian VI.

Type C. 'Warriors.' **Plates LII–LIV.**

Besides the unbearded masks, we have a large class of bearded masks, usually with high diadems or head-dresses, marked by freedom from wrinkles or other signs of the grotesque. The title 'Warriors' is perhaps hardly justified by the evidence, but it is not improbable that the diadem worn by many of these masks represents the front view of a helmet with its crest, such as is worn by the warriors of the lead figurines,[5] while the very metallic beard of **LIII, 1** may be the chin-piece of a similar helmet. The vertical stripes of paint which frequently distinguish the diadem are not unsuitable for the representation of the crest, and its concave surface distinguishes it from the ordinary diadem. In several cases a roll appears below the diadem which may represent the rim of the helmet. With a very few exceptions all the 'Warriors' occur above the sand and are, therefore, later than 600 B.C. The popularity of the type certainly belongs to the sixth century, but they existed earlier, and, in fact, No. 85, the first mask of all, actually belongs to this class.

Type D. 'Portraits.' **Plate LV.**

This type includes without doubt the most interesting masks of the whole series. Unfortunately it consists of only ten pieces, of which two are shown in **LV, 1** and **LV, 2,** and a third, an enormous nose in **LV, 3.** This

[5] *e.g.* **Pl. CXCI.**

small class is distinguished by its extraordinary realism, and that is the only excuse for entitling it 'Portraits.' Its masks are not conventional like the 'Youths' and 'Warriors,' nor grotesque like the others. They are realistic studies of the human face, exaggerated but essentially based on nature, and thus they seem to deserve the title.

The mask shown in **LV, 1** has already been published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 326. It is of thick clay with the mouth unpierced, but it is life-size and might conceivably have been held before the face by the long neck. Its remarkably accurate and painstaking modelling is well shown in the illustration and it has been aptly compared with examples of Roman portraiture. The angular line of the nose is interesting, for it appears in other realistic heads and may have been a Spartan as well as a Roman characteristic.

It has been suggested that the wrinkles on the cheeks represent tattoo-marks, a theory advanced by Boehlau for one of the masks found by him in Samos. In view of the immense quantity of wrinkled masks from Sparta, this is a point of considerable importance from the anthropological point of view. The spirals shown in **LVI, 3** are also easily explained by tattoo-marks, and we have the statement of Plutarch [6] that Thracian women were tattooed, important evidence to those who believe the Spartans to have been of Thraco-Illyrian stock. But, leaving aside the spirals of **LVI, 3** for a moment, all the other examples such as the mask now being discussed show markings which differ in no way from the ordinary wrinkles of the 'Old Women.' If we interpret the marks on **LV, 1** as tattoo-marks we must accept the same interpretation for all the wrinkled masks at Sparta, many of which are marked over the whole of the face from forehead to chin (cf. **LIX, 1** and **LXI, 1**).

Without clearer evidence it is impossible to believe that any Hellenic race performed such a barbaric practice without any trace of it appearing in the literature even of its enemies. Nor can any support be adduced from the spirals of **LVI, 3.** The mask shown here is a Gorgon, *i.e.* a fabulous monster whose facial decoration is of no value whatever in regard to Spartan customs. The wrinkles on the Spartan masks are to be regarded simply as exaggerated natural features, and not as even the ritual survival of a tattooing system.

LV, 2 gives another fine portrait-mask in a very thin fabric. Here we have eyes, mouth and nostrils fully pierced and hollowed, so that the mask could actually have been worn if necessary. The modelling is not so ruggedly powerful as that of **LV, 1,** but there is a greater delicacy of treatment, especially of the fine surface. The whiskers are curiously conventional. There are several features in common between the two heads, notably the prominent chin and jaw with recessed mouth, as well as the long, pointed, angular nose. These features seem to be really Spartan and can be illustrated in other early Spartan work like the Chrysapha *stele*, the Dimitsana plaques, and some of the Orthia ivories. **LV, 3** shows a nose of which we have another example (Mould XVI). Here we see the Spartan nose somewhat distorted by caricature.

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[6] Plutarch, *de sera numinis vindicta*, § 557 D: οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρᾷκας ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν τιμωροῦντες Ὀρφεῖ τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας. Cf. Jane Harrison in *J.H.S.* ix. p. 146.

Nothing shows the fallacy of a purely stylistic chronological arrangement more than the fact that these fine masks were found in precisely the same stratum as **LVI, 2,** a primitive from its appearance, yet dated clearly by its technique to a period not earlier than 550.

Type E. 'Satyrs.' **Plate LVI.**

This mythological type is distinguished by upright pointed ears.

Type F. 'Gorgons.' **Plate LVI, LIX, 2.**

Another mythological type is provided by the Gorgon masks, which are few in number like the 'Portraits,' but of considerable fantastic interest. Their distinguishing features are snaky or spiky hair and the conventional protruding tongue. None of them are boldly modelled and none are earlier than Laconian III. Probably they did not originate much before 550. On the vases the first appearance of the Gorgon is in Laconian II.

Type G. 'Caricatures.' **Plates LVII–LXII.**

The last type may be aptly termed caricatures. It consists of all the grosser and more exaggerated masks which fail to come under any of the other types. Its subdivisions are therefore exceedingly complicated, as it contains so many varieties of subject.

3. *Material and Technique.*

The clay of which the masks are made is local and identical with the clay of the vases. It is normally a bright pink, but ranges in colour between faint buff and brick red, while occasionally over-firing turns it grey. Except in the latter condition it is soft and friable. The standard of manufacture, however, is not maintained at so high a level as for the vases, and various impurities can be detected in the clay of the coarser examples.

About two-thirds of the masks are unpainted. The rest are decorated with ordinary slip and with purple and black pigments akin to those used on the vases, but in this case also the masks are apt to betray inferior workmanship. Thus we find the black paint more frequently thin and watery or faded to a rusty brown than we do in the vases. In a few examples splashes of white are added above the black paint, a feature also characteristic of Laconian III pottery. The best example of a coloured mask is No. 31 (**LVI,** 2),[7] which is decorated in black and purple, but it shows a very poor quality of pigment, and for that reason cannot be regarded as primitive. Its closest analogies are with Laconian IV, a period in which we find similar changes of black to rusty brown and of purple to a muddy indistinct colour. The commonest type of decoration (*e.g.* No. 45) is to cover the mask with slip and then paint large smears of brown-

[7] Published in colour, *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. X.

black over nose, lips and eyebrows, with a purple circle drawn round the edge. Occasionally a few white splashes are added. In several of the wrinkled masks the raised parts are black or purple, sometimes both colours, in alternate stripes, while the wrinkles themselves are left white. Or the whole face may be purple with a plain ring round the eyes. Beards are usually covered with a plain slip and painted with stripes or rays in dark brown. One example shows white stripes on black. Crests are decorated with circles, spots or tongues of black and purple separated by thin brown lines. One fragment (No. 31 B, **LIX, 2**) shows a series of concentric rectangular stripes of white and brown and black variegated with spots. These stripes are sometimes (*e.g.* in No. 100) applied directly on the clay without any intervening slip, and masks simply covered with a monochrome wash are quite frequent (*e.g.* **LVI, 1** and **LVI, 3**). On the whole the conclusion is that the painting technique of the masks closely resembles that of the vases, more particularly those of Laconian III, while the later examples are parallel with Laconian IV. Yet it is noteworthy that incisions are never made through the painted surface of masks, although paint may be applied after incision.[8] Incision of details was frequently done after a mask had left the mould, and therefore we find in two casts from the same mould like Nos. 2 and 79 (**XLVIII, 2, 3**) a distinctly different finish, but the main scheme of the wrinkles is always part of the mould, though it may be touched up or added to later.

We can assert the following principles in regard to modelling after removal from the mould :—

(1) The mouth is usually finished afterwards and either pierced or not pierced as desired.
(2) Wrinkles may be intensified or altered and fresh incisions added.
(3) The shape may be slightly modified by extension in various directions.
(4) Ears may be added at discretion. In connexion with this point it is important to notice that the total number of right or left ears falls very far short of the number of noses. Many masks were without ears, and in a large number of cases the ears were added free hand after moulding.

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[8] It may be of use to add a more detailed description of some of the best painted masks :—

5. Covered with red-brown paint.
15. Shows traces of red-brown (**LII, 1**).
26. } Covered with very bright red-brown
27. } paint (**LVI, 1** and **LVI, 3**) with-
28. } out slip.
35. Black (**LVII, 1**).
37. Probably black all over.
42. Red-brown on chin, lips and eyebrows. Bad slip on whole surface. A latish mask resembling Laconian IV.
77. Plain clay with black on nose, centre of cheeks, centre of chin, centre of forehead, and on frame (**XLVII, 1**).
80. Pale clay. Eyebrows, eyes and nose in red-brown.
81. Very bright red-brown all over.
95. Both modelling and paint very coarse. Red-brown paint turning to black with the metallic gleam which is characteristic of Laconian IV.
96. Slip all over. Decoration in black on ears, eyebrows and lips, with band from ears to beard (**LIX, 1**).
100. Plain clay with black round lips, on ears, and a row of splashes round mouth corners.

(5) Noses might be twisted and bent out of shape, This frequent practice could not be done in the mould and must always have been performed afterwards.

(6) A rim could be left round the mask if desired.

Though the evidence shows that the use of moulds was common yet there was a large number of masks which were certainly modelled free hand like the Satyr caricature of **LXII, 1.** The 'Portraits' were certainly made in this way, perhaps on some kind of a block roughly cut to the shape of the human head.

There is no reason for supposing that the mask technique is derived from wood-carving. There are a few masks (*e.g.* Nos. 31 and 34, **LVI, 2** and **LVII, 2**) which resemble wood-carving, but they are not the earliest examples. Probably these and some others were made from wooden moulds, but as a rule the mould would seem also to have been of clay. It is unfortunate that no moulds were found in the excavations.[9]

4. *Analogies.*

Before drawing any conclusions about the meaning and use of Spartan masks, it is as well to examine the general use of masks in antiquity and any parallels with the Spartan series that may be obtainable.

Antique masks may be divided into five main classes :—

1. Sepulchral.
2. Dramatic.
3. Apotropaic (oscilla).
4. Votive offerings after illness.
5. Honorific masks.

1. *Sepulchral masks* are found in large numbers all over the ancient world and at all periods. We can trace their history from the gold death-masks at Mycenae to the *imagines* of Roman nobles.[10] From Nineveh to Carthage such masks are common in ancient tombs. We need not delay longer over this class, since it has plainly no connexion with the temple dedications of Orthia, but the examples found respectively in Samos [11] and in Carthage [12] show that the

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[9] As an example of the amount of divergence possible on the casts from a single mould, it will be of interest to examine a few specimens from Mould VI.

Taking Nos. 2 (**XLVIII, 2**), 5, 79 (**XLVIII, 3**), 81 and 216, we find the following variations :—

Nos. 2 and 79 have three teeth, No. 5 has two, No. 81 has none, No. 216 has five.

Nos. 79 and 81 have the mouth unpierced. Only No. 216 has the nostrils pierced.

No. 81 is ·005 m. wider between the cheek-bones than No. 5, and ·0075 m. wider than No. 216. This is due to stretching on removal from the mould.

No. 2 has a more pointed chin and a flatter bridge of the nose than the others.

No. 2 has had the two upper forehead wrinkles enlarged and deepened after removal from mould. No. 79 has had a series of incisions round the chin to indicate a beard, and has also had the forehead wrinkles deepened.

[10] For a full study of such masks cf. Benndorf, *Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcralmasken, Denkschriften der K. Akad. der Wissensch.*, xxviii. pp. 302 *sqq.*

[11] Boehlau, *Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen*, p. 157, Pl. XIII. 6.

[12] Moore, *Carthage of the Phoenicians*, p. 39 and plate facing p. 36.

sepulchral masks do not differ essentially in appearance from the series which we have been discussing. At Taranto a mask of our 'Caricature' type was found in a tomb, and a good 'Warrior' mask is to be seen in the museum at Chalcis. Boehlau is probably wrong in separating a mask of 'Caricature' type given on his Plate XIII, i and *ia* from the 'Satyr' type of Fig. 6 on the same plate. Its parallels in other tombs give no justification for considering it as an apotropaic oscillum.

Although there can be no sepulchral idea on the Spartan masks, it is clear that sepulchral and dedicated masks might be inspired by the same artistic ideas.

2. *Dramatic masks* are another commonplace of the ancient world, and in this case we can find some reason for their presence in a temple, since the practice of dedicating dramatic masks was not unknown in antiquity.[13] It is clear that the Spartan masks were not like those of Attic comedy or tragedy, since drama of that developed type was unknown in early Sparta, but masks were used for ritual purposes analogous to the drama as well as for the drama itself, and the Spartan masks may well have been employed in one of these many ways.

The origin of the mask in dramatic and other sacred ritual was almost certainly for purposes of concealment. As a disguise the mask has a history almost conterminous with history, from the earliest savage rituals to a modern fancy-dress ball. A good instance of early ritual masking is quoted by Professor Bosanquet [14] from Pausanias vi. 22. 5. At the temple of Artemis Alphaea was preserved the legend how Artemis and her nymphs escaped the amorous pursuit of Alphaeus by daubing their faces with clay. No doubt the scene was reproduced dramatically with masks. Smearing the face with vermilion or other colours was the most elementary form of masking. Thus images of Dionysus, the patron of drama, were not infrequently painted red,[15] and Horace records the same practice of the earliest actors.[16] Besides paint we hear of the employment of leaves,[17] bark,[18] white lead and purslane,[19] before the linen mask of Thespis. Regular dramatic masks of the familiar type were attributed to Choerilus of Samos [20] or to Aeschylus. Female masks were introduced by Phrynichos, but Aristotle did not know the author of comic masks. He was not likely to, considering their far greater antiquity.

Although the Spartans had no drama, they had an abundance of ritual dances, and it is here, if anywhere, that we shall find their use for masks. Fortunately we have ample evidence both from Pollux and Hesychius for the orgiastic Spartan dances. Pollux connects them with Artemis, while Hesychius expressly mentions the use of masks. The passages have been already quoted by Professor Bosanquet (*op. cit.*). Pollux (iv. 104), speaking of Laconian

[13] Le Bas, *As. Min.* 92, inscription from Teos; *Arch. Zeit.* xxiv. p. 170, Fig. 13, reliefs from theatre of Dionysus; Reisch, *Gr. Weihgeschenke, Wien. Arch.-Epig. Abhandl.* viii. pp. 145, 146, Figs. 13, 14; Lysias, *Dorod.* v. 698, 700.

[14] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 339.

[15] Paus. ii. 2. 5; vii. 26. 11.

[16] *De Arte Poetica*, 277.

[17] Suidas, *s.v.* θρίαμβος.

[18] Virg. *Georgics*, ii. 387.

[19] Suidas, *s.v.* Θέσπις.

[20] Suidas, *s.v.* Χοίριλος.

dances, says:—καὶ βαρυλλικά, τὸ μὲν εὕρημα Βαρυλλίκου, προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.

Hesychius mentions the same dances under the word βρυδαλίγα:—πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον περιτίθεται καὶ γυναικεῖα ἱμάτια ἐνδέδυται, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς μαχρὰς (? μαχλάδας) βρυλλίχας καλοῦσι Λάκωνες παρὰ τὸ γελοῖον καὶ αἰσχρόν. ὁ Ρίνθων τὴν ὀρχηστρίαν. Again under βρυλλιχισταί:—οἱ αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα περιτιθέμενοι γυναικεῖα καὶ ὕμνους ᾄδοντες. Again κύνθιον, κυλίνθιον, and κύριθρα are described as προσωπεῖα ξυλινά, and κυριττοί:—οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ ξυλινὰ προσωπεῖα κατὰ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἑορτάζοντες τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ γελοιασταί.

Artemis Korythalia had a temple at Sparta near the Tiasus [21] or Tiasa. Is it possible that κατὰ Ἰταλίαν is a corruption of the same title? We find the same word in κορυθαλίστριαι which Hesychius explains as αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ. Other orgiastic dances in honour of Artemis are known at Dera or Dereum on Taygetus,[22] and at Caryae [23] in Laconia, besides the κόρδαξ in Elis.[24] We have further mention in Athenaeus [25] of dances at Sparta by δικηλιστάι who seem to have portrayed scenes of comedy. In this connexion we hear of προσωπεῖα μεθυόντων, and Pollux [26] gives a long list of Laconian dances which is of considerable importance: ἦν δέ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα, διὰ Μαλέας· Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι, ὑπότρομα ὀρχούμενοι. καὶ ἴθυμβοι ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ καρυάτιδες ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ βρυάλιχα (or βαρυλλικά), τὸ μὲν εὕρημα Βρυαλίχου, etc. He then goes on to describe the dances of comic μίμησις, of old men leaning on sticks, of boys stealing fruit, etc. These latter are evidently the same as the dances of the δικηλισταί of Athenaeus.

It will be noticed that there is some confusion in our authorities as to the sex of the dancers of βαρυλλικά. Hesychius calls them male, Pollux female. Probably the latter is confusing the regular maiden-choruses to Artemis, such as were danced at the sanctuaries of Korythalia and Karyai, with the definitely comic or obscene dances danced by male performers in female costume for Artemis (presumably Artemis Orthia). There seem to have been different types of these dances: the βαρυλλικά or βρυδαλίγα for Artemis, the dances of satyrs and Sileni, presumably for Dionysus, and the ἴθυμβοι, also for Dionysus, which may have been a variant of the latter class.

It emerges as clear, at any rate, from our rather confused authorities that orgiastic dances were danced for Artemis in ancient times by men disguised in feminine masks, which were made of wood and known as κύριθρα.

3. *Apotropaic masks.* An important ancient use for masks was to hang them from trees as votive offerings to tree or wood divinities, with the idea of diverting their evil influence to a sort of lightning-conductor, which by swinging high up could hardly fail to attract their first and most unfavourable

[21] Athenaeus, iv. 139.

[22] Hesychius, *s.v.*; Paus. iii. 20. 7; Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

[23] Hesychius, *s.v.*; Paus. iii. 10. 8; iv. 16. 9; Pollux, iv. 104; Lucian, *de Salt.* 10.

[24] Paus. vi. 22. 1.

[25] Athenaeus, xiv. 621*e*.

[26] iv. 104.

regard.[27] Virgil mentions them as *mollia* in a well-known and much-disputed passage in the *Georgics*.[28] They may well be the relics of more valuable sacrifices, as Macrobius suggests, human offerings like the Agei or the Acora. Probus says the practice was of Attic origin, which need not mean more than that it was found both in Greece and Italy and so goes back to immemorial antiquity. The only reason we could have for connecting the Spartan masks with *oscilla* is that they are found as temple dedications. But we have no reason to suppose that they hung as apotropaic symbols in the temple, and the true use of such symbols is out-of-doors, not in a building already protected by its sanctity.

Apotropaic masks appear in many other surroundings, from the Medusa on Athena's aegis to the little ugly masks in potters' ovens and under amphora handles. They are universal charms against the evil eye, and for this purpose their efficacy is increased by their ugliness. In the latter point at any rate the Spartan masks show considerable similarity with this class.

4. We need hardly consider the votive masks connected with disease and its cure.[29] Artemis Orthia was not a healing goddess, nor can we suppose that her votaries suffered only from facial diseases.

5. Honorific masks offered as votives are recorded in many inscriptions,[30] but these would never be grotesque, and so can have no connexion with the Spartan series.

5. *General Conclusions.*

By a comparison of the Spartan masks as classified with the main analogies for the use of masks in antiquity we can come to some final conclusions about their use.

The most important class of masks used in Sparta was clearly that of the κύριθρα used in the βαρυλλικά βρυδαλίγα dances in honour of Artemis. The whole of our 'Old Women' and a large number of the 'Caricatures' might be described as κύριθρα of 'ugly old women,' and we need have no hesitation in connecting them with the dance described by Pollux and Hesychius. The 'Satyr' type seems naturally connected with the satyr-dance mentioned by Pollux, and the 'Gorgons' might belong to one or other of the Spartan dances, but it would be difficult to connect the 'Youths,' 'Warriors' or 'Portraits' with any of which we have knowledge.

We have always to remember that the κύριθρα were wooden according to the testimony of Hesychius. This at once suggests doubts as to the actual use of the terracotta masks found in the sanctuary of Artemis. Not only would clay masks be uncomfortable to dance in, and very apt to break under the sway of orgiastic emotion, but, as we have seen in the description above, many of the Spartan masks have nose and mouth unpierced, while some have even

[27] Macrobius, i. 7. 31.

[28] ii. 382–396 and Probus, *ad loc.*

[29] Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, pp. 210–212, *notes*.

[30] In treasury of Athena, *I.G.* i.², 276, l. 7, etc.; in Asclepieion, *I.G.* ii.², 1533, l. 4; in Amphiaraion, *I.G.* vii. 303, l. 68, 3498, l. 20; Thebes, *ib.* 2424, l. 10; in Heraion at Samos, Curtius, *Samos*, 6; Stamatiades, Σαμιακά, i. 218 *sqq.*

the eyes blocked (*e.g.* **LXII, 1**). The majority of the masks are too small to be used even by children, and many have no holes for fastening.

We cannot, then, conclude that the masks found in the sanctuary were the actual dancing masks, even where they are large enough and adapted for wearing. In such cases they are simply closer and more faithful copies reproducing even the holes for the fastening strings. The terracotta masks must be copies of the dancing masks, votive copies offered to Artemis by the dancers while the originals remained in the owners' possession. Clay masks finely finished and coloured would be acceptable temple gifts. Thus a custom of dedicating masks would grow up in connexion with the dances, and we may attribute all the 'Old Women,' some of the 'Caricatures,' and possibly the 'Satyrs' to this practice.

But if a practice of dedicating masks once came into existence, it is highly probable that it would soon be extended beyond its original scope. Most Spartan households would possess Satyr or Gorgon masks for apotropaic purposes. They would soon acquire the habit of dedicating these also.[31] In this manner some 'Satyrs,' all the 'Gorgons,' and the rest of the 'Caricatures' would come into existence. A further stage of development is reached when the idea comes into being that any mask is an acceptable votive offering quite apart from orgiastic or apotropaic meanings, and so the types of 'Youths' and 'Warriors' were elaborated. The final stage is reached by those masks in which we must surely see a primitive type of portraiture.

If this theory is correct, the Spartan mask-series follows a simple line of thought on the part of the dedicators.

1. The object itself is dedicated.
2. A clay reproduction of the object takes its place.
3. Clay reproductions of similar objects.
4. Any analogous object, now representative of the dedicator himself.
5. An object more closely connected with the individual dedicator.

Finally, we meet with the miniature masks, which are merely symbolic of the larger votives.

It is probable that we have no example at Sparta of the actual orgiastic masks, and it is in fact very likely that most of the psychological development suggested above took place before the great bulk of the deposit accumulated in the sixth century. At any rate we have an undoubted mask of the 'Warrior' type among the earliest of all, a fact which suggests that five, at any rate, of the seven classes were in existence in the seventh century.

It is possible that the 'Youths' and the 'Portraits' developed about 600 B.C., and with them the development came to an end. Soon afterwards, not later than 550 B.C., degeneration set in and we find a gradual deterioration in technique both of modelling and of decoration. At the same time the

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[31] Cf. Aristoph. *Geras*, (Frag. 131, Koch). This passage does not refer to dramatic masks, as Rouse supposes (*Gr. Votive Offerings*, p. 162), but certainly to apotropaic bogy masks. Thus we find in Athens bogy masks dedicated alongside of genuine dramatic masks.

tendency to produce obviously useless masks (already present in the seventh century, cf. **XLVIII, 3**), increases, and eyes, mouth and nose cease more and more to be pierced. Masks become flatter and smaller and finally sink into miniatures.

The art-history of the Spartan masks, such as it is, fits admirably into the general scheme as outlined in other departments of Spartan art. We know from ample evidence that Spartan art developed early in the eighth century and that a great skill in ivory-working was very soon attained. As a whole, however, we may say that the more specifically local products of Spartan art, pottery, lead figurines, bone-plaques, etc., grew to excellence during the seventh century and culminated about the year 600 B.C., when the new temples to Artemis Orthia and Athena Chalkioikos were built. The masks are at their best during Laconian III, from 600–550 B.C., and afterwards there sets in a rapid decline, which we must certainly connect with the growing militarism of Sparta.

The excavations at Sparta have thrown much new light upon the art of Sparta. On the one hand we have the ivories, executed with a sureness and finesse equal to the finest Ionian work; on the other the masks, done with a bold and sketchy vigour that disdains detail and revels in the grotesque and the macabre. Among many pieces that he will dismiss as barbarous and rude the critic will find examples like **LV, 1, LV, 2** and **LVIII, 3** exhibiting an extraordinary skill in realistic, if exaggerated, sculpture. For the early sixth century in Greece it would be as hard to rival the vigour of this typical Lacedaemonian work in terracotta as it is hard in the seventh to rival its delicate ivory-carving, and, when we remember that Spartan art ends in the generation which saw the beginning of the art of Athens, we may well regret the political considerations that turned Sparta into a barracks.

G. DICKINS.

APPENDIX

Classification of Masks

The masks may be divided into seven types and numerous subdivisions :—

A. Clean-shaven, bald, wrinkled type, probably female—'Old Women.'
B. Normal unbearded male type—'Youths.'
C. Normal bearded male type—'Warriors.'
D. Realistic type—'Portraits.'
E. Satyric type with pointed ears—'Satyrs.'
F. Medusa type with protruding tongue and tusks—'Gorgons.'
G. Fantastic exaggerations and grotesques—'Caricatures.'

Of the many thousand fragments of masks, the majority were too small and indeterminate to admit of classification, but altogether over 800 pieces have been divided among the seven types enumerated above. Of these nearly 120

are more or less complete and have received a museum number. These 120, together with rather more than 200 others, afforded material for the further subdivisions which are described below, but about 450 could not with certainty be classified in the subdivisions, although they could be arranged under the seven main types. These three classes are referred to below as α, β and γ.

α gives us about 120 large pieces with museum numbers;
β, about 200 fragments which have proved capable of subdivision into sub-types, but have no distinguishing number;
γ, about 500 smaller fragments which have proved capable of division under the seven main types but not of subdivision.

The following table gives a brief conspectus of the classification by types :—

Type.	α: Large pieces.	β: Pieces large enough to be classified.	γ: Small pieces.		Total.
A	35	77	174	=	286
B	7	13	19	=	39
C	14	51	167	=	232
D	5	5	—	=	10
E	6	8	61	=	75
F	10	5	—	=	15
G	44	77	29	=	150
	121	236	450	=	807

Many of these fragments being small may very well have come from the same mask, and to calculate the total number of masks from the Orthia site, the only way of arriving at a minimum estimate was to count the noses. Of these 603 could be distinguished, and fragments, therefore, of at least that minimum number of masks have been recovered from the shrine. These 603 noses cannot all be classified under the seven types; they can only be roughly divided into 375 more or less human noses (*i.e.* Types A–D) and 228 grotesque noses (*i.e.* Types E–G). Since many of the noses are, no doubt, missing, and many masks must be represented by only a few tiny fragments, we shall not be far wrong in estimating that at least one thousand masks are represented by the several thousand fragments recovered in the excavations.

Many, probably the majority, of the masks were made by hand, but we have evidence of the existence of a number of moulds from which replicas were turned out according to the ordinary methods of ancient terracottas. In all 26 moulds have been distinguished, which, because they include the nose, evidently belong to separate masks. There are indications of 10 other moulds, but, as these do not include the nose, the masks in question may well have been made from the 26 already identified. The 26 moulds account for 258 masks out of the minimum of 603. The other 345 would seem to be made by hand.

The following list gives the moulds with the number of masks from such and the types to which they belong :—

Mould.	Type.	Number of masks.
I.	A	15
II.	,,	18
III.	,,	3
IV.	,,	15
V.	,,	2
VI.	,,	23
VII.	,,	20
VIII.	C	2
IX.	,,	2
X.	,,	6
XI.	B or C	11
XII.	,,	26
XIII.	,,	5
XIV.	,,	52
XV.	,,	18
XVI.	D	3
XVII.	E	3
XVIII.	F	2
XIX.	G	2
XX.	,,	2
XXI.	,,	3
XXII.	,,	2
XXIII.	,,	4
XXIV.	,,	4
XXV.	,,	4
XXVI.	,,	11
		258

Besides these 26 separate moulds including noses, nine moulds, from which ears were made, have been distinguished :—

XXVII.	E	4	left ears
XXVIII.	,,	2	,,
XXIX.	,,	2	,,
XXX.[32]	,,	4	right ears.
XXXI.	,,	2	,,
XXXII.	,,	2	,,
XXXIII.	B or C	3	left ears.
XXXIV.	,,	2	,,
XXXV.	,,	2	right ears.

One mould for the hair on the forehead of a mask has been observed.

XXXVI.	B or C	4	locks of hair.

We can now proceed to the full description of the masks as they fall under the above classification, and also to the subdivisions under the main seven types.

[32] Moulds XXVII and XXX belong together.

Type A. (**Pls. XLVII–XLIX.**) (32 α, 75 β, 179 γ.) Moulds I–VII. 'Old Women.'

There are seven subdivisions of Type A.

i. The largest subdivision consists of the barbarous-looking version shown in **XLVII, 1** and **3,** made from two different moulds showing slightly different representations of very much the same face. The mask shown in **XLVII, 1** is life-size, with eyes and mouth pierced and with holes at intervals round the rim. It might, therefore, conceivably have been worn (cf. p. 175), though the nose is usually not sufficiently hollowed out. This sub-type must have been the most popular of all the different kinds of Spartan masks. Its two moulds yield 33 examples, represented by α and β fragments, and a very large number of the γ fragments seem to belong to it. It occurs throughout the whole series, and examples from Mould II were found both above and below the sand level. Mould I has five and ten examples in varying degrees of preservation. Mould II (**XLVII, 3**) differs slightly in several respects. Its forehead wrinkles are straight and its face is rather longer and narrower. The mouth is not pierced through, the nose and chin are unwrinkled, and instead of holes round the edge it has a thick raised rim. Since neither mouth nor nose are pierced, this mask could not have been worn. Eighteen examples (6 α and 12 β) have been distinguished in which there are some slight variations, as the rim is not universally present. This rim might have been used for holding up the mask.

Besides the examples from Moulds I and II some eleven other fragments (6 α, 5 β) can be classed under this sub-type.

ii. The second subdivision differs from the first in the shape of the cheek wrinkles. In i. these follow roughly the prominence of the cheeks. In ii. they are partly horizontal and partly vertical without any connexion with the anatomy. They thus show a rather different system of decoration, conventional instead of natural, and are probably of later origin. Three fragments of this sub-type (1 α, 2 β) have been identified as from the same mould, classed above as Mould III.

iii. Another subdivision is formed of the masks from Mould IV, of which there are 15 (4 α, 11 β). All the examples from this mould were found above the sand-layer, but some other varieties of the same sub-type come from below it. This sub-type shows a mask with a more pointed chin than the preceding examples and a shaped wrinkle round the mouth, which is pierced. The cheekbones are high and the mouth is grinning. Along the crown of the head is a low ridge, and a few incisions on the brow indicate hair (**XLIX, 2**).

The above three subdivisions are life-size or nearly so. The four following are smaller, especially Nos. v–vii.

iv. Three examples of 'Old Women' can be classed together in a subdivision as they are practically without wrinkles round the nose or mouth. Two of these (both α) come from Mould V and were found above the sand, while a variety rather smaller in size (**XLVIII, 1**) was found below it.

v. After i. this is the commonest of the 'Old Women' subdivisions. **XLVIII, 2** gives one of the twenty-three examples from Mould VI (7 α, 16 β). It

is very much smaller than life-size and shows a long oval face with a high broad forehead. The cheeks are modelled naturalistically and with some success and the wrinkles are confined to the forehead. Some of the copies show a rim similar to, but smaller than, that which appears in **XLVII, 3,** and in addition to the rim there is a series of small holes round the edge. Another mask from the same mould is shown in **XLVIII, 3,** which is of interest, since it shows the variations possible in two casts from a single mould.

In **XLVIII, 3** it will be noticed that the forehead wrinkles are harder and deeper as well as of a slightly different shape. The rim round the edge is larger, and incisions have been made round the chin to indicate a stubbly beard. Other replicas from this mould show other slight variations (cf. p. 169, n. 9).

vi. There are twenty replicas of a small mould (Mould VII) showing little more than the nose and eye and cheekbone of an ' Old Woman ' sub-type (2 α, 18 β), characterised by rather broad flat wrinkles and an open mouth. The fabric is thin. **XLIX, 1** shows a variant which belongs to the same division, though it does not come from the actual mould. There is a strained, painful expression about the mask which distinguishes it from some of the others.

vii. These examples (all β) are similar in appearance but have the mouth shut.

This completes the subdivisions of Type A, or the ' Old Women.' But besides the 112 pieces which have been subdivided, there are some 174 others which belong to the general type, mainly on the evidence of their bald, wrinkled foreheads and pronounced parietal bones.

Type B. (**Pls. L, LI.**) 7 α, 13 β, 19 γ. Mould XXXVI, Moulds XI–XV, XXXIII–XXXV. ' Youths.'

i. The archaic type of ' Youth ' is shown in **L, 1,** and another example in **LI, 2** (both slightly tilted to the left of the vertical). Unfortunately both these fragments are of foreheads and might conceivably belong to bearded heads. The arrangement of the hair, however, is unparalleled in any of the bearded heads, consisting, as it does, of a sort of scalloped fringe with small locks in front. It seems safe, therefore, to interpret the incisions in front of the ear of **L, 1** as short whiskers and not as a beard, and to class these fragments and nine others of a similar type (in all 4 α, 7 β) as a more archaic subdivision of the ' Youths ' rather than as a class of ' Warriors.' Since, however, in no case is the lower part of the face preserved, it must remain dubious to which type they belong. It is to be noticed that this sub-type contains masks which cover far more of the top of the head than any of the ' Old Women.' They are life-size and might conceivably have been worn. The modelling is straightforward and normal on archaic lines and no wrinkles are permitted. Mould XXXVI of locks of hair, from which we have four examples, belongs to this subdivision, and some of the other dubious moulds should also perhaps be included. But in the numbers given above these doubtful pieces are omitted. Three more examples are shown in **L,2** and **3** and **LI, 1** (also tilted a little to the left).

ii. The second variety of this type is certainly later in style and is also smaller in size. Nine fragments (3 α, 6 β) can be classified. **LI, 3** shows a typical example. It is under life-size and neither mouth nor nose is pierced. In spite of holes at the edges, it could not have been worn in any circumstances, and is therefore a clear example of a pure votive without the possibility of use (cf. p. 175). Its simple character calls for no comment.

iii. The third subdivision of Type B hardly belongs to the regular series of masks, consisting as it does of miniatures certainly much later in date which are a survival rather than a continuation of the regular series. Examples of these miniatures, of which very considerable numbers were found with Laconian VI pottery, are shown on **XXXVIII, 6–11,** among the terracotta figurines; see also p. 153. They are not included in the numbers given for the type (cf. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 72).

Type C. (**Pls. LII–LIV.**) 14 α, 51 β, 167 γ. Moulds VIII–X, ? XI–XV, XXXIII–XXXV. 'Warriors.'

i. The first subdivision of 'Warriors' is characterised by a high crest on which traces of paint are frequently visible. Examples are shown in **LII** and **LIII, 1.** Some seventeen pieces (5 α, 12 β) belong to the class and are all very flatly modelled and very thin. The features are superficial and formal. The example in **LIII, 1** gives the best idea of the face. The mouth is not pierced, and in this instance there is no possibility of wearing the mask, as the under-part of the head carries up the line of the beard or chin-piece at the back. It resembles, therefore, a hollow terracotta head rather than a mask. Another peculiarity of this mask is its dead grey, almost black, colour due to a mistake in firing. The triangular moustache is modelled in a very conventional manner. It may be said of this whole 'Warrior' type that the greater number are poorly modelled and therefore, on technical evidence, late in date. Even if the type existed early, its popularity was certainly later than that of the more violent types.

ii. The second subdivision includes masks of a rather thicker fabric with a roll over the forehead, which may indicate either the hair or the rim of the helmet. Examples are shown in **LIII, 2** (one of two casts, 1 α, 1 β, from Mould VIII) and **LIII, 3.** Here again the mouth is not pierced. These examples show another feature not uncommon among the Spartan masks, a bearded face without a moustache (cf. also **XLVIII, 3**). We are reminded of the so-called Lycurgan *rhetra*,[33] but it is as well to remember that the feature is by no means universal even among the warriors. There are, in fact, as many cases of the presence as of the absence of the moustache (cf. **LIII, 1**).

iii. The next sub-type is shown in **LIV.** No. 1 gives one of two examples (1 α, 1 β) from Mould IX. There are a few other varieties of this subdivision, which is easily distinguished by its shaven upper lip and widely projecting whiskers. The mouth is again unpierced and the nose is short and stumpy.

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[33] Plutarch, *Moralia*, § 550 B, μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις. *Cleomenes*, § 9, κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις.

Small circular pupils are pierced in an oval eye. The mask is little under life-size.

iv. Eight fragments (1 α, 7 β) belong to a sub-type in which the roll over the forehead is more carefully incised. These incisions may serve as an argument for the interpretation of this roll as hair rather than a helmet.

v. Four fragments (1 α, 3 β) show a shorter crest and two ridges below it. Some of these have the top of the head or helmet shown extending some way back from the forehead.

vi. Another class with a short diadem has sharp projecting eyebrows instead of the usual flat forehead modelling. There are thirteen fragments (2 α, 11 β).

vii. Finally, we have a subdivision of seven pieces (2 α, 5 β) like the last, except that the eyebrows are heavy and blank.

Mould X belongs to Type C, but it is uncertain to which subdivision we should assign it. There are six pieces (all γ) showing a rather stiffly brushed back moustache and beard.

It is uncertain whether Moulds XI–XV, small pieces with nose only, and Moulds XXXIII–XXXV, ears only, belong to Types B or C.

Type D. (**Pl. LV.**) 5 α, 5 β. ? Mould XVI. 'Portraits.'

The few masks of this type are individuals and are discussed above in the main chapter.

Type E. (**Pl. LVI, 1.**) 6 α, 8 β, 61 γ. Moulds XVII, XXVII–XXXII. 'Satyrs.'

The fifth type falls into three subdivisions which are probably chronological in order.

i. Four masks (2 α, 2 β) are peculiar on account of their exaggerated bulbous, bottle-nosed features and grotesque appearance. Three of these come from Mould XVII. All are life-size and wearable. No Satyr masks were found below the sand, but the vigorous modelling of this sub-type indicates an early sixth-century origin.

ii. The second subdivision is milder in type and consists of two masks (both α), one of which is shown in **LVI, 1.** Apart from the ears and the bulging cheeks this mask is not particularly abnormal. The mouth is not pierced. The mask is of a thin fabric and well modelled. It was painted red all over and a good deal of the colour is still preserved.

iii. The third subdivision is flatter and shows much less modelling. On technical grounds it seems later, and none of the masks are adapted for use. Of its ten fragments (3 α, 7 β), three have short fat ears, two short pointed ears, and the rest longer pointed ears. Red paint is preserved on most of them.

The sixty-one fragments belonging to this type cannot be subdivided. They consist almost entirely of ears, and six moulds, XXVII–XXXII, comprise between them sixteen pieces.

Type F. (**Pl. LVI, 2, 3.**) 10 α, 5 β. Mould XVIII. 'Gorgons.'

i. The first subdivision consists of **LVI,** 2 and four other fragments (3 α altogether) of similar style. They are flat, well finished, and brilliantly painted in purple, brown and black. They certainly present the most archaic appearance of all the Spartan masks and show considerable resemblance to a rough wood-carving, but they can hardly be earlier than 550, since the technique of their painting agrees best with that of Laconian IV vases. In the case of **LVI, 2,** mouth, eyes and nostrils are pierced, but apart from its diminutive size the mask could not be worn, because the nose is not hollowed behind. Whiskers and a beard are shown but no moustache. Wrinkles are indicated on the side of the nose by paint, while the hair is rendered by stripes and circles on the forehead. It is a very masculine Gorgon. There are holes round the side of the mask, but on this, as on many other small masks, they can hardly have had any useful purpose beyond that of suspension. Many masks have no holes at all. It would seem then that in many cases at any rate they are merely a traditional survival.

Another mask of similar appearance but without colour falls into this subdivision.

ii. The second sub-type consists of two replicas (both α) from Mould XVIII, one of which is shown in **LVI, 3.** This mask is too small to wear and neither mouth nor nose is pierced. It is too fragmentary for determining the existence of holes. The style of this mask is not so primitive as the former Gorgons, and it shows a curious spiral decoration on the cheeks. Traces of red paint are to be seen.

iii. Another sub-type consists of six pieces (3 α, 3 β) of more realistic appearance. They are unfortunately mere fragments.

iv. One fragment differs from the others by its much smaller size, and by the transformation of its tongue into a short pointed beard. The latter peculiarity appears also in a larger badly painted piece. These masks are probably late and due to a misconception of the modeller.

Type G. (**Pls. LVII–LXII.**) 44 α, 77 β, 29 γ. Moulds XIX–XXVI. 'Caricatures.'

The following represents an attempt at classification:—

i. Unwrinkled. *a.* Sub-human (*i.e.* with some resemblance to human appearance).
b. Entirely grotesque.

ii. Wrinkled. *a.* Sub-human.
b. Caricatures of 'Old Women.'
c. Caricatures of 'Warriors.'
d. Caricatures of 'Satyrs.'
e. Entirely grotesque.

Even with these subdivisions there are considerable variations under the headings and replicas from the same mould are rare. The eight moulds are represented by only thirty-two examples.

i. *a* has to be further subdivided into three small classes :—

(1) A class of flat painted masks with whiskers resembling F. i, but without the typical Gorgon's tongue. Two of these (both α) come from Mould XIX.

(2) Some thin masks of grotesque but not grossly exaggerated appearance. Two moulds fall under this head :—Mould XX shows a mask with bulging fat cheeks (**LVIII, 1**). Of it we have two examples (both β), and two other fragments resemble it (**LVIII, 2**). Mould XXI has three examples (1 α, 2 β) and is distinguished by a species of wattles growing out of the neck.

(3) There are three good examples of a thicker, coarser type of mask, one of which is shown in **LVII. 1.** This mask is covered with blackish-blue paint and shows a brutal facial type with a markedly aquiline nose. There is considerable vigour in the modelling. There are holes for fastening, but the mask is only medium size and could hardly have been worn.

i. *b.* This sub-type of unwrinkled grotesque masks is numerous and varied in type. There are thirty-two α and β members of the subdivision, but no two are from the same mould.

(1) **LVII, 2** shows a curious and quite perfect specimen. Mouth and eyes are pierced, but the nose is not hollowed and there are no fastening holes. It might have been held before the face by the beard, but it is really too small and the eyes are too close together, for actual use. Its flat and hardly modelled surface looks very primitive, but it belongs to the same big post-sand deposit as most of the finer examples.

(2) **LVIII, 3** shows another perfect and very fine mask of a purely grotesque description. It is pierced at eyes, nose and mouth, and has holes round the rim, but could hardly fit any save a very small face. The dull greenish clay increases the repulsive character of its expression, which seems to be a realistic attempt to express violent insanity. Other masks that fall under this heading are :—

(3) Three flat-faced toothless fragments.
(4) Three ferocious creatures with numerous teeth.
(5) Five fragments with ridgy beetly brows, and
(6) Six miniature demons of a later fifth-century type.

Some thirteen other small fragments belong to Type G, i. without distinction between its headings.

ii. *a.* About a dozen masks (6 α) belong to a sub-human class, but are distinguished from i. *a.* by their wrinkles. **LIX, 1** shows one of these, a face not grossly exaggerated except for the wrinkles. The mask is unpainted except for a black stripe running round the face. A curious mask of a Mongolian type is shown in **LX, 2.** Here the wrinkles are wide and deep instead of the fine scratches of **LIX, 1.** Both masks are life-size, but **LX, 2** has no paint on it. It has, however, a fragmentary replica and so provides our evidence for the existence of Mould XXII. Both **LX, 1** and **3** are of similar type.

ii. *b.* Eleven masks (7 α, 4 β) appear to belong to a subtype caricaturing the wrinkles of the 'Old Women.' **LXI, 1** shows a very large mask of this kind

which is in excellent condition, over life-size, and without any paint. Eyes, mouth and nose are pierced, and it has fastening holes so that it could be used. While it shows the bald, clean-shaven face of Type A, its wrinkles are not realistic, but purely grotesque.

ii. *c*. Another small class of eight masks (4 α) appears to caricature the 'Warriors.' **LXI, 2** shows a small mask on which hair, eyebrows and beard are roughly incised. This is a later mask belonging to the fifth century and is very badly made. The clay is dark red and there is no paint. The other members of this class show more exaggerated wrinkles.

ii. *d*. There are six satyric caricatures (2 α) which are too grossly grotesque to fall under Type E. **LXII, 1** shows a very fine and complete mask belonging to this class. The ridgy forehead and the curious mouth show a broad simplicity in designing the grotesque. Here we have another good instance of a purely votive mask which can never have been used, as it is nowhere pierced and has no holes for suspension. It is also a clear case of free modelling, since its shape precludes the possibility of a mould.

ii. *e*. There remains a class of purely fantastic masks, a good example of which is shown in **LXII, 2.** The appearance of this mask is merely terrifying and bogy-like without any apparent effort at caricaturing other types. Some twenty-six examples (6 α, 20 β) fall under this head, and six of them preserve clear traces of paint, while the other twenty are unpainted. **LXII, 2** was found in two pieces, one close under the N. wall of the temple, the other on the other side of the arena. Both were below the sand-layer, and the mask is therefore one of the earliest we possess. With these we may put the fantastically cut beard and lower jaw shown in **LXII, 3.** The top right hand edge of this is a finished, not a broken, edge, so that this piece suggests that sometimes a false beard, possibly accompanied by a false nose, was used instead of a mask.

Four more moulds of noses, XXIII–XXVI, belong to G. ii. and comprise twenty-five fragments.

In concluding this classification it may be of use to the possible visitor to the Sparta Museum to add a list of the numbered masks (the α class) with the types and moulds to which they belong.

Museum No.	Type.	Mould.	Plate.
1.	A. i.	I.	(xlvii, 1)
2.	A. v.	VI.	(xlviii, 2)
3.	A. vi.		(xlix, 1)
4.	A. iv.	V.	(xlviii, 1)
5.	A. v.	VI.	
6.	A. v.		
7.	G. ii. *b*.		
8.	A. v.	VI.	
9.	A. iv.	V.	
10.	A. iii.	IV.	
11.	B. i.		(l, 1)
12.	B. ii.		(li, 3)
13.	B. i.		(li, 2)
14.	B. i. (?)	XXXVI.	
15.	C. i.		(lii, 1)
16.	C. ii.	VIII.	(liii, 2)
17.	C. iii.	IX.	(liv, 1)
18.	A. vi.	VII.	
19.	G. i. *a*.	XXI.	
20.	C. i.		
21.	C. iv.		
22.	C. vi.		
23.	D.		(lv, 1)
23B.	D.	XVI.	(lv, 3)
24.	D.		(lv, 2)
25.	D.		

Museum. No.	Type.	Mould.	Plate.
26.	E. i.	XVII.	
27.	E. ii.		(**lvi, 1**)
28.	F. ii.	XVIII.	(**lvi, 3**)
29.	F. ii.	XVIII.	
30.	F. iii.		
31.	F. i.		(**lvi, 2**)
31B.	F. i.		(**lix, 2**)
32.	G. i. *a*.	XIX.	
33.	G. i. *b*.		(**lviii, 3**)
34.	G. i. *b*.		(**lvii, 2**)
35.	G. i. *a*.		(**lvii, 1**)
36.	G. i. *b*.		
37.	?G. ii. *a*.		
38.	G. i. *b*.		
39.	G. i. *b*.		
40.	C. ii.		
41.	G. ii. *e*.		
42.	G. ii. *b*.		
43.	A. i.		
44.	A. i.	II.	
45.	A. vi.	VII.	
46.	A. iii.	IV.	
47.	A. i.	II.	
47A.	A. ii.	III.	
48.	C.		
49.	C.		
50.	C. vii.		
51.	C. vii.		
52.	C.		
52A.	B. i. ?	XXXVI.	
53.	E. iii.		
54.	E. iii.		
55.	E. iii.		
56.	F. i.		
57.	G. ii. *c*.		
58.	?G. ii. *b*.		
59.	G. i. *b*.		
60.	G. i. *b*.		
61.	A. i.		
62.	A. i.	I.	
63.	A. v.	VI.	
64.	A. i.		
65.	A. i.		
66.	B. iii.		
67.	C. i.		(**liii, 1**)
68.	C. ii.		
69.	E. ii.		
70.	G.		
71.	G. ii. *a*.		
72.	G. ii. *c*.		(**lxi, 2**)
73.	G. ii. *e*.		
73A.	G.		
73B.	G. i. *a*.	XIX.	
74.	A. i.	II.	
74A.	A. i.	I.	
74B.	A. i.	I.	
74C.	A. i.	I.	
74D.	A.		
74E.	A.		
75.	A. iii.	IV.	
76.	G. ii. *a*.		
76A.	G. i. *b*.		
76B.	G. ii. *b*.		
76C.	G. ii. *b*.		
76D.	G. ii. *a*.		
77.	A. i.	II.	(**xlvii, 3**)
78.	A. i.	II.	
79.	A. v.	VI.	(**xlviii, 3**)
80.	A. i.		
81.	A. v.	VI.	
82.	G. ii. *a*.	XXII.	(**lx, 2**)
83.	A. i.		
84.	A. iv.	V.	
85.	C. i.		
86.	G. ii. *c*.		
87.	B. ii.		
88.	G. i. *a*.		
89.	G. i. *b*.		
90.	G. ii. *c*.		
91.	F. iii.		
92.	G. i. *b*.		
93.	G. i. *b*.		
94.	G. i. *b*.		
95.	G. i. *b*.		
96.	G. ii. *a*.		(**lix, 1**)
97.	G. ii. *d*.		
98.	G. ii. *e*.		(**lxii, 2**)
99.	G. ii. *b*.		(**lxi, 1**)
100.	G. ii. *e*.		
100A.	G. ii. *e*.		
100B.	G. ii. *e*.		
209.	G. ii. *d*.		(**lxii, 1**)
210.	A. iii.	IV.	
211.	C. v.		
212.	G. ii. *b*.		
213.	D.		
214.	F. iv.		
215.	F. iii.		
216.	A. v.	VI.	
217.	G. i. *a*.		
218.	A. i.	II.	

G. D.

CHAPTER VI

CARVINGS IN SOFT LIMESTONE

A SERIES of small carvings executed in a soft fine-grained limestone was found; some are in the round, some in relief, and some merely incised. The positions in which they were found were in all cases such as to suggest a date very close to that of the building of the later temple. They were all, in fact, closely associated with the layer of sand with which the whole sanctuary was covered and its general level raised at the time when it was reconstituted and the later temple built; and this we have seen was about the year 600 B.C.[1] Thus a number of these carvings, and some of them with inscriptions, were found in the deposit associated with the two blocks of dressed stone which lay below the row of bases on the north edge of the arena. In this deposit too were found Laconian II pottery and the corresponding types of lead figurines: the deposit must be dated to immediately before the laying down of the sand and the building of the later temple. Amongst these examples were the fragmentary plaque with two standing warriors (No. 13), the grotesque relief of the nude man with a spear (No. 16), and the figure of a sphinx in the round (No. 68). The architectural fragment No. 61 was found in this same region, but much lower down, with Laconian I, Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery: this position is so isolated that there can be little doubt that the object had worked down to a level below its true position. After these pieces, several were found embedded in the sand itself, and amongst these was one of the two reliefs of couchant lions (No. 41) which we have associated with the pediment of the later temple. A few examples were found immediately above the layer of sand. Lastly, the trial trench made in the first year of the excavation, running roughly east and west across the arena, touching the Great Altar, and cutting into the houses to the east of it, yielded a certain number of these objects; although the circumstances of their discovery, before the stratification of the site had been worked out, do not allow of any close dating for them, there is no reason to doubt that they belong to the same period as the others. The curious architectural carvings showing triglyphs and other ornaments (Nos. 61–67) may also from their subject be plausibly connected with a period when building was being carried on, and it is indeed likely that all these objects owe their existence to the presence on the site of the stone brought for the building of the later temple, and were made by the workmen and sculptors employed, some as serious votives and some perhaps for amusement. As the plates show, they are all on a small scale, and many of them of the crudest execution. The

[1] *V.* p. 17 above.

inscriptions are separately treated on pp. 367–369 : regarded as carvings the whole series may be classed as follows :

1. Human figures in the round. 1–11.
2. Human figures in relief. 12–16.
3. Horses in the round. 17–22.
4. Horses in relief, 23—40.
5. Lions in relief. 41–47.
6. Miscellaneous reliefs of animals. 48–54.
7. Plaques with incised designs. 55–59.
8. Architectural carvings. 60–67.
9. Miscellaneous carvings. 68–74.

1. *Human figures in the round.*

LXIII. 1. Man squatting with his hands beneath his drawn-up knees; apparently broken below. The body is too crudely modelled to show any signs of either dress or nudity. The flowing hair escapes from below a large round cap; the beard is covered with incised lines. Face flat and receding with wrinkled forehead; nose broken. Height ·075 m.

2. Figure, with head gone, wrapped in a long cloak, out of which the left hand, now broken, protrudes. The cloak is fastened over the breast with a pin. A chamfer has been cut out all round the bottom of the skirt, as if to sink the figure into a stand, and it is possible that the small Doric capital No. 63, **LXXII,** which has a sinking above of the right size, was so used. They are shown photographed together on **LXIII.** Height, without capital, ·09 m.

3. Male figure broken at the waist. The hair falls in a mass on the shoulders. The dress is girt at the waist. Height ·055 m.

4. Bust of male figure broken at the waist, and with both arms and face gone. No signs of drapery, but lines of chipping pass over each shoulder and across the breast like a collar. The hair hangs down behind to the waist in a flat pointed mass, and there are the remains of curls on the forehead. On the top of the head there is a deep hole, which seems made to receive a head-dress made on a separate piece with a tenon. Such a head-dress is the polos photographed below the figure; to the right they are shown together. Height of figure ·155 m. Height of head-dress, including tenon, ·075 m. A second example of these separately made polos head-dresses was found, but unfinished.

5. Part of a draped and girded figure with the arms held close to the sides, resembling the terracotta figures of Orthia on **XXVIII–XXXI.** In section almost circular. Broken just above the waist and near the feet. Height ·08 m.

6. Unfinished carving of a man either squatting down or sitting in a chair. Height ·12 m.

7. Front and side view. Crudely carved ithyphallic figure. The legs are broken off. Height ·08 m.

LXIV. 8. Roughly blocked-out head on a mere stump of a body; broken off below. Height ·057 m.

9. Two views. Figure with four faces. It consists of a roughly cylindrical piece of stone, ·065 m. long, at one end of which are carved four faces and at the other a pair of rudimentary legs. Below the faces are four sexual organs, male and female alternately.

10. Fragment of an unfinished male figure worked only in front. Broken above and below. Height ·06 m.

11. A lump of stone, broken at both ends which is perhaps part of a human figure. Length ·06 m.

2. *Human figures in relief.*

12. A plaque ·15 m. by ·10 m., and ·02 m. thick, with two men standing facing one another. The left-hand figure is nude but for a triangular loin-cloth of the kind worn by some of the men on the ivory reliefs; the right-hand man wears a shapeless garment reaching to the knees. The hair falls in a mat over their shoulders. Between them is a staff with a T-shaped head, which each of them is grasping. In the top left corner is an inscription and in the top right corner there is a drilled hole (*v.* p. 369).

13. The bottom left-hand corner of a plaque, on which were two standing warriors facing one another. Only the feet and part of their legs and the ends of their spears remain. Although the relief is as always very flat, the work is more careful than usual. The height of the fragment is ·13 m., and the thickness of the plaque is ·025 m.

14. Much broken plaque with a crude relief of a warrior advancing to the left, armed with a spear and round shield. Height (complete) ·035 m.; thickness about ·035 m.

15. Two detached fragments clearly from the same plaque. It has a raised border, like the ivories, and on the fragments preserved are the legs and one hand of a man advancing to the left. There was a hole in the upper left part. Width ·095 m.; thickness ·023 m.

LXV. 16. Plaque, complete above and below but broken on the left, with a grotesque nude male figure facing left and brandishing a spear or something similar. The ground is only very slightly sunk, and the outline of the figure is emphasised by a deep channelling. Height ·022 m.; thickness ·0025 m.

3. *Figures of horses in the round.*

The flatness and the thinness of these figures from back to front suggests that they were made from plaques of stone upon which the outline of a horse was drawn, and from which the ground was then cut away. The last stage of the process would be to round off the edges more or less, although the thinness of the figure from back to front must always betray the way in which they were made. This way of making a carving in the round by starting from a drawing can naturally only result in that primitive form of statue which is only intended to be seen from one point of view. Its close connexion with relief carving should also be noted. The sphinx (No. 68) on **LXXIII** is made in the same way,

and the later ivory carvings have taken the same step from a relief to what is practically a piece of fretwork.

17. The front part of a horse unfinished. This piece shows the method of procedure just described. The original outline drawing is still in part to be seen, as the workman had not got so far as to have cut away all the ground right up to the line; still less had he reached the later task of rounding off the edges. Height ·20 m.; thickness ·06 m. (*B.M. Cat. Sculpture*, 1928, I (1), p. 205, B 476, Fig. 246.)

18. Not reproduced. Front part of a horse's body with part of the mane and the stumps of the fore legs. The derivation from a plaque is shown by its excessive thinness from back to front. Length ·08 m. For the inscription on the body, *v.* p. 367.

19. Body of a horse; length ·085 m. Its flatness and square section again betrays the technique.

20. Not reproduced. Horse's head with mane and forelock and more modelling of the details than usual; possibly complete. Length ·04 m.

21. Not reproduced. A similar head, but clearly broken off. The details are incised and not modelled at all. Length ·05 m.

22. Not reproduced. A very rough fragment of a horse's head. Greatest dimension ·035 m.

4. *Horses in relief.*

This is by far the largest class of these carvings. Also of the animals represented the horse is by far the commonest; out of a total of 38, 24 are horses, and of these 18 are in relief. They have the same character as the rest of these carvings; a general flatness and absence of modelling combined with a certain rough vigour in the drawing. The ground is generally left very rough. Some examples are unfinished.

LXVI. 23. Horse facing left. The mane is indicated only by incised lines, but there is a little more modelling on the body than usual. An inscription on the ground above and behind the horse, for which *v.* p. 367, marks it as a votive offering to Orthia from Theokormidas. The plaque measures ·13 m. × ·10 m. × ·03 m. thick.

24. Horse facing left on a very irregularly sunk ground. The surface of the horse is quite flat with no modelling at all. The plaque is irregular in shape: maximum length ·245 m.; height ·15 m.; thickness ·04 m.

25. Horse facing left. The surface almost flat with the mane marked by incised lines. The ground is very slightly sunk, and the contour is emphasised by a deeper cutting. It is perhaps unfinished. The plaque is irregular in shape: the maximum measurements are: length ·13 m.; height ·09 m.; thickness ·04 m.

26. Horse facing left. The right hind leg is barely indicated and the right fore leg not at all. In order to give a maximum of relief with a minimum of effort, the ground is cut much deeper as it approaches the figure than it is at the edges of the irregular plaque. In front of the horse there is a square hole. The greatest dimensions are ·12 m., ·085 m., and ·02 m. thick.

27. Hindquarters only of a horse facing left in very deep relief. The plaque is broken all round except below. Its length at present is ·125 m.; its thickness ·025 m.

LXVII. 28. Horse, with hindquarters broken away, facing left. The head is very small, and the drawing very bad. Above the body of the horse there is a square hole. An incised inscription on the body, for which *v.* p. 367, marks it as a dedication from Epanidas to the maiden Orthia. The plaque, broken on the right and irregularly shaped on the left, is ·17 m. high and ·045 m. thick.

29. Horse facing left, with head and fore legs broken away, but traces of the mane preserved. Crude work. The plaque is broken on the left and in the top right-hand corner. Height ·15 m.; thickness ·04 m.

30. Horse facing right, with hindquarters broken away. The hoofs and shoulders show more attention to detail than usual. The plaque is broken above and on the left. Height ·14 m.; thickness ·055 m.

31. Two fragments, which join, of a plaque with a horse facing left on a larger scale than usual, the height of the horse being ·20 m., which is about twice the average. The parts preserved are the body and the front feet, on one of which the incised line of the original drawing has not been cut away. The relief is as much as ·03 m. in depth.

32. Head of horse facing right on the broken-off top right-hand corner of a plaque. The mane and the eye are marked by incised lines. Below the nose are the first two letters of each line of a two-line inscription, for which *v.* p. 367, no doubt to dedicate it to Orthia.

33. Horse's head facing left in top left-hand corner of a broken plaque. The surface of the figure is broken away, but on the ground is a piece of an inscription for which *v.* p. 367, marking it as a dedication to Orthia under the name Frothasia. Present dimensions: ·09 m. high; ·02 m. thick.

LXVIII. 34. Three legs of a horse facing left on a broken plaque. Present length ·105 m.; thickness ·03 m.

35. Hoof and part of the leg of a horse facing left on a fragment of a broken plaque. In front of the leg is a piece of an inscription for which *v.* p. 368. Height of fragment ·08 m.; thickness ·035 m.

36. Hindquarters and tail of a horse facing left on a fragment of a plaque broken all round except for the bottom right-hand corner. The surface both of the horse and of the ground has been destroyed. Height of fragment ·155 m.; thickness ·02 m.

37. Not reproduced. A hind leg and part of the tail of a horse facing left on a fragment of a plaque. ·10 m. high. Thickness ·045 m.

38. Horse facing left on the lower part of a plaque, complete on both sides but broken below and on the top right corner. The carving is only begun and would in any case have been very rough. On the rest of the ground are some meaningless scrawls. Height ·014 m.; thickness ·04 m.

39. Hindquarters of a horse facing left on a plaque broken on the left. The outline is incised, and the sinking of the ground only begun. Height ·11 m.; thickness ·028 m.

40. Horse's legs on a plaque complete above and below, but too small for the complete horse. The work is so crude as to seem no more than a beginner's attempt, and the sinking of the ground has only been begun. Height ·09 m.; thickness ·04 m.

5. *Lions in relief.*

LXIX. 41. Triangular relief of two lions couchant facing one another. The condition of the ground shows that the relief is unfinished. Length ·245 m.; thickness ·03 m.

42. A similar relief, with the surface very much worn. The right corner is broken; the length preserved is ·023 m.; thickness about ·04 m. The importance of these two reliefs for the question of the pediment of the later temple is discussed on p. 22.

The rest of these reliefs show a single lioness sitting up on her hind-quarters.

43. Lion facing right on a plaque broken all round, with an inscription, for which *v.* p. 368. Above the inscription is a hole. The figure is left quite flat without any modelling. Greatest measurement ·17 m.

44. Not reproduced. Similar relief, but facing left. Hole in the ground above, and on the ground and figure traces of red paint. Plaque broken all round; greatest measurement ·135 m.; thickness ·03 m.

45. Lioness facing left on a plaque broken all round except below. Behind the neck is a hole. Very rough work, although it does not seem to be unfinished. Height ·12 m.; thickness ·03 m.

46. Lioness facing left on a plaque broken above and on the right. The muscles are to some extent marked, and there is a collar round the neck. It is the most careful of these reliefs. Height ·11 m.; thickness ·02 m.

47. Fragment of a similar relief facing left, of which only the back and tail remain. The plaque is broken all round. Greatest measurement ·12 m.

6. *Miscellaneous reliefs of animals.*

LXX. 48. Boar facing left. The outline is drawn with some vigour. The surface is flat without modelling, but the tail, tusk and eye are marked by incised lines. At the top edge of the plaque is a hole and above the tail an inscription, for which *v.* p. 368. Measurements, ·19 m. × ·12 m. × ·03 m. thick.

49. Front part of a boar facing right. The preliminary drawing for the relief has been made, showing the outline of the head with the mane, the tusk and the eye, and of one fore leg, but the sinking of the ground has only been begun. The plaque is broken on the left, but on the right and below it seems complete. Height ·075 m.; thickness ·02 m.

50. Running dog facing left on a plaque broken below and on the right, so that the hind legs are gone. The relief is deep and the edges are well rounded, but there is no other modelling. On the back of the plaque is a roughly incised drawing of a dog's head. Length ·15 m.; thickness ·025 m.

51. Relief of some small animal running along what may be a branch of a tree. The plaque is broken all round. Length ·095 m.; thickness ·02 m.

52. Ram's head with horn looking left, on a fragment of plaque broken all round. Length ·08 m.; thickness ·04 m.

53. Upper part of a sphinx, on a plaque broken so that the lower part is lost. The work has not been carried much further than the preliminary drawing. Length ·145 m.; thickness ·04 m.

54. Small drawing—for the sinking of the ground has hardly been begun —of what may be a couchant lion. Above the animal is a hole, and below an inscription, for which *v.* p. 368. Length ·045 m.

7. *Plaques with incised designs.*

The number of plaques in which the sinking of the ground is left unfinished is enough to show that the first step in carving these reliefs was to make an outline drawing on the smooth ground. It is therefore possible that the pieces classified here would have been better distributed according to their subjects, and treated simply as unfinished reliefs. They have been classed by themselves however, because they are in appearance distinct from the reliefs, and because it is always possible that they are to be regarded as sketches for reliefs which the workman may or may not have intended to carry out on the same stone.

55. Not reproduced. Nude helmeted man facing right on an irregularly shaped plaque broken on the right. The head and hips are in profile, but the breast is shown in full front view. There are no traces of arms. The drawing is cut off in the middle of the thighs by the lower edge of the stone. Height ·145 m.; thickness ·035 m. The fineness of the incisions makes a photograph impracticable.

LXXI. 56. Profile head, on a plaque broken on all sides but the left. The hair is shown falling down behind and in curls on the forehead. Above is a horizontal line and immediately below this an inscription, for which *v.* p. 369. Height ·015 m.; thickness ·045 m.

57. On a plaque complete above and on the right a male head in profile facing left, with the line of the back and the hair falling over the shoulders. The circle on the cheek seems to be no part of the design. Above the drawing is a jutting cornice. Height ·12 m.; thickness about ·04 m.

58. Not reproduced. On a complete plaque a probably female figure ending in a fish's tail. The lines of the tail are thickened as if to begin relief cutting. One arm drops across the body, and sweeping lines behind the back are probably intended for wings. The hair escapes from below a fillet. The eye is shown as in full face. The drawing of the profile is firm and careful, but all the lines are too fine for a photograph to be possible. Over this design in the bottom left-hand corner is the rough beginning of a relief of some animal, possibly a bear. Size: ·24 m. high; ·23 m. wide; ·03 m. thick.

59. Broken triangular fragment showing the front part of a carefully drawn bird with a ring in its beak. Above is an inscription for which *v.* p. 368. Length ·06 m.; thickness ·015 m.

8. *Architectural carvings.*

Under this heading fall a few pieces, nearly all unfortunately broken, which seem to be either small copies of buildings or possibly sketch-models of architectural designs. It may be again noted in this connexion that, like the rest of these carvings, they date from the time of the building of the later temple.

LXXII. 60. This piece is unfinished above and broken below and at the back. The front side, which appears in the photograph, is curved backwards at the left to meet the flat back, and on it is a row of triglyphs irregularly spaced. Below the right-hand triglyph at the corner is part of a Doric capital, and below the others the rudiments of guttae. Above is a cornice with dentils. The square end, which appears in perspective on the right of the photograph, is shaped like half a pediment, and the upper surface of the block, although left rough and unfinished, suggests the slope of a roof. The piece thus represents one half cut lengthways of the upper part of a Doric building with a pediment at one end and an apse at the other. The total length is ·23 m.

61. Piece with a triglyph below a cornice on one face; the other faces plain. Width ·105 m.; height ·095 m.; thickness ·035 m.

62. A similar piece, but very roughly cut and broken, at least on the right-hand side. Width ·09 m.; height ·095 m.

63. Doric capital of archaic form with flat echinus and big fillets. Below the column the beginnings of eighteen flutings are very faintly marked. On the upper surface is a sinking which suggests that it was used as a support, for which *v.* No. 2 above. Abacus ·06 m. square.

64, 65. Two more such capitals are not reproduced. They are less carefully made, with no indication of the fluting of the column, and no sinking above. The abaci are ·06 m. and ·04 m. square.

66. Fragment broken behind and below with a frieze of upright leaves above a beading at the top of the front and right side. The left-hand side of the block is cut to a smooth face. Height ·10 m.; width ·09 m.; greatest thickness ·045 m. There is another piece like this not reproduced which has the frieze on the front and on the left side, and the right side cut to a face; height ·06 m.

67. A similar piece broken below only, but with the frieze on all four sides. The frieze and beading are so carelessly worked as to be no more than a series of vertical gashes above two horizontal lines. Height ·075 m.; width ·053 m.; thickness ·03 m.

9. *Miscellaneous Carvings.*

LXXIII. 68. Sphinx carved partly as a flat piece of fretwork and partly in the round. This is a finished specimen of the technique of which the fragment of a horse, No. 17, above, **LXV,** shows the first stage. The roughness of the back of the sphinx and the way in which all the figure is forced into one plane from back to front shows that the work began with an incised drawing on a plaque, and that the ground was then cut away right through, leaving the figure standing free. The last part of the process was to round the edges,

and carve in three dimensions certain parts especially the head, which is modelled all round, back as well as face. The rest of the figure is left very flat. The sphinx is sitting on a flat base with the head turned to face the spectator. The hair, partly broken, falls over the shoulder. The side view of the back on the right of the plate shows a squared hollow cut out behind the head and shoulder with dovetails above and below. This clearly served to attach something to the figure, probably a second outstretched wing. Height ·20 m.; thickness ·05 m.; but of the wings ·03 m. and less.

LXXIV. 69. Relief of a ship on an irregular and possibly broken plaque. The ship has a ram and a square sail rigged to a horizontal yard, like the ship on the ivory plaque on **CIX.** Below it is an inscription, for which *v.* p. 368. Length of plaque ·16 m.

69*a*. Not reproduced. With this goes a fragment on which a ship is represented by the merest rough scratchings. The hull and the ram are the only parts clearly to be identified.

70. Part of the rim of a wheel of square section. On the inner rim are traces of three spokes, and from their position it would seem that their complete number was five. Outside diameter ·095 m.

71. Block with on its flat face an incised pattern like a gridiron. Greatest measurement ·13 m.

72–74. and another not reproduced. Four small fragments with incised inscriptions, for which *v.* pp. 368, 369.

There are in addition about twenty pieces of this stone which show some cutting, but are too small and vague to classify or describe.

R. M. Dawkins.

Note.—Three small inscribed carvings have been omitted from this list; they are described among the inscriptions where they appear as Nos. 169, 20, 169, 21 and 169, 22 on p. 369.

CHAPTER VII

THE BRONZES

Even at the date of the excavation the bronze objects found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia had been subjected to no very careful attention, for the interest of such things had been largely exhausted by former excavations, and the work done at Olympia, at Delphi, and at the Heraion at Argos, to name but a few sites, had already shown that bronzes as well as all early Greek sites that yield a mass of votive offerings.

Hence the interest of the Orthia bronzes must be looked for in two directions. For in one point of view they must be classed together with, and the link elsewhere, and second in importance either new or corroborative as to the chronology of the various objects that may be given by the circumstances of their discovery.

In the first direction the most remarkable points are the complete absence of two sets of objects generally well represented, namely, the votive tripod and the bronze spit; a new development of the spiral type of fibula, the number of spirals reaching six and even eight; an unusually heavy proportion of the [illegible] the number found being well over the hundred; the use of amber and ivory as a means of decorating the bronze, of which use more instances have been found here than ever before; and lastly, the very clear use on the more elaborate brooches of the later seventh century of a ring hinge replacing the wire spring. The only parallel to this at equally early date that is known to me is the 'displayed' hawk brooch found in the excavations at Ephesus.[1]

Chronologically the distinction between the Geometric bronzes and those of the subsequent period was very clearly marked throughout the excavation, the change oddly enough appearing slightly later in the bronze objects than in the pottery. On the other hand, it appears that at Sparta at least no distinction in date can be made between the various types of fibula belonging to the earlier period, for here the evidence points to the same date for every type represented. The bronze objects were almost exclusively confined to the deposits below the sand. After the seventh century few dedications in this metal appear to have been made. The site lies very low, and the subsequent humidity has wrought such havoc with these offerings that only in the most massive of any solid piece of metal preserved. Most of them are mere masses of corrosion, so that it was not thought advisable to use any cleaning process other than the removal of the earth by means of a needle: hence a tidy and prosperous career for them as museum objects is not expected.

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[1] Ephesus, p. 47, Fig. IV. 23, 24, X. 41; and p. 200 below.

Fibulae.[4a]

All the types of *fibulae* shown in **LXXXI–LXXXIV,** with the exception of **LXXXIV,** *o*, which lay above the sand close to the poros lion's mane (p. 21), were found with Geometric pottery, and there is hardly a type that was not also found in the presence of sherds of Laconian I. That is to say, that the types begin in the 'Geometric' age and continue slightly beyond it. Yet the bulk of them do not seem to have outlasted the period covered by the presence of Proto-Corinthian pottery. The few that apparently did so, being at times accompanied only by Laconian I sherds, belong to the bow type, such as **LXXXII,** *o*.

The spiral type was apparently the earliest in origin; it appeared indeed among almost the lowest strata, and remained the favourite till just before the end, those with two, four, and six spirals made from one, two, or three pieces of wire, being equally frequent; part of one that had eight spirals was also found. In every case the necessary spring is derived entirely from the spiral coil. The boss in the case of those with four or six spirals was attached by a rivet passing through the flattened central portions of the wires. This rivet appears to have been round in section, and the means adopted for the maintenance of rigidity at the point of junction are not clear. All three at times are of cumbrous size, but the largest spirals are naturally found in the single and double types.

A frequent form was that with a simple wire bow, in most cases only slightly arched, engraved with a spiral line, **LXXXIV,** *l*.

The *fibulae*, **LXXXII,** *a, b, e, f, i, k*, with alternating pieces of bone and amber strung on a thin bronze bow highly arched recall those of Villanova and Corneto.[5] Like the brooches with a carved ivory plaque (see pp. 204 *sqq.*), the bronze pins belonging to which are shown in **LXXXII,** *g, l, p, q, r, t*, this type belongs to the rich period at the close of the Geometric age. None of the examples was found outside the limits marked by the presence of Proto-Corinthian pottery. One specimen, **LXXXII,** *i*, though perhaps cumbrous, must have been particularly decorative, for the bone portions bear circular hollows once filled by amber discs, of which only slight traces remain. The fact that these brooches are very carefully made to present a smooth and not a bulbous outline makes us unwilling to believe[6] that in Greece brooches of the type shown in **LXXXIII,** *d, l*, and **LXXXIV,** *a, c*, are a bronze imitation of *fibulae* with amber or glass beads strung on the bow. The shoulder pins of this period give analogies for the type in question sufficient to dispense us from seeking others in a class of objects of which the examples found at Sparta rule out the bulb with some care.

Fibulae with large plates, **LXXXIII,** *a, k*, supporting the catch are few at Sparta, though specimens with small plates are not uncommon, and seem absolutely contemporary with the spiral types. In no case has any design on the plate been preserved other than a border zigzag.

Perhaps the best parallel to the Orthia brooches is to be seen in the group of *fibulae* found in the grave discovered by Dr. Schiff in Thera.[7] The presence at

[4a] For further discussion of the types of *fibulae* found at Sparta the reader is referred to C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*.

[5] Cf. Reinach, *Daremberg et Saglio*, Fig. 2990.

[6] *Ephesus*, p. 147.

[7] *Thera*, ii. p. 300.

Sparta in considerable numbers of the East Greek type, **LXXXIV,** *b, d, e, f, g*, only confirms our knowledge of the wide distribution of this form. It bears, however, a possible significance both here and at the Argive Heraion in view of the large importation of ivory about this time.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the excavation at the Orthia raises a doubt whether Dr. Schiff's grave is correctly placed later than the very beginning of the seventh century, and whether Dr. Thiersch [8] is right in making a distinction between the 'Geometric' types of *fibula* and the bulb types, **LXXXIII, LXXXIV,** which he considers later. For here both were found consistently together.

The brooch shown in **LXXXII,** *s*, is noteworthy as a bronze copy of the imitations in ivory of the two-spiralled (spectacle) type (see p. 224), discs replacing the spirals in both cases.

To the odd Geometric brooch shown in **LXXXIII,** *c*, the nearest parallel is one found at Olympia.[9]

Miscellaneous.

A few miniature jugs are shown in **LXXX,** *c–f*, and *l, q*, one of which (*q*) is remarkable for a form foreign to the pottery of Sparta, recalling the Geometric ware found at various sites in Northern Greece, and presumably of the earliest Iron age.[10] Yet here its associations are with the end of the Geometric age.

LXXX, *m* and *p*, are examples of a small class of objects presumably seals. Most of them show a cavity, which was filled probably with paste bearing a moulded design. Those of type *p* have been called weights.[11]

Very many rings were found, mostly of size to fit the finger, round, oblong, or lozenge-shaped in section, **LXXXV,** *q, r, u, v, w, x, y, z*. There are a lesser number of spring rings, of which each end is wound into a spiral, **LXXXV,** *b, c, d, f, g, h, o, p*, while in one specimen each end splits into two spirals.

Coils of wire (worn in the hair ?), mostly of lozenge section, are not infrequent, **LXXXV,** *a, e*, and there is a vast quantity of small strips of bronze rolled into beads, doubtless once strung as necklaces, **LXXXV,** *i, k, l, m, n, s, t*. Oblong strips with lines of *repoussé* dots, generally pierced with a hole at each end and often much bent and twisted, are very numerous, but their use remains uncertain, **LXXXV,** ν, ξ, π, while miniature double axes, **LXXXV,** β–μ, often with a suspension hole at the end of the handle (*e.g.* κ), are among the rarer types of offering. These are either solid or made of two sheets clamped together, **LXXXV,** η and λ, and the larger specimens are sometimes ornamented with groups of sunk concentric circles.

All these belong essentially to the Geometric age, but the plain rings and rolled strips are found earlier than the other types. **LXXXV,** α, is a comb of the same type as the ivory combs of the period.

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[8] Thiersch, *Aegina*, p. 400.

[9] *Olympia, Bronzen*, Taf. XXII. 377.

[10] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 322, Fig. 10 *b*.

[11] *Ibid.*, xxviii. pp. 102, 104.

Laconian I and II.

Pins.

Specimens of the later style of pin with heavy disc head and but two or three large bulbs are shown in **LXXXVI,** where *a* and *b*, found in mixed layers, are examples of a type which seems to represent a transition.

On these pins an iron shaft was the exception, but occasionally the whole pin was of iron, and there are several silver specimens, and two of gold with silver bulbs joined by a chain. Figurines [12] show the frequent use that was made of these pins, and also of the spiral *fibulae*, to support a chain across the breast, and no doubt they were often kept in pairs, as the discovery of pairs of pins imitated in lead (p. 257) would also suggest.

Towards the end of the seventh century, however, the use of these pins declined, perhaps owing to a change of dress. Whatever the cause, it was such as to make the *fibula* equally superfluous. Two or three of the latest pins are very ornate, with a knob wrought into a lion's head, and a tongue pattern moulded on the bulbs and the edge of the disc, **LXXXVII,** *d*. A few, **LXXXVII,** *c*, *d*, are so large that it is doubtful if they were ever worn.

Fibulae.

Of plain *fibulae* after the early years of the seventh century there are very few, though some types of bow *fibulae* appear to have survived rather longer, **LXXXVII,** *g*.

Two specimens, however, were found of the well-known type of brooch in the form of a couchant lion with tail ending in a bearded serpent, which possibly is apotropaic in intent,[13] **LXXXVII,** *f*, **LXXXVIII,** *m*. Parallel with these are the two examples of a very fine type, combining a human with a leonine head, **LXXXVII,** *a*, **LXXXVIII,** *k*.

All these should probably be assigned to the latter part of the seventh century, together with the flat type shown in **LXXXIX,** *a*, *a'*. They are remarkable in having a hinge instead of a spring coil, and the lion type appears to have had two pins. The fact that they were found beneath the sand makes it impossible to believe that these *fibulae* belong to a later date and that their presence with objects of Laconian II is accidental.

Miscellaneous.

A style of work similar but inferior to that of the last-mentioned *fibulae* is shown in the statuette of an ox, **LXXXVIII,** *l*, in the pendants in the form of a bull's head (also found in terracotta and lead), **LXXXIX,** *d*, and in the small pendant, **LXXXIX,** *h* with a lion couchant on a ball, on the underside of which is a small lion's head. The goat or deer shown in **LXXXVII,** *b*, is probably a hook.

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[12] P. 148, Type I *d*, **XXXI, 5, 6** ; p. 151, Type VI, **XXXIV, 6.** *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. XLIV. 2 and 3.

[13] *Olympia, Bronzen*, p. 966. *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. LXXXVIII. 946. For a third specimen almost certainly from the site, now in Munich, see J. Sieveking, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, p. 19.

The *protomai*, **LXXXIX**, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, belong to the early seventh century, being found with Laconian I and Sub-Geometric ware. In style indeed they correspond exactly with the heads of some figurines of this period (p. 148 and **XXIX**) and with the relief heads on Sub-Geometric vases (Fig. 41, *c*, p. 68).

No closer date than the seventh century can be put to the bow fibula, that almost certainly had a hinge, **LXXXVII**, *g*, to the two pins of exceptional type, **LXXXVII**, *l*, *m*, to the arrow-heads, **LXXXVII**, *h*, **LXXXVIII**, *g*, or to the 'Argive Corinthian' plaques [14] with a plait design, **LXXXVII**, *i*, *k*, **LXXXVIII**, *b*, *h*, or with circular alternating with oblong bosses, or very rarely with figures, such as two on which a procession of chariots can be discerned (Fig. 115), or that shown in **LXXXIX**, *e*, where a man's leg can be seen above the pattern of tongues, and part of a horse below.

The lion's paws, **LXXXVIII**, *c*, *e*, *f*, which apparently supported bronze vessels, should probably be put late in the century. Both in Geometric times and more frequently in the seventh century fragments of bronze vessels were found, but generally too much broken to be lucid. That shown in **LXXX**, *o*, is Geometric in date, and was probably a lamp.

One of the six-sided dice, **LXXXIX**, *b*, must belong to the very close of the seventh century, for it was found actually in the sand. This die bears the scratched legend

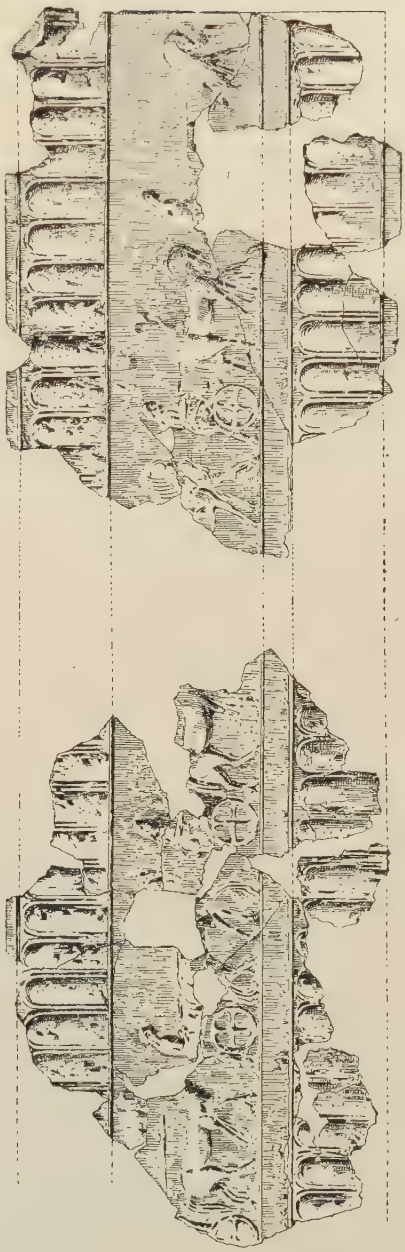

Fig. 115.—Bronze Plaque. Scale 1:3.

IAIA⊕○ϟ╕IAT = Τᾶι Fροθαίαι.[15]

A second die illustrated, which is not inscribed, was found well below the sand with mid-seventh century associations.

[14] De Ridder, *De ectypis aeneis*; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 394; *B.S.A.* xv. p. 144, Fig. 13.

[15] For a facsimile cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 115, Fig. 5, *d*. *V.* also p. 370 below.

The type, therefore, probably belongs to the whole seventh century, and it may belong also to the sixth. A third die with a scratched inscription to Eileithyia found in 1908 and published by Miss W. Lamb came from a disturbed level[16] (*v.* p. 370).

The pomegranate flowers, **LXXXIX,** *i*, *n*, on the other hand, probably were not made before 650 B.C., but lasted on through the next century.

Laconian III—V.

The two statuettes shown in **XC,** *a*, *b*, belong to the period of Laconian III, as does also the fine sphinx[17] seen in Fig. 116 which was found in the last season of excavation, and the brooch with a siren holding a wreath, **LXXXVII,** *e*, and the same date probably fits the two vase handles, **XC,** *f*, *g*, though bronze handles with such figures or palmettes attached to them were certainly made at Sparta from the seventh to the fifth century. To the latter must, on the evidence of stratification, be assigned the statuettes of a stag and a bull, **XC,** *c*, *e*, and also the fragment of drapery, **XC,** *d*, though the stiffness of its style suggests an earlier date, but a statuette of this size may of course have survived a good many years.

Finally it is desired to emphasise that the above chronological grouping is in no wise *a priori*, but rests throughout on good evidence from stratification, being based on the remarkably consistent results obtained by the study of the pottery and bronze objects from nearly five hundred separate levels.

J. P. Droop.

[16] *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 103, Fig. 5; *B.S.A.* xxiv. pp. 102, 112. [17] *Ibid.*, xxviii. p. 102.

Fig. 116.—Bronze Sphinx. Scale 1:1.

CHAPTER VIII

OBJECTS IN CARVED IVORY AND BONE

The number and variety of the objects in ivory and bone found at this site is very remarkable; as far as number is concerned this excavation is probably superior to any other in Greece. The circumstances of their finding have already been sufficiently described in the general account of the excavation, in which is also to be found the evidence for the dates here assigned to them.[1] On this subject it must be enough to say that the chronology is based mainly upon the evidence of the successive styles of pottery with which they were found, and that this system is supported as far as possible by such other indications as the probable date of the earliest epigraphical remains. That ivory ceases to be found at Sparta about 600 B.C. suggests that it came by way of Syria and that the supply ceased when Tyre submitted to Nebuchadnezzar in 573 B.C. That we find the very oriental but quite un-Spartan ivory kohl-needles, for which see p. 239, in the lowest strata, but never later, supports this view.

The long series of these objects begins already in the strata associated with Geometric pottery only, in which they are even fairly frequent. If, therefore, the first appearance of Proto-Corinthian pottery is to be put about 740 B.C., it will follow that the art of carving in ivory and bone was in full use at Sparta in the early part of the eighth century. The great bulk, however, of ivory was found in company with Laconian I and II pottery, and thus falls into the late eighth and seventh centuries.

The account of the stratification of the site given above shows that the only clear events in the history of the sanctuary that are to be ascribed to the period of the Geometric deposit are the building of the great archaic altar and, before this, the earlier altar and the laying down of the cobble pavement; that the deposit of Geometric pottery found between the great altar and the pavement comes comparatively early in this period, and that the sherds below the pavement are the earliest of all. To these two constructions, the pavement and the altar, it is not possible to give any closer dating than that they both fall within the ninth century, but this is of some importance, as of the "kohl-needles" described on p. 239 below, two and a fragment of probably a third were found beneath this pavement, and another between the pavement and the foundation of the altar. These objects therefore carry back the series of ivories to the ninth century. They are, however, isolated; for the other pieces found in Geometric deposits there is no special evidence of earliness, and it is therefore safer to put them as close as possible to the time when, with the beginning of Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, ivory carving became

[1] *V.* pp. 12 *sqq.*, above.

really common. The ivories found with only Geometric pottery should therefore not be put much earlier than the middle of the eighth century.

The building of the later temple, put at 600 B.C., is an important date for the history of this art. Previous to this almost all the finer pieces are in ivory, and bone is used only for the more stereotyped and less artistic objects, such as the common seals, beads, pin-heads, and the stiff figures of Orthia described on p. 218 below. After this date, however, ivory is hardly found at all, and fresh classes of carvings in bone appear, all, however, much inferior to the ivories of the earlier period. A further mark of this decadence is that the carvings, instead of being each individual and unique, tend to fall into certain fixed types, of most of which numerous almost precisely similar examples occur. This decadence goes on all through the sixth century parallel with the decline of the pottery from the Laconian II style to Laconian III and IV, and the series comes to an end with the Laconian V pottery of the early fifth century.

It is convenient for purposes of description to arrange the objects under classes. An arrangement according to material, whether ivory or bone, would separate much that in date, treatment and kind come together, many of the seals, for example, being made of ivory or bone indifferently, and an entirely chronological arrangement is impossible, as the various kinds of object naturally overlap one another; it would also obscure the sequence of development which comes out so clearly in the relief carvings if these were not treated together as a group. The chronological range of each class of object has therefore been given with the description. They are arranged under the following heads :—

I. Plaques carved in relief.
II. Figures of Orthia and figures seated on thrones (p. 218).
III. Objects of personal use and adornment (p. 222).
IV. Miscellaneous carvings in ivory and bone (p. 239).

I. Plaques carved in Relief.

Of these plaques a long series was found, beginning with examples found with only Geometric pottery and going down as late as the deposits of Laconian V and VI pottery, and so dating even later than the fifth century. Until the date of the building of the later temple, about 600 B.C., the material used is ivory; after this date the supply of ivory failed and bone is used: any exceptions to this rule are noted. Further, the majority of the early plaques were fastened to the front of bronze fibulae of the safety-pin type, as is shown on **XCI, 1 a, b.** This is almost the only example in which the actual fibula itself has been preserved; in one or two other cases the back-strip is left, but as a rule the purpose of the plaque can only be deduced from the two holes drilled along the central line, which served to rivet the fibula in place. In the case of broken plaques the central position of these holes is naturally a valuable guide to restoring the original design. In this section all these plaques have been grouped together despite the fact that some are for fibulae, some not, some of ivory and some of bone; technically they all belong to one and the

same series. To the similar reliefs on a few combs and on the under-sides of some of the figures of ivory couchant animals, cross references are given.

These plaques fall into several groups: of these some—those classed as Styles Three and Four—seem out of the general course of the development of the art, and are therefore perhaps not of local make, but for the most part the chronological arrangement based upon the stratification of the site and stylistic grouping lead to one and the same sequence, and all the Styles taken together, except Three and Four, give us a continuous series, in which each example falls into its own place, and exhibit, first a steady advance in skill and elaboration, and then, with the disappearance of ivory, a breakdown in the art. In this last period relief gives way to carvings *à jour*; that is, the background is not sunk but completely cut away. The details of the groups are as follows :—

a. *Plaques of the First Style* (**Pls. XCI, XCII**).

In this class come six fibula-plaques, of which five were found with no other pottery than Geometric, and may therefore be placed earlier, though not much earlier, than about 740 B.C., to which date their rudimentary and simple technique very well corresponds. With the sixth, **XCII, 5,** Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery were found as well as Geometric, but it may be earlier than this stratification would suggest, as it was found in that part of the later temple where the deposits were to some extent disturbed by the sinking of the foundations through them.

All these six plaques are characterised by the lowness of the relief, the clumsiness of the modelling, the broadness of the raised borders of the plaque, and the carrying out of the decoration and details by coarsely incised lines. The eyes are simply formed by an incised almond with an arched line above it for the brows. The plaques show a considerable convexity from side to side, as if made from as small a tusk as possible. Details of the examples are :—

XCI, 1a, drawing; **XCI, 1,** photograph. Plaque ·05 m. high × ·04 m. wide. This is one of the only two examples found with the fibula itself well preserved. The drawing shows the bend of the bow below and the catch above, appearing from behind the plaque, and the fibula itself is drawn in **XCI, 1b,** as if detached from the plaque. **XCI, 1c,** shows a bronze fibula with a plate of furrowed bronze attached to the bow, and this is given here in order to show how the ivory plaques were attached to the actual fibula. The raised border of the plaque is wider than usual and decorated with incised circles connected by tangential lines. The design is a winged female figure, which may be interpreted as the winged Orthia, with the body seen from the front and the face turned in profile to the r. The hair of the goddess falls straight over her shoulders from under the high head-dress, and in each hand she grasps the neck of a bird.

Photograph on **XCI, 2.** An exactly similar example; plaque ·047 m. high × ·039 m. wide. The lower l. hand corner is missing and has been restored in plaster.

XCII, 1: Drawing and photograph. Plaque ·052 m. high × ·037 m. wide: notably convex. The raised border is very broad, and bears an incised guilloche pattern. The subject is a bearded man and a woman facing each other, and each grasping one side of the double support of a sort of standard. The woman wears the usual polos head-dress and girded chiton; the man a short shirt with short sleeves and a belt and high boots. His hair is held in place by a head-band, and falls over the shoulders, ending in three separate tassel-like locks. The meaning of the group is obscure.

XCII, 2: Drawing. Plaque ·06 m. high × ·037 m. wide. The bronze fibula riveted to the back of the plaque has been preserved complete. Inside a broad border decorated with incised circles is the winged Orthia facing to the r., wearing a high polos. Her skirt has a pattern of incised triangles and lines. In her right hand she grasps the neck of a bird, whose feet rest against her skirt, and in the left the hind legs of what seems to be a lion. This fibula was found just to the east of the great altar, in a region where the deposits were a good deal confused, but from its workmanship it may be safely classed here.

Not illustrated. The fifth example has the broad border with guilloche pattern of **XCII, 1** above, but the surface is too much destroyed for any reproduction or close description to be possible; it can only be said that it seems to represent Orthia.

XCII, 3: Drawing and photograph. Plaque ·041 m. high × ·042 m. wide. The slightly later date of this plaque already mentioned agrees with the way in which the ball of the eye is marked, an advance on the other examples in this group. The subject is a warrior on horseback, facing the left, armed with a spear and round shield, on which is a star surrounded by a guilloche pattern. The horse has a bridle and reins; the mane is rendered by three separate locks. The rider's figure is curtailed behind his shield, in order to bring his head to the same level as that of his horse.

b. *Plaques of the Second Style* (**Pls. XCIII–XCIX**).

Here seventeen examples may be reckoned, for the most part from fibulae. The style has several marked characteristics. The plaques are now larger and the raised border has become merely a narrow plain rim; the patterned borders have disappeared. The relief is deeper, and in some ways the modelling is better. The old method of rendering the eye by an almond-shaped incised outline gives way to a fully rounded eyeball: the lips end at the corners of the mouth, whereas in the earlier style the mouth is marked by a raised ridge all the way round. But the most striking feature is the fondness for decorating the surface of the figures with patterns of incised lines, which by their fineness are distinguishable at a glance from the earlier coarsely incised patterns.

This style of surface decoration is to be recognised in many other ivory carvings of this period: examples are the relief of two women on the under surface of the beast of prey shown on **CL,** which except for its different use is indistinguishable from these reliefs; the patterns on the group of two

enthroned figures in the round on **CXXIV**; the markings on many of the larger figures of animals, notably the one on **CLI**, where the lion's mane is indicated in this way; not a few others could be found.

But these plaques, though so much alike in style, cover a considerable range in time. Three examples, **XCIII, 1, 2, 3,** were found with no pottery except Geometric, and are therefore not later than the middle of the eighth century. But with one of them, that of Orthia with the snake, it should be noted that very little pottery at all was found. Next come six plaques (Nos. 4–9) found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and so dating about 700 B.C. Lastly, eight plaques, **XCVII–XCIX,** much like the rest, but in considerably higher relief, were found with nothing but Laconian I pottery, and so belong to the middle of the seventh century.

They may, therefore, be classed into three groups: A. Earlier examples. B. Middle examples. C. Latest examples. The details follow:—

A. Earlier examples.

XCIII, 1: Drawing. Fibula-plaque, ·065 m. × ·03 m. A standing winged figure of Orthia with the head turned to the l. in profile. Above the head is a curious floral ornament, of which there are no other exactly similar examples, except perhaps that on **XCVII, 1.**

XCIII, 2: Drawing and photograph. Fibula-plaque, ·08 m. high and originally ·05 m. wide. The r. half is mostly lost, but the dimension can be restored from the position of the two rivets for attaching the fibula. It shows the winged Orthia, standing, with the head turned in profile to the l. The l. arm is gone, but was probably extended like the r., and held some animal. The r. hand holds a bird, and from the wrist a snake hangs by the mouth. The bronze fibula at the back is all complete but for the catch.

XCIII, 3: Drawing. Fibula-plaque, ·052 m. × ·03 m. It shows a sphinx sitting up with the tail between the legs and the front paws resting against the r. edge of the plaque. The wings are folded. The hair hangs in a heavy mat marked by horizontal lines.

B. Middle examples.

XCIV: Drawing and photograph. Fibula-plaque: the whole of the middle part is missing but the two sides preserved clearly go together, and from the position of the stud below the wreath the width may be restored as ·10 m.; height ·145 m. A group of a man on the l., a woman on the r.: she grasps a wreath or crown and he grasps her wrist; this is the only possible restoration of the two arms. It is probable that their other two arms were uplifted and held a second wreath as in the example described below and shown on **XCVII, 2.**

XCV: Drawing and photograph. Plaque of uncertain use, ·10 m. high × ·09 m. wide. The ivory, very white, is so badly encrusted and broken that no photograph could be satisfactory. The subject is a man full-face standing between two women in profile. Where the ivory is preserved or visible through the incrustation the surface is well preserved and the rich patterns of the dresses are very plain. The artist was evidently in difficulty

about the man's legs, which in spite of the full-face head and body he was forced to show in profile.

XCVI, 1: Drawing. Fibula-plaque, ·08 m. × ·05 m. The r. edge is lost, and in the middle too the ivory has flaked away. But the subject is clear; two women facing one another, each with one hand held to the breast and the other raised.

XCVI, 2: Drawing and photograph. Plaque ·08 m. × ·036 m. This represents the standing Orthia, in a high polos, the hair falling on each side of the face, and in a rich dress; the hands are held close to the sides. The *xoanon* of the goddess may very well have looked much like this. There are three horizontal borings from side to side of the plaque, and to the back a shapeless mass, seemingly of iron, is adhering. The use is unknown.

XCVI, 3: Drawing and photograph. Fibula-plaque, with the rivet-holes askew, ·028 m. × ·036 m. A couchant lion with the tail curling up from between the legs and one front paw resting on an object like a crested wave.

XCVI, 4: Photograph. Plaque about ·04 m. × ·03 m. Representing a lion in the same position as the sphinx on **XCIII, 3.** Both these two last reliefs have an incised line round the outline very like some of the plaques of the Fifth Style below.

C. Latest examples.

XCVII, 1: Drawing and photograph. Plaque ·12 m. × approx. ·065 m. This again was probably not for a fibula, as there are no stud-holes. The left part is lost. The subject is a sphinx couchant, with the paw resting on an object which ends in a trefoil. On the head is a polos, and from it springs something rather like the floral ornament on the head of Orthia on the plaque shown on **XCIII, 1.**

XCVII, 2: Drawing. The plaque, which is from a fibula, is too fragmentary for a photograph to be possible, but the subject can be made out and the measurements calculated as approx. ·095 m. × ·07 m. A man and a woman stand facing one another, holding a pair of wreaths, each of them with a hand on each wreath, much like the man and woman on the plaque described above (**XCIV**).

XCVIII, 1: Drawing and photograph; in the latter the top l. corner is missing. Plaque ·08 m. × ·045 m., with no signs of attachment to a fibula. A female figure, presumably Orthia, shown full-face, each hand on the neck of a bird and a bird by each shoulder. The cape over the shoulders of the figure is an unusual addition to the dress. The relief is high, but the surface is much worn and broken, so that only traces of the incised patterns can be made out.

XCVIII, 2: Photograph. Plaque ·083 m. × ·06 m., with rivet-holes for a fibula. The subject is the same as on the previously described example, except that the upper birds are very definitely standing on the shoulders of the goddess.

XCVIII, 3: Drawing. Fibula-plaque, of which the lower part is missing; the breadth is ·062 m.; the height was not far off ·10 m. Orthia winged and

crowned faces to the l.; in her r. hand she holds a standing bird by the neck; the l. hand is missing.

XCIX, 1: Drawing and photograph. Fibula-plaque, ·0525 m. wide × ·0825 m. high. A winged bearded man holding a pair of birds by the legs. On the wings, hair and border slight traces of a dark colour are to be seen. This is the first plaque to show a feature which several times appears later: it is no longer felt to be necessary for the design to touch the border at every point.

XCIX, 2: Drawing and also among the couchant animals on **CLX, 2.** Relief from base of couchant animal, for which see p. 235; ·06 m. × ·08 m. A very similar male figure holding with his hands the necks of two standing birds. The laced-on foot-wrappings are remarkable.

XCIX, 3: Drawing. Top right-hand corner of a broken plaque, measuring in height ·075 m. This was found with only Geometric pottery in the arena, and it is only in deference to this position in the strata that it can be classed with these early plaques at all: in style it belongs to the plaques of the Fifth Style and was perhaps out of place; that a single piece should have worked down to a lower level than its true one is a possibility always to be reckoned with. It represents in a delicate style a warrior facing l.: he wears a helmet with a crest and plume, below which the hair falls in four twisted locks. He is bearded.

c. *Plaques of the Third Style* (Pls. C–CII, 1).

Contemporary with the plaques of the Second Style are four plaques, of the use of which we can only say that they were not for fibulae. Of these the relief of Prometheus, **C, 1,** and the fragment on **C, 2** were found with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery, and the others, the Centaur, **CI,** and the bearded Gorgon, **CII, 1,** with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I. The style, therefore, belongs to the late eighth and the early seventh centuries. The most remarkable feature of these plaques is the very high relief: the surface is often much destroyed, but where it is preserved, as in the Centaur group, there is no sign of the rich decoration which marks the Second Style; the artist relied for effect upon depth of relief and modelling. In this way these plaques, like those of the Fourth Style, have no place in the development of Spartan ivory reliefs: it is the Fifth Style that follows naturally on the Second, and these high relief plaques, with the low reliefs of the Fourth Style, have no predecessors and no descendants; it is possible that all are importations from the outside. In detail the four examples, beginning with the two whose context puts them earlier than the others, are:—

C, 1: Drawing. Dimensions, ·073 m. × ·065 m. × ·01 m. thick. The earliness of this plaque is shown by this, that the stratum below—it was found inside the walls of the archaic temple—contained no pottery but Geometric, that with it was Geometric pottery and one sherd only of Proto-Corinthian; only in the layer above was there any Laconian I pottery at all. The subject shows Prometheus kneeling with his body bent backwards and

resting on his hands. The upper part of the field is filled by the eagle, a trace of whose claws is left on the upper part of Prometheus' thigh. The legs of the eagle, now broken away, were entirely undercut. The surface of the ivory was very much encrusted. The raised border of the plaque had a pattern of crossing lines, and on the thick edge is a chequer pattern of sunken squares.

C, 2: Drawing. A broken plaque, of which only the l. part is preserved. Height ·075 m.; width unknown; thickness ·012 m. Of the subject only part of a forward striding figure is preserved. The edge and the back have patterns of sunk squares and diamonds respectively.

CI: Drawing and photograph. Height ·075 m.; width uncertain, as the l. part is broken away; thickness about ·01 m. The part on the l. missing is probably very small, but it leaves a small object behind the man's back quite problematical. We have left a man thrusting a sword into the side of a centaur, and with his l. hand pulling back the centaur's head by grasping his hair. The front legs of the centaur are collapsing as if in death. The centaur is of the type with four horse's legs; most of the Sparta centaurs are of the other sort, with a horse's body tacked on to the back of a complete man. The three edges of the plaque preserved are decorated with incised patterns.

CII, 1: Drawing and photograph. Dimensions of plaque, ·06 m. × ·04 m. This plaque of a bearded winged Gorgon is midway between this style and the more ordinary low relief plaques. The ivory has separated into flakes, and in the photograph it is seen how the whole carved surface has shifted to the left. In the drawing the original proportions are restored.

d. *Plaques of the Fourth Style* (Pl. CII, 2, 3).

CII, 2. There is only one plaque of this style; the relief is so low and the ivory so much discoloured and split by the separation of the laminae that no good photograph could be made. Dimensions: height ·087 m.; width at present ·076 m., but originally, if we assume that the rivets were central, ·081 m. Besides this there is one fragment, **CII, 3,** just over ·08 m. high. The plaque was found at the south end of the great altar at about the level of the pavement, naturally with Geometric pottery. The fragment came from the front of the later temple, also with Geometric sherds, but with it a few lead figures were found, which in a Geometric level is a mark of relative lateness. The pieces may be dated, therefore, to about the middle of the eighth century; they are not likely to be later than 740 B.C., the date given to the first appearance of Proto-Corinthian, nor earlier than the date to be assigned to the pavement round the altar, which is early in the ninth century (see p. 221). The subject of the plaque is a dead man, wrapped round so that only his bearded face is visible, lying on a bier. The ends of the bier are with some *naïveté* both drawn as if seen full-face. Behind the bier are three standing figures: a man with a crutch, and facing him two women with their arms raised in lamentation. The fragment is from an apparently identical plaque, but drawn the reverse way round. It is possible that the

pieces belong to a pair of similar fibulae, but with the design reversed, to face one way for the right shoulder of the wearer, and the other way for the left. The strip preserved shows the face of the corpse, and behind him the man, with just a piece of the crutch and of the woman's elbow.

These reliefs seem to have no place in the regular development of the art as shown by the great majority of examples found; as with the deep reliefs a foreign origin is possible.

e. *Plaques of the Fifth Style* (Pls. CIII–CX).

The best reliefs now follow. They were found for the most part with Laconian I or Laconian II pottery; in a few cases with the Laconian I were sherds of Proto-Corinthian and Geometric pottery, and these examples we may place at the beginning of the series, just as those with Laconian II sherds belong to its later years. The earlier examples we would therefore place in the first quarter of the seventh century, but for one piece of evidence which suggests that the style reaches back well into the eighth century: this is, that with the plaque, **CIII, 1,** of Heracles and the Hydra there was Geometric but no Laconian I pottery, and the absence of a pottery so abundant can hardly be accidental. In the stratum below one sherd of Proto-Corinthian was found. The plaque probably, therefore, dates between 740 and 710 B.C. The whole series comes to an end with Laconian II: none of the pieces can, therefore, be placed later than 600 B.C.

That so few of these plaques were found with Laconian II pottery may be explained in two ways. One is that, because this pottery is not very abundant on the site, we may plausibly suppose that the main deposits of it, and with them all contemporary objects, were in some region which time has not spared to us. The other is that, as no ivory is found later, the supply was then beginning to fail; this would agree with the fact that, though the examples are few, the workmanship shows no sign of falling off.

When the examples are thus arranged according to what we have of stratigraphical evidence, it is not possible to trace any actual development from one to another. But when the strata are as thin as these were—the actual depth of the whole Laconian I and II deposit is never more than about half a metre, and of the Geometric itself never more than some sixty centimetres—the possibility of an object being out of place must never be lost sight of; that is to say, the stratigraphical evidence must not be too closely pressed in its details and only accepted as a general guide. Again, the position in which an object is found is at most evidence only of the time when it was dedicated, or, still worse, when it was thrown aside. But uniform as they appear among themselves, it is clear that these plaques taken all together represent a more developed phase of the same artistic tradition than is to be seen in the plaques of the Second Style above. The chief changes are in the direction of increased freedom and complexity in the drawing, and with this a wider range of subject; and in the suppression of the love of decoration by means of incised patterns: the artist now seeks to attract not so much by an appearance of richness as by drawing and composition.

CIII, 1: Drawing. *Hero and Hydra.* The original size of the plaque was about ·11 m. × ·08 m. Though exactly like the fibula-plaques, it is to be noted that this example has no rivet-holes.

Of the plaque, all the right side and a small piece of the bottom have been lost. The surface is very much destroyed and encrusted with lime, so much so that a photograph is impossible, but the subject can be clearly made out. A hero, with beard and long hair and traces of tightly fitting clothes, stands on the l. with his l. leg advanced; in his r. hand he holds a sword, and with his l. he grasps one of the branches of a many-headed snake. Of the monster three heads appear: one bites the man's l. shin; a second, the head seen from above, bites the inside of his l. knee, and the third, the one grasped in the man's hand, is threatening his head. Of the dress, the condition of the surface allows no more to be made out than the patterns indicated in the drawing. The r. part of the plaque, shown in dotted lines, is purely conjectural.[2]

After this come four examples, **CIII, 2—CIV, 3,** found with Laconian I pottery, mixed with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian. They are:—

CIV, 1: Drawing. *Knight and Squire.* Fibula-plaque, ·087 m. × ·072 m. From the plaque the bottom l. corner and a piece of the upper edge are gone; for the rest the surface is well preserved and free from incrustation, except in the upper l. corner. The subject is an armed man on horseback and a second man behind him on the horse's hindquarters. The ivory is here much damaged, but, impossible in practice as the kneeling position of this man is, it seems to be demanded by the indications of the fragments. The rider's body is much abbreviated to bring his head to the same level as that of the horse; a device seen also in an earlier ivory (**XCII, 3**). Both men carry a spear and a round shield; that of the rider is seen from the inner side, that of the man behind has a geometrical pattern. Both men wear high boots, and the rider has a tight, patterned dress. The horse is carefully carved, and edged in a curious way with an incised line. The upper part of the tail is clipped; the mane is shown by incised lines; the bit is very clearly rendered. Of modelling there is as little as possible; the rider's leg is flat with the horse. The plaque has as usual a narrow raised border.

CIV, 2: Drawing and photograph. *Man on horseback.* The plaque is defective on all sides but the top; present size about ·055 m. × ·04 m. With no rivet-holes and convex in form, this was probably not for a fibula. The subject is a man in the usual tight dress on horseback; the l. hand is held up behind him, with the r. he grasps the horse's rein.

CIII, 2: Drawing. *Man with a dog.* Dimensions of the fragment are ·11 m. × ·07 m. Only the l. hand bottom part of this large plaque is preserved. It shows the legs of a man striding to the r.; he wears boots and a kilt and is holding either a spear or a long staff. Behind him is a dog with one front paw uplifted.

CIV, 3: Drawing. *Man being crowned.* Dimensions of the fragment ·06 m. × ·06 m. Here two fragments are brought together, which there is no reason to doubt are from the same plaque. The l. piece shows a

[2] Cf. Gerhard, *Auserlesene gr. Vasenbilder,* XCV, XCVI, LXXXVI.

standing woman in a rich skirt with the feet turned to the r. The r. piece, which seems to go to the edge of the plaque, shows the upper part of a male figure over whose head a hand is holding a crown. If these two fragments go together, the hand must be that of the female figure, probably Orthia, and it will follow from the position of the man's body that he must have been kneeling before her.

The next four examples were found with only Laconian I sherds.

CV : Drawing and photograph. *Man between a lion and a griffin.* Height of plaque to be restored as about ·095 m.; width ·12 m. This object was found in 1906 before the stratification of the site was clearly determined, but it was in Trench A and above the Geometric layer, and it is safe to conclude that its ceramic companion was Laconian I pottery. The plaque is incomplete above and below, but what survives is well preserved, perhaps the best preserved of all these ivories. It represents a man in a kilt and tight upper garment with his hair in three long locks, and his arms round the necks of two animals; the one on the l. a winged lion—this is likely because behind the ear the chequered lines seem to represent the mane—and the one on the r. a winged griffin.

CVI, 1 : Drawing. *Man killing a Gorgon.* Dimensions, ·11 m. × ·0825 m. The plaque, which was found in front of the temple, is much broken but can be reconstructed; the central position of the two rivet-holes is a guide to the width. The subject is a man killing a Gorgon with a sword; the left hand is lost and must remain quite doubtful; the r. side of the Gorgon too is all lost, and it is possible that both her wings were represented. In elaboration this plaque is a great advance; the tendency to simplify the drawing by spreading the design out flat and not to show one object in the front of another is now a thing of the past. In the middle of the plaque the man's arm is in front of the Gorgon's wing, and the wing again in front of the man's leg. The free space above the heads of the figures, the design not going to the extreme limits of the field, is also a novelty.

CVI, 2 : Drawing. *Pair of sphinxes.* Dimensions, ·05 m. × ·026 m. A small plaque, not for a fibula, representing two couchant sphinxes facing one another.

CVI, 3 : Drawing. Unfinished plaque. The fragment is ·155 m. high, with a maximum width of ·055 m. The subject is a man advancing from the left and carrying a staff or spear; opposite him was another figure, perhaps seated. The object can be recognised as a piece of an unfinished plaque, probably intended for a fibula, in spite of its size. The subject has only been drawn with bold incised lines, and the relief-cutting not yet begun. Like the finished examples, it was to have had a raised border, the lines for which had been marked out. It is interesting, both as a proof of the purpose of these lines, and as a point in technique, that the line running up the side and with the grain of ivory is drawn close to the edge, whilst the lines against the grain at the top and bottom are drawn some way back. The ivory would only be cut back to them, after the ground had been sunk, and there was no more danger of breaking the raised border by cutting against it, where it was not

strengthened by running with the grain. This border and the way in which it is prepared for cutting make it certain that this plaque is not a drawing, but an unfinished relief.

The finding of such an unfinished piece is evidence that these carvings were made in Spartan workshops; another example is the carving shown on **CXVI, 2.**

The next two are likely to be slightly later.

CVII, 1: Drawing. *Winged figure with horse.* Dimensions, ·105 m. × ·073 m. In low relief, with one rivet-hole preserved. The surface is so badly encrusted that the subject can only partly be made out. On the left some part is broken away. In the central line of the plaque a winged figure, probably Orthia, stands facing to the l. Behind her is a horse facing r.; the forehead and hindquarters are quite clear. Her arms come out from below the wings; the r. hand grasps some round object, and the l. hand was probably laid upon the horse's head. Below the horse's head there appears a part of some object resembling the tip of a wing.

CVII, 2: Drawing. *Two warriors facing.* Dimensions, ·012 m. × ·074 m. A thin plaque in low relief, very much encrusted, so that only the main lines of the design can be distinguished. Two warriors stand facing one another; the one on the l. wears a crested helmet, and on the other the back part of a helmet can be seen. The man on the right carries a spear and a round shield; both wear greaves.

Lastly are three examples found in the latest strata below the sand, the period of Laconian II pottery.

CVIII: Drawing and photograph. Fragment of a plaque of a warrior. Dimensions, height, ·175 m.; greatest width preserved, ·05 m. This fragment, found with Laconian II pottery, and therefore at the end of the series, shows a warrior seen from behind brandishing in his right hand a pommelled sword. By a strap across his shoulders some other weapon is hung at his breast. He wears greaves, a kilt, a corselet, to judge by the rosette on the elbow some sort of sleeved shirt, and on his head he has a plumed helmet with cheek-piece. He has a beard but no moustache, and his hair escapes behind from below his helmet in three twisted locks. Of the rest of the composition not a fragment remains. No doubt from the difficulty of the position his leg is very awkwardly represented.

CIX: Drawing; **CX:** Photograph. Relief of *a ship.* Dimensions, ·235 m. long, and the greatest width is ·11 m. This was found in 1907 at the highest level below the sand between the S.E. corner of the archaic temple and the Roman foundation. It therefore belongs to the last years of the seventh century. It is the largest and finest of all the series of ivory plaques. The upper edge is almost straight, the lower nearly the arc of a circle, the area of the plaque being a little less than a semicircle. Round the curved lower edge is a raised border, upon which is a series of sunken circles connected by oblique, tangential lines. These circles were no doubt filled with inlays, and, in spite of the relatively late date, it seems quite possible that these were amber, like the eyes of

the bird-fibula, **CXXXIV, 1.** Along the top there is only a raised border. The field thus bounded is filled with a picture of a ship in relief, with three large fish swimming below it. It is a warship, about to set sail, with three warriors seated on the deck, with their spears; one wears a plumed helmet. Five round shields, decorated with geometrical patterns, hang over the edge of the deck. Of the crew, one is sitting on the raised prow fishing, with a fish hooked on his line, whilst another is crouching on the long beak below. The head of the steersman is seen facing forward—he is sitting under the high, curved stern. Three sailors are working the rigging. One stands at the bow hauling at the forestay, whilst two more stand by the mast and raise the yard by means of the halyards. At the stern a bearded man, evidently the captain, is saying farewell to a woman, who is no doubt meant to be on land, although, owing to the exigencies of space, she is shown standing on one of the two steering paddles. The captain grasps her right wrist, and she lays her left hand on his shoulder. Behind the woman is a large bird.

The rigging is very clearly shown: we can distinguish the two braces, one at each end of the yard, the two halyards, the forestay, and the upper part of the backstay. The actions of the crew show that the ship is setting sail. The man at the forestay has hauled the mast up from its place in the *histodoke*, and the two men at the halyards have raised the yard. To add to the liveliness of the picture, these two actions are both shown together, although they are in fact successive. To start the ship it only remains to unfurl the sail.[3] The retrograde inscription on the prow, Ϙορθαία, shows that it was a votive offering to the goddess, for which *v.* p. 370 below.

CXI: Drawing. Nearly all the l. half of a large plaque, in height ·13 m., and in width rather less. It is as good as certain that the design was two opposed lions standing up on their hind legs with their front paws resting on a floral ornament. This was amongst the latest things found below the sand and belongs, therefore, to the period of Laconian II pottery.

f. *Plaques of the Sixth Style* (**Pl. CXII**).

After the date of the building of the later temple, which we have fixed at about 600 B.C., hardly any more ivory is found: the plaques after this time are of bone, and none of them seem to have been used for fibulae. For us the advantage of the new material is that the examples are much better preserved: the surface is not encrusted and bone is not subject to the process of breaking up into laminae from which ivory suffers so much. The examples begin just before 600 B.C., and go down to the early fifth century. The examples are:—

CXII, 1. This is the earliest of these low reliefs; it was found in a stratum just earlier than the building of the later temple, and therefore dates to the end of the seventh century, just before 600 B.C. The relief is on two oblong flat pieces of bone, each ·09 m. high by ·032 m. wide, each drilled at the top and bottom: there is no indication of its use. The subject is two horses standing up on their hind legs with two of their fore feet which appear

[3] But Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 111, thinks that the ship is arriving, not departing.

crossed; in front of the l. horse is a tall water-bird of the usual type. With the exception of **CXVI, 3,** this is the only example in which two pieces of bone are joined together to make a large plaque like the earlier works in ivory: all the later reliefs are content with the size which one piece of bone affords. In this we have a sign of earliness; the workmanship, on the other hand, shows the beginning of the decline so marked all round in Spartan art of the sixth century.

After this come bone plaques, of each of which several examples were found. Each is carved on one side of a flat piece of bone, exactly like the half of the relief of horses just described, the size being always about ·10 m. × ·03 m. Two subjects are represented.

CXII, 2, 3: Drawing; **CXII, 4:** Photograph. The first is a woman carrying in her hands a pomegranate, a crown or some indeterminate object covered with cross lines. Five examples were found: of these, two are as old as the final period of the early temple, and so belong to the end of the seventh century, whilst the latest of the series was found with Laconian V pottery, and so dates to the earlier part of the fifth century. The relief is very slight; the background to the figure has just been gouged off with shallow cuts.[4]

CXII, 5: Drawing. The other subject on these plaques is a centaur. Of these there are two, both found with Laconian IV and V pottery, and so of the late sixth or early fifth century. The centaur, a complete man with the hinder half of a horse attached, kneels down to accommodate himself to the shape of the plaque; his hair is very long, and with one hand he holds out three long locks. The technique is even more broken-down than that of the reliefs of women; the background is not sunk at all, the design, which there is no reason to believe unfinished, being carried out merely by incised lines.

g. *Seventh Style: Plaques cut 'à jour'* (Pls. CXIII–CXV).

Very characteristic of the sixth century, and indeed of the fifth and even later, for they are found with pottery ranging from Laconian III to Laconian VI, are bone carvings which are a development of the plaques of the style just above. They differ from them in that the background of the design is cut right away so that the object stands out free by itself. The plaque on which the work is carried out is of the same make, and naturally of the same size as these earlier ones; an exception to this are the frogs and tortoises on **CXV.**

These objects fall into certain classes, which are as follows:—

CXIII. Bone birds, of the kind shown on the plate. There are in all fragments representing twenty-one examples, though of these no one is quite complete; but as they are remarkably uniform even in details, the various pieces supplement one another. We have the usual standing figure of a water-bird of some sort with the long beak touching the breast, the attitude being to some extent prescribed by the proportions of the bone plaque available. Their use is not clear; every example has the hole drilled just above the wing. Thirteen of them were found with Laconian III and IV pottery; of

[4] To this type belong the bone plaques in the Museum at Dimitsana, published in *J.H.S.* xii. p. 41.

the rest, some are as late as Laconian VI. They seem, therefore, to have a wide range from 600 B.C. to as late as even the third century, but to be most frequent in the sixth century.

CXIV, 1: Photographs and drawing. A figure of a standing warrior with a shield and a bird standing behind him. Three fragments were found; one (A) has a round and one (B) a Boeotian shield, and one (C) is only a detached head. These go down as late as Laconian V.

CXIV, 2. One example was found of a woman wrapped in a cloak. This object and the lion next following were both found in the first year of the excavation by the bank of the river, where objects of all periods were found and the strata not yet clearly separated, but from their style they no doubt belong here.

CXIV, 3. A figure of a couchant lion facing forward; the curled tail is broken away. For date see above.

CXV. Four small figures of reptiles: two of frogs and two of tortoises; all were found with Laconian V pottery, and so belong to the fifth century.

V. also **CLXXIV, 13** (p. 243).

h. *Plaques of the Eighth Style* (**Pl. CXVI**).

Three plaques of chariots and horses are so exceptional in make as to require a separate section.

CXVI, 1: Drawing. An ivory plaque, ·06 m. high, and in width something more than ·115 m.; how much is uncertain, as the plaque is broken, but from the design probably very little has been lost. It was found with Laconian I pottery, and may therefore be dated to the middle of the seventh century. The condition of the plaque is very bad indeed and a photograph therefore impossible; this also makes it hard to say whether the work is unfinished or not. The drawing is oddly confused, but the subject can be distinguished as a chariot driven towards the l., drawn by four winged horses. The drawing of the driver and the front of the chariot is not easy to make out, but it seems that the curved lines above the horses' hindquarters are intended to represent the front of the chariot. In front of the horses there is one of the usual tall birds with its head in the top l. hand corner. Beneath the horses a dog is crouching. Of the wheels and the back of the chariot only a trace remains.

CXVI, 2: Drawing and photograph. An ivory plaque, of which the lower part, a strip of less than half a centimetre, and the lower l. hand corner are lost, but is otherwise fairly complete. The length is ·085 m., and the greatest height at present ·037 m. It was found with Laconian III and IV pottery, and therefore belongs to the sixth century. It is one of the latest pieces of ivory found. The subject is a two-horse chariot advancing to the r.; the driver holds the reins, and behind him a second man is standing. The piece is unfinished, and so, like the ivory shown on **CVI, 3,** gives us another piece of evidence for the local origin of these carvings. The ground has been slightly sunk, and is pierced with a number of round holes, clearly to admit a fretsaw by which the whole ground was to be cut away, like the sixth-century plaques already described. The preliminary sinking of the ground and the leaving of a

margin round much of the design seem to be for technical reasons. The unfinished condition shows up the very childish drawing. Cf. also **CLXXIV, 16** (p. 243), and **CLXXVIII, 3** (p. 245).

CXVI, 3 : Photograph. This is a plaque of bone, also of the sixth century, and but for its subject would be classed with the double plaque with two rearing horses shown on **CXII, 1.** It is a plaque ·085 m. × ·035 m., almost complete, but from the design, the tails of two horses, and between them the pole of the chariot, and above them a piece of rein and the ends of a curved and feathered wing, it is evidently only one plaque from a larger carving of a chariot and winged horses. It seems that there were four horses; behind and to the right of the two tails of the front pair we can clearly see in lower relief the tails of the further pair. The upper left corner of the plaque too contains a part of a further wing in lower relief than the front one. From the scale and the design the complete work must have comprised at least five similar pieces of bone. It differs from the plaque of the two rearing horses in this, that the background was entirely cut away, like the other sixth-century carvings *à jour*. From the fragment left we can see that it would have been much the best of all these three carvings.

II. Figures of Orthia and Figures Seated on Thrones.

Bone Xoanon-like figures, probably of Orthia (Pls. CXVII–CXX).

Perhaps the most important of the carvings in bone are a series of figures, obviously from the face female, which, although with a Phoenician prototype, for which see p. 247, are probably to be taken as representing Orthia herself. Their stiff rigidity, dictated no doubt in part by the necessity imposed by the material, further suggests that they bear some resemblance to the xoanon of the goddess. These figures fall under three types :—

a. Armless figures cut from a complete section of bone.

b. Figures with arms, cut from a bone split lengthways, so that the figure, convex in front, has no back.

c Similarly made figures, but without arms ; the figure is often shallower and less convex than the other two classes.

a. **CXVII** and **CXVIII, 1–4** and drawing on **CXVIII, 5.** Armless figures cut from a complete section of bone, generally about ·10 m. long, though often shorter. The front of the figure is convex; the back, following the shape of the bone, more or less flat. Counting fragments, sixteen examples. For their distribution, two were found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and so go back to about 700 B.C.; seven belong to the seventh century; four were with Laconian III and IV; two with Laconian IV and V, and one with only Laconian V pottery. They are commonest, therefore, in the seventh and sixth centuries. All these figures have a polos head-dress; the front is always divided into three parts, each marked with horizontal stripes. The general make of the face, the flat nose and the way in which the mouth and nose are set in a sinking made in the general surface, are due to the shape of the bone and its thinness. The flat nose appears well in the profile drawing

(**CXVIII, 5**) of the example photographed on **CXVII, 3.** The comparative naturalism of **CXVII,** 2 is exceptional.

b. **CXIX, 1–5.** Figures with arms, made from a section of bone split lengthways, so that the figure, convex in front, has no back. About the same size as the last Class *a* figures. Counting fragments, eleven examples. They have the same polos as the Class *a* figures, but they are not of quite so fixed a type. Their chronological range is almost the same; almost all date to the seventh century. Two were earlier; one was found with only Geometric pottery and seems as much out of place as one found with Laconian VI; one was found in a sixth-century deposit. The remaining seven were all of the seventh century. The peculiar grimness of 1 and 4 sets them rather apart from all the rest of these figures with their vacuously smiling mouths.

The poloi of these two show traces of the toothed top so marked in Class *c* and the heads which go with this class. Also their hair with its twisted locks is so much less archaic than the horizontally divided locks of Nos. 2 and 3, that the seventh-century date well fits these two figures; neither archaic nor degenerate in style. One more is figured in *Arch. Anz.* 1913, p. 20.

c. **CXIX, 6–7.** Figures about the same size as the rest, resembling Class *a* in having no arms, but like Class *b* in being made of a split piece of bone, and so hollow at the back. Thirteen examples were found, but only three fairly complete. The work is clearly more careless than that of either of the first two classes, and it is therefore not surprising that they were all found with Laconian III and IV pottery; two even with Laconian IV and V. They belong, therefore, to the sixth century; none of them at all go back to the period of the early temple. They are like the first type except that the work is not so careful, the figures are flatter, the polos is toothed, not smooth at the top, and the hair is in curls on the forehead. The complete examples are pierced in the middle.

With these go the following:

CXX, 1–6. Here are shown four heads which seem to be broken off figures of Class *c*. Nos. 5 and 6 are a little different; they seem to be complete.

CXX, 7. A single example of a bone figure cut in the round; the arm comes out from below the over-fold of a girt chiton. No doubt of the sixth century, though there is no evidence of its date.

Protomai (**Pls. CXXI, CXXII, 1–4**).

Of *protomai*, presumably of Orthia, fourteen were found; generally of bone. The face is carved on the front of each of these; on the back there is as a rule some design cut in intaglio. The bone examples are generally made of a section cut from a bone longways with the face, and to make the mass solid it is filled with two plugs, one above the crown of the head and the other below the neck. These plugs have often fallen out. They may be classed according to type and age as follows:—

a. **CXXI, 1, 2.** Two were found with Geometric pottery only, and are therefore earlier than 740 B.C. One of these is photographed on **CXXI, 1,** and drawn, front, back, side and from above on **CXXI, 1a–1d.** The face is cut on an oblong piece of bone, on the back of which is an incised drawing of a

pelican, surrounded by zigzag lines. On the head is a polos—none of the other protomai have any head-dress—and the hair is arranged in curls on the forehead and falls down on each side in masses divided only by horizontal lines. Height ·027 m. The other (**CXXI, 2**) is on a piece of bone square below and rounded above; the work is very rough, and on the back is a simple pattern of scorings.

The later examples now to be described are all on round bases.

b. **CXXI, 4, 7.** Later than these, and with a mixture of Geometric and Laconian I pottery, we have some examples like the earlier ones in still having the hair divided by horizontal lines. These are: **CXXI, 4,** exceptional as being very thin from back to front, and so merely a disc and not a plugged section of bone. Probably **CXXI, 7,** found in the first year; on the back is an intaglio of a standing bird with a star behind it and an exergue in front. A third example, not shown, has merely the face flaked off from the back.

c. **CXXI, 1, 3, 5, 6.** In the same deposits follow examples which are like all the later ones in having the hair crimped into zigzag curls. Here belong: **CXXI, 5;** this has a very long neck and staring eyes. Both the bone plugs are still in place. On the back is an intaglio of a couchant sphinx. **CXXI, 6;** on the back is an intaglio of a spread eagle. **CXXI, 3;** this is a large example in ivory. The face is very triangular, and the flatness of the cheeks gives it a wedge-like shape when seen from above. The hair is in curls over the forehead. On the back is a human-headed, apparently bearded sphinx, sitting with one fore-paw uplifted. Of the same date is another of these large ivory examples, diameter something over ·04 m. The face is entirely broken away, and only half of the disc is preserved, but it shows on the back a finely worked intaglio of a human-headed sphinx looking over her back towards a bird standing behind her. With these probably goes the ivory example drawn back and front on **CXXII, 1.** It was found in the first year of the excavation and cannot be exactly dated. The face is a good deal broken; on the back is an intaglio of a seated beaked sphinx, with paw uplifted before an exergue.

d. **CXXII, 2–4.** Bone examples just like **CXXI, 5** and **6** above were found with only Laconian I pottery, and so are the latest of the series and belong to the middle of the seventh century. Here we have: **CXXII, 4;** bone, though rather like the ivory examples in workmanship. Both the plugs are gone. On the back an intaglio of a seated animal. **CXXII, 3;** the face is extremely flat, the lower plug is gone. The much-corroded example, **CXXII, 2,** belongs here, and one other example too much destroyed to be classified makes up the tale.

Small bone figures seated on thrones (**Pls. CXXII** *lower part* and **CXXIII**).

Of the usual type of small bone figures in the round seated on thrones, twenty-one examples were found. They are all from ·04 to ·03 m. high. The work is often very summary. One of the most carefully carved is photographed on **CXXII, 5,** and drawn side view and back view on **CXXIII, 1.** The drawing **CXXIII, 2** shows one of the most casually cut of these figures; the hands are in the usual position on the knees, but the cutting is so rough and ready that the hands are merged with the knees and the legs with the throne. Less commonly the hands are held up to the chin as in the two examples

shown in **CXXII, 6** and **7.** Fifteen examples can be dated. Of these, nine were found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, four with Laconian I only, and two with Geometric only. The class may be dated, therefore, to the century round 700 B.C.

There are a few single examples of these seated figures differing from the type. These are :—

CXXIII, 3. A seated figure with the arms, now broken, supporting the chin. It was found with Geometric pottery and so opens the series.

CXXIII, 4. A figure like the type but on a round peg-like base. Found with Laconian II pottery, and so late in the seventh century.

CXXIII, 5. A seated figure with the hands on the shoulders. The hair is elaborately arranged and a striped loin-cloth is worn. Found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery; date about 700 B.C.

CXXIII, 6, and photograph on **CXXII, 8.** A bone carving, drawn front, back and side, of a figure seated on a throne with a high back and rosettes at the ends of the arms; very much like the terracotta figurines on **XXXII.** Date unknown.

Pairs of seated figures (**Pls. CXXIV, CXXV**).

Three ivory groups were found of a pair of figures seated side by side on a throne. Of these, the finest example, **CXXIV,** was found in 1906 by the bank of the river, when the stratification of the site was not known. The second, **CXXV, 1,** was with Geometric pottery only, which would put it earlier than about 740 B.C. The third, **CXXV, 2,** was with Geometric, Laconian I and Proto-Corinthian sherds, which would date it between 740 and 675 B.C. approximately. As for the first, its general appearance puts it into close connexion with the ivory reliefs of the Second Style; it has the same heavy appearance and the same fondness for a rich decoration of the surface by incised patterns. This Second Style goes back into the Geometric period and comes down to the time when only Laconian I was found, but most of the examples are between two extremes and date to about 700 B.C. To this date, therefore, we may ascribe the first and third of these objects, and put the second rather earlier. In detail they are :—

CXXIV, photographed, and drawn from four points: *a*, from below; *b*, from above; *c*, from the front; *d*, to show the back and left side. The dimensions are : ·06 m. high, ·0425 m. wide, and ·0225 m. from back to front. It is practically complete and externally well preserved, except that one or two *laminae* have fallen from the faces and clasped hands. As is always the case with the larger ivories, its internal condition is not so good. The *laminae* of the ivory have warped and become separated, and the whole is now held together by cement. The group consists of two men [5] sitting side by side upon a carved throne, underneath which are two animals. Their heads appear at the sides, and their hindquarters at the back. In the throne itself the tasselled cushion behind the figures is noticeable. The under-surface of the block (*a*) has a rosette worked in incised lines. The men wear long embroidered dresses, but

[5] *V.* p. 51.

the patterns are preserved only on the side. The manner of dressing the hair has already been noted. The hands are very large, the outer pair being clasped and the inner resting on the knees.

CXXV, 1, photographed, and drawn from three points : 1*a*, from the front; 1*b*, from the side; 1*c*, from below. The two figures sit side by side with their outer arms on their laps, and their inner arms laid each over the shoulder of the other. From the long dress and perhaps the face, the one on the left appears rather to be female and the one on the right with the lower legs showing to be a male. The decoration of the dress and the rosette carved below the base are the same as in the first example.

CXXV, 2. A smaller and much more summarily carved example. The hands of both figures are laid upon the knees.

III. Objects of Personal Use and Adornment.

Combs (**Pls. CXXVI–CXXXI**).

Of ivory and bone combs about twenty-seven examples were found, many of them much broken. In date they range from the beginning of Proto-Corinthian pottery down to the period of Laconian III and even IV; from the middle of the eighth, that is, down into the sixth century. Three types were found, all with the same chronological range: *a*, combs with round tops; *b*, combs with square tops; *c*, double-ended combs. The larger examples of the round-topped combs are made of ivory and have relief carvings in the semicircular space at the top; all these fine examples were found with Laconian I pottery. On some of them unfortunately the carving was very much encrusted with a deposit of limy matter so much harder than the ivory that the design can only be drawn without much detail, and some were badly broken, but though photographs were not often possible, all the examples have been drawn. Details of the three types follow :—

a. *Combs with round tops* (**Pls. CXXVI–CXXXI, 9**).

The finer examples are arranged in order of date. The earliest are 1 and 2, for with them Geometric pottery was found as well as Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I. Next come 3 and 4, with no longer any Geometric pottery, but Proto-Corinthian was still present. With 5, 6, and 7 there was only Laconian I pottery; they belong, therefore, approximately to the years between 660 and 625 B.C. The latest is 8, of the first part of the sixth century, for with it we found Laconian III pottery. Of uncertain provenance, but clearly belonging to this class, are 9, 10, and 11. The details are :—

1. **CXXVI, 1.** A fragment of a comb which when complete would have been about ·05 m. across. On one side (1*b*) a bearded man kneels on one knee, seemingly repelling the attack of some animal; on the other (1*a*) is what is left of a winged griffin.

2. **CXXVI, 2** and **CXXXI, 1.** Half of a comb about ·06 m. across. On one side are two couchant sphinxes facing one another; on the other the front part of probably a lion.

3. **CXXVI, 3.** This comb, ·045 m. across, has on one side three inlaid panels of amber,—from one the amber has been lost,—and between them a zigzag ornament; on the other is a winged horse. At the top of the bow of the comb are two broken projections which seem to be from a loop for suspension.

4. **CXXVII.** The most elaborate example, which when complete was about ·08 m. across. On one side is a relief of the 'Judgment of Paris.' Paris with a beard and long hair sits on a low throne holding out the apple; in front of him are the three goddesses in richly embroidered robes; the foremost seems to be Aphrodite with her dove, next is Athena, traces of whose helmet can be made out, and lastly comes Hera, with behind her what must be supposed to be the peacock. On the other side are two couchant sphinxes, and between them a man upside-down.

5. **CXXVIII, 1,** measuring ·045 m. across. On one side is a walking lion; on the other the surface was too much encrusted with lime for even a drawing to be practicable, but the subject is two opposing sphinxes. Above the lion is a hole, by which the comb could be hung on a peg.

6. **CXXVIII, 2.** A comb broken at each end, which when complete was about ·08 m. across. On one side are two opposing horses, and below the horse on the r. is a man in a helmet lying on his back and apparently being trampled by them. On the other side are two opposing sphinxes, each with a paw raised to touch the breast of the other. Again there is a hole for suspension.

7. **CXXIX** and **CXXXI, 2.** Except for the loss of the teeth, almost complete and measuring ·08 m. across. The reliefs are in a curiously mannered style, rather unlike any of the other combs. On one side is an ibex with long horns, grazing; on the other a rather lion-like animal in the same couchant position, except that his head is raised, and below his mouth is an object like a breaking wave.

8. **CXXX, 1** and **CXXXI, 3.** A comb with only one side-tooth preserved, measuring ·05 m. across. On one side is a warrior in a plumed helmet, falling on his sword, which passes right through his body. He is very badly drawn, with the head much too large and the legs much too small. On the other side a human-headed sphinx is advancing towards some sort of animal.

9. **CXXX, 2.** A broken comb, originally ·05 m. across. On one side is a charioteer and horse; on the other a man sitting on a chair with another man kneeling before him; behind this second man is a bird.

10. **CXXX, 3** and **CXXXI, 4.** Comb, ·034 m. across, with all the teeth broken off. On one side a spread eagle; on the other a winged dog.

11. **CXXXI, 5.** A broken comb, with on one side a relief of a gorgon's head with lolling tongue. The wide side-hair fills up the corners of the lunette.

12. **CXXX, 4.** A broken comb, the upper part of which is fretted out with four openings.

13. **CXXXI, 6.** A broken comb, with the lunettes plain but surrounded by a band of guilloche pattern.

14–16. **CXXXI, 7, 8, 9.** Three small combs, like all the smaller examples, made of bone; the only ornament is dots, in incised circles.

b. *Combs with square tops.*

CXXXI, 10. Broken ivory comb, with pattern of incised circles and lines.
CXXXI, 11. Similar comb, with guilloche pattern.

c. *Double combs.*

CXXXI, 12, 13, 14. Three such combs; all of bone and quite plain.

Fibulae (**Pls. CXXXII–CXXXIV**).

Of the great number of fibulae found the majority are of bronze and are therefore described in another part of this book, and of the ivory and bone fibulae many have already been described in the sections dealing with the ivory reliefs. This section deals with the remaining ivory and bone fibulae. They fall under two heads: (1) those made in imitation of the bronze spectacle-fibulae,[6] and (2) the fibulae decorated with an ivory figure of an eagle.

1. *Fibulae imitating the bronze 'spectacle'-fibulae* (**CXXXII** and **CXXXIII**).

These fibulae, which consist of a plate of bone or ivory of the characteristic shape shown on **CXXXII, 2, 4–11** and **CXXXIII, b** and **c,** to the back of which is riveted the fibula proper, are clearly in form an imitation of the spectacle-fibulae made of coils of bronze wire, of which so many were found from the earliest strata onwards. They are illustrated on **LXXXI** and **LXXXII,** but for the sake of convenient comparison a drawing of one has been placed here, on **CXXXIII, a.** Of fairly complete examples of these imitations twenty-eight were found, and there were fragments of ten more. In size they range from ·045 m. total length to ·16 m., but the greater number are comparatively small and measure from ·05 m. to ·06 m. All the smaller examples are bone; ivory is confined to the few very large specimens, such as those on **CXXXII, 4** and **9.** These larger fibulae seem to have been decorated with four round-topped amber bosses, inlaid in the centres of the four circles of the plate. The actual amber was preserved in two cases only—one is **4** on the Plate—but in others its presence may be inferred from the circular sinkings; *e.g.* on **9.** One example, bone and of medium size (**CXXXII, 7**), has the centres of the two big circles decorated with affixed flattish bone bosses of a kind very commonly found, but excepting here and in one other case always loose by themselves. Their diameter is from ·008 to ·012 m. From the number of fibulae which might have had them, it may be inferred that all the bosses were used in this way, but that owing to the feebleness of the means of attachment they have almost always fallen off.

The fibula proper is bronze, of the flat safety-pin type used also for the fibulae with square plaques. It is secured in the same way with two rivets; the marks of these appear on the fibula photographed on **CXXXII, 4** and drawn on **CXXXIII, c.** The only decoration on the front is incised patterns; the large examples have two circles of guilloche, and the small ones concentric circles. Exceptional patterns are those on **CXXXII, 10** and **CXXXIII, b** and **d.**

In date these fibulae range from early in the purely Geometric deposit—a small one, ·052 m. long, was found lying on the cobble pavement—down to the

[6] Such fibulae are fully treated by Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales,* pp. 262, *sqq.*

period of Laconian I or even II, and two were found in the Laconian III and IV deposit of the sixth century. By far the greater number were found, however, with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery; earlier or later than this they are rare. This means that, although they are as old as the ninth century and continue into the sixth, they begin to be frequent late in the eighth and probably are on the decrease towards the end of the seventh century. That the little bone bosses mentioned above were attached to these fibulae is further supported by the fact that their chronological range is the same, from the middle of the eighth century to 600 B.C. The differences in size, material and ornamentation have no chronological significance; large and small examples were found at each end of the series. The big ivory specimen shown in the photograph on **CXXXII, 4,** and in the drawing **CXXXIII, c,** was found with Geometric pottery; two others like it with Proto-Corinthian sherds and another with Laconian I.

There seems to have been a variety of these fibulae with the edge scalloped; no complete example was found, but this is probably the interpretation to be put on the fragment on **CXXXII, 11.** It was found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery: another similar fragment was of the sixth century. The sunken circles seem designed for an inlay; probably, as in the larger fibulae, of amber.

On **CXXXII, 1** and **3,** are shown two flat pieces of bone rounded at the ends; ten examples were found, all about ·09 m. long, and a few fragments. Like the bone spectacle-fibulae they range from the Geometric to the Laconian I deposits. They are sometimes plain, but are generally decorated on one side only with incised bars and circles. All are pierced at three points, at the centre and at both ends, and in one case at these points three of the flattish bone bosses mentioned above were found attached. Although no trace of the metal pin has been found, it seems possible that these objects were plates for the fronts of fibulae.

The fibula shown on **CXXXIII, d,** is unique, but seems to form a connecting link between these strips and the spectacle type. At the back remains of the brooch are preserved; it was of iron.

2. *Eagle-fibulae* (**Pl. CXXXIV**).

Of these there are two complete examples and a fragment of a third. All were found with Geometric pottery only, and therefore date to before 740 B.C. They consist of a flat fibula of the safety-pin type, exactly like those of the other bone and ivory fibulae, which is riveted to the back of a figure of an eagle cut from a flat or convex plaque of ivory. The longer feathers are rendered by incised lines, the shorter a scale-pattern or by small circles with dot centres. The example in **CXXXIV, 2** (length, ·068 m.), is a one-headed eagle made from a plaque with a considerable convexity from side to side. The beak and a part of one wing are lost. The fibula itself, of which only a part remains, was of iron, but the rivets are bronze. The other example (**CXXXIV, 1**), length ·061 m., is of a two-headed eagle with the eyes made of amber inlays, of which one is still in place. The plaque is again convex. The surface is much destroyed, especially on the back and shoulders. The fibula itself

is of bronze and is completely preserved. The rivets pass through the tail and the neck.

Bone Pendants (**Pl. CXXXV, 1**).

Bone pendants. Forty-five examples were found of varying forms, in length generally about ·02 m. One only is of ivory. The upper part of the pendant is pierced for suspension; the lower part is a more or less spherical lump, generally finished off below with a kind of knob. To this there are two exceptions (**CXXXV, 1, a** and **b**), which clearly imitate the claw of an animal, a well-known form of evil eye charm. Of the whole number thirty-one can be clearly dated: they range all through the period of Laconian I and II pottery, that is from the later years of the eighth to the end of the seventh century. Earlier than this they are rare—only four examples—so none of them are likely to be earlier than about 750 B.C.; nor were examples found later than the building of the later temple in 600 B.C. With these may be classed four objects which seem to be pendants though they lack the horizontal suspension-hole; they are on **CXXXV, 1, c–f.** Of them, **c** was found with Geometric and Laconian I pottery; **d** was later with Laconian III and IV; the date of the other two is uncertain.

Bone Rings (**Pl. CXXXV, 2**).

Of bone rings twenty-eight were found complete and fragments of sixteen more. As shown by the examples on the plate, they were quite plain; the outside diameter is about ·02 m. All belong to the seventh century.

Pins (**Pls. CXXXVI–CXXXVII, a–e**).

From the description of the bronzes it appears how frequently pins were dedicated at the sanctuary. The finds of bone objects show that besides these bronze pins, there was an extensive use of metal pins, bronze or iron, with bone heads. These heads are of various forms, some closely imitating the metal types. They may be classified as follows:—

1. **CXXXVI, 1** and **2.** Pins the end of which consists of a bone shank turned with ridges and surmounted by a circular plate; these clearly reproduce the very common type of bronze pin shown on **LXXV.** The disc and shank are made separately, and in only one case (**CXXXVI, a**) were they found together. Of the disc-heads there were a great many; of the shanks far fewer, only twenty-four, in fact, and this makes it likely that in many cases the bronze or iron pin itself was fixed directly into the disc-head. Of these disc-heads eighty-five were found with a diameter from ·02 m. to ·03 m.; of the rosette type with a scalloped edge, with a diameter of ·015 m. to ·02 m., another twelve. The examples on **CXXXVI, 1** show all the varieties of size and decoration. They are always pierced in the middle for the iron rivet which fastened them to the shank; the rivet is sometimes preserved, and has generally left a trace in the shape of a yellow stain on the bone. The upper side of the disc is decorated with simple incised rosette patterns; the lower side is naturally plain.

The shanks (**CXXXVI, 2**) are generally broken; never longer than ·035 m. They are drilled lengthways at each end for the insertion of the metal pin itself and for the attachment of the disc-head. A very few of these shanks are complete at one end, either plainly finished or with a small rosette, but not drilled; these must have been for pins with no disc, resembling many of the bronze pins on **LXXV.** These pins are found as early as the Geometric deposit, but rarely; the great majority of them belong to the seventh and sixth centuries.

2. **CXXXVI, 3.** Fir-cone shaped pieces of bone drilled below for the insertion of the pin. They are either very small (·005 to ·015 m. long) or of a slightly larger type (·02 to ·03 m.). They are very common; of the small type seventy-four, and of the large type nine were found. In the purely Geometric deposits, as also with Laconian II pottery, they are rare; their range is that of Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I, where they are very abundant. Very few of them are thus earlier than 740 B.C. or later than 625 B.C. approximately.

3. **CXXXVI, 4.** These pin-heads vary in shape from spherical, sometimes with a rosette on the face, to pointed. Besides the hole for the pin, they are drilled at the side with a cross-hole for a rivet to hold the pin in place. Length about ·01 m. Thirty-one examples. Before the seventh century they are rare; they last until the end of that century, being especially common with Laconian I and II pottery. They are not found later.

4. **CXXXVI, 5.** These objects seem to be pin-heads. They are in shape like the shanks of the pin-heads of Class 1 above, but they always have a cross-hole drilled half-way between the two ends, which are sometimes drilled and sometimes not. Length usually from ·015 to ·045 m. Twenty-seven examples. Besides these there are seven very short (·007 m. long) examples with a small peg at each end. They are rare before the appearance of Laconian I and last until the end of Laconian II, which gives them an approximate range from 720 to 600 B.C.

5. **CXXXVII, a–e.** Miscellaneous pin-heads. Individual pin-heads are the two spherical examples on **CXXXVII, a** and **b,** and the three with animal or human heads drawn on **CXXXVII, c–e.** One (**e**) has two animal heads, another (**c**), with Laconian I pottery, four human heads round a sinking, and the third (**d**) four small quasi-human heads grouped together.

Bone Beads (**Pls. CXXXVII, 1–14** and **CXXXVIII**).

These bone beads were numerous and fall into several marked types. Almost all belong below the sand-layer: in detail, the classes *a*, *b* and *c* were with Geometric or Laconian I pottery or both, and therefore belong to the seventh, but go some way back into the eighth century; classes *d* and *e* with Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery are a little later; the spherical beads of Class *f*, though they begin in the eighth century and go down to the sixth, are most common with Laconian II pottery towards the end of the seventh century. These classes are in detail :—

a. **CXXXVII, 1–6.** Beads made of a square flat piece of bone (·015 to ·02 m. square), drilled from the middle of one edge to the middle of the opposite edge.

They are roughly made and decorated with incised lines and circles. Twenty examples. The two beads (**CXXXVII, 7, 8**) stand apart because of their decoration, the same on both. On one side they have two men with round shields and probably spears; on the other a pattern of circles and lines which may be meant for a similar group of three men, simplified by omitting two out of the three shields.

b. **CXXXVII, 9–14.** A variety of the same bead, but with a projecting ridge along the line of the hole. Thirteen examples. **CXXXVIII, 1,** shows such a ridge on a round bead.

c. Small disc-shaped beads; diam. about ·01 m. Several examples.

d. **CXXXVIII, 2, 3.** Large ribbed beads, length about ·03 m. Six examples. An extra large example is on **CXXXVIII, 4.**

e. **CXXXVIII, 5–15.** Beads made of a short section of a small bone, the hole through the bead being the natural hollow of the bone; they are naturally often flat on one side. Decorated with roughly cut incised lines. Thirty-one examples. The bead on **CXXXVIII, 16,** is an extra big specimen.

f. Small plain spherical or spheroidal beads; diam. from ·006 to ·012 m. Thirty-seven examples.

Seals (**Pls. CXXXIX–CXLVII**).

1. Four-faced seals, **CXXXIX** and **CXL,** *top.*

The shape of these seals is more easily seen from the photographs and drawings than described. They are only occasionally (seven examples out of twenty-five) made out of ivory, when they are formed out of a solid piece. More usually they are made of a section of a hollow bone, the outside being cut to form the four flat surfaces for the intagli, and the natural hollow of the bone passing between the four faces and being plugged at each end with small round pieces of bone. These plugs have generally fallen out, but one in place is shown in the fourth seal from the left on the top of **CXL.** The central seal of the same row is not apparently plugged but made of a solid piece of bone. The length varies from ·025 m. to ·012 m. Of these very small ones (**CXXXIX, f–k**) there are three made of bone; they are too small to need plugging and are made solid.

In all eighteen complete examples were found and eight fragments. Half were found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and thus belong to the forty years around 700 B.C. One example was found in a purely Geometric deposit and thus dates to before 740, and they continued to be found as late as the period of Laconian II pottery. Their range is therefore the latter half of the eighth and all the seventh century; later than this none were found.

This class of seal was also found at the Argive Heraion. The representations on these seals are of the same class as those on the other bone seals. Of sixty-six designs which it has been possible to record, eleven are the displayed bird of **CXXXIX, e,** eight some kind of sphinx, seven the cross-pattern of **CXL,** *top, middle,* seven the curved object of **CXL,** *top, r.*, five a bird looking over its back, four a standing bird like **CXXXIX, c,** and the remaining twenty-four are made up of a face, **CXXXIX, o,** a star, a scorpion, a warrior with a

round shield, **CXXXIX, i,** three heads in profile, and a number of birds, sphinxes and unrecognisable animal forms.

With these goes the three-faced ivory seal shown on **CLXVIII, 3a** among the miscellaneous ivories. It was found in front of the later temple in the Geometric deposit, and is thus earlier than all but one of the four-faced seals. It is pierced along the axis and a broken piece of bronze wire passes through the hole. The angles between the faces are not equal; one is a right angle and the other two of 45 degrees. One of the faces is therefore wider than the other two. On this wider face, which is shown on **CLXVIII, 3b,** is an intaglio of a human-faced bird with a pomegranate bud in front of it and a floral decoration above it. On one of the smaller faces, **3d,** is a bee, and on the other, **3c,** a standing woman with one hand to her head and the other holding what seems to be a tall plant.

2. Circular seals with a central attachment.[1] **CXL** *lower part,* **CXLI–CXLIII,** and 2 examples at the top of **CXLIV,** drawn to show the method of attachment.

These are discs of bone varying in diameter from ·015 m. to ·025 m.; they are generally about ·005 m. thick. On one face is the intaglio design of the seal itself, always surrounded by a border of circles and dots, and on the other some form of rosette pattern. This side is further distinguished from the other by being drilled to take the handle of the seal, generally with a round but occasionally, **CXLIV,** *2nd row, r.*, with a square hole. This attachment has only been preserved in the one seal shown in the drawing, **CXLI, 1;** an iron ring is fastened into the seal and a second ring is linked to it. Many of the seals show the yellow stain left by the iron. Thirty examples were found, nearly all with Proto-Corinthian pottery, but a few earlier with only Geometric and a few later with only Laconian I. They are therefore to be dated to the century between 750 and 650 B.C. The designs may be judged from **CXL,** where sixteen out of the total of thirty are shown. They are of the same character as those on the four-sided seals. The commonness of the design of a displayed bird is remarkable; the seals on the plate show nine examples.

With these go the three much larger (diam. about ·04 m.) examples of which two are shown on **CXLI.** One, **CXLI, 3,** shows a bearded Gorgon's face, another, **CXLI, 2,** a running male figure with two, or possibly four, wings.

Some of these seals have no trace of the attachment on what the rosette design indicates is the upper side. Examples are on **CXLII** and **CXLIII.** Others again, **CXLIV,** *top,* have a groove cut round the edge which shades off into the definite chamfer of the next class.

3. Bone disc-seals drilled across a diameter, sides chamfered, **CXLIV–CXLVI.**

These objects, which are probably seals, consist of a disc of bone (diam. ·015 m. to ·03 m.) drilled with a hole across one diameter from edge to edge, to take the metal bar of the setting of which, however, no trace has survived. On one side of the disc the field is reduced by cutting out a chamfer round the edge, probably connected in some way with the setting. This chamfered side may be taken as the top of the seal, especially as it occasionally shows the rosette pattern, which never appears on the other side and is unsuitable for

[1] *V.* also *Olympia,* iv. p. 188.

use as a seal. In the designs the displayed bird again predominates. The rest are sphinxes, birds and animal forms, of which the twelve examples on **CXLIV** and the five on **CXLVI** give a selection. Other notable designs are one of a warrior with a plumed helmet, a round shield and a spear, and a standing figure of the winged Orthia holding in each hand the long neck of some swan-like bird. Thirty-nine examples were found; of the twenty-seven whose origin is clearly fixed, four were found with Geometric pottery only and so date to before 740, five with Laconian I only and so are after 670, and the remainder are intermediate, having been found in the strata with Proto-Corinthian pottery. Like the other seals, with which they show an absolute identity of style, they belong in the main to the century between 750 and 650 B.C.

With these go seven considerably larger examples in ivory, with diameters from ·035 to ·047 m. The details are :—

(*a*) On one side a sphinx ramping up to the r. In front a star. The other side is lost.

(*b*) On one side a running winged male figure and on the other a sphinx sitting on its haunches.

(*c*) On one side a similar sphinx and on the other a lion attacking a bull. The bull has his head down and his hindquarters up, and the lion is attacking him from the front.

(*d*) On one side possibly a standing bird. The other side is lost.

(*e*) **CXLV, 2.** On the chamfered side a displayed bird and on the other a curious winged kneeling figure. In the field is an eye. Partly broken.

(*f*) On one side a griffin-headed sphinx looking backwards and on the other a human-headed sphinx looking forwards.

(*g*) **CXLV, 1.** On the larger side a running warrior with shield, spear and helmet; behind him a lizard; on the chamfered side incised circles and zigzag.

4. Similar seals with no chamfer, **CXLVII.**

A smaller class of these bone seals is like the last, but having no chamfer they are merely bone discs drilled across a diameter. Some have rosette designs, of which examples are given on the top row of the plate; others have designs of animals and sphinxes. It is very noticeable that these latter with their sometimes very Minoan-looking designs have also the rounded edges of the ordinary Mycenaean lentoid gem, whilst the examples with rosettes have much squarer angles. A notable example of the most Mycenaean-looking design though the bead itself is not very lentoid, is drawn on **CXLVII,** *centre*; it shows a cow and a sucking calf; behind is a tree.

Ivory Figures of Couchant Animals (Pls. CXLVIII–CLX).

A very common class of ivory carving is shown on these plates. They are figures of animals carved in the round, lying down upon a low base. In ten cases this is circular (diam. ·017 m. to ·03 m.), but in the vast majority of cases it is rectangular, varying in size from ·02 m. × ·03 m. to ·025 m. × ·045 m. A few exceptional examples are so large that the base measures ·05 m. × ·08 m.

The under side of the base is sometimes plain, but more often decorated with a shallow intaglio, or very much less commonly by a design in relief. These are of animals, or more rarely of men; the intagli are also often merely geometrical or floral patterns.

The total number of these carvings found was 160; some of them are very well preserved; a large number are sufficiently well preserved for the animal and design below to be recognisable, and some again so much broken or encrusted with lime that it is only possible to see that they belong here.

These couchant beasts were found with pottery ranging from Geometric to Laconian I, but only very rarely with Laconian II or later. With Laconian II there were, in fact, only two examples, and in the very large deposits of Laconian III and IV only two more. Into the purely Geometric deposits, on the other hand, they go very deep, and three examples were found below the patch of fine cobble pavement in the middle of the arena. Although this is later than the rest of the pavement, it can hardly be later than the latter part of the ninth century, and it will be safe to put these three figures quite as early as, say, 820 B.C. This date may then be taken for the beginning of the series, and as of the whole number 30 per cent. were found in the purely Geometric strata which come to an end in 740 B.C., we have this percentage of the whole filling the years between 820 and 740 B.C. Another 50 per cent. were found in the deposits containing Proto-Corinthian pottery accompanied with Geometric or Laconian I or both, and these, therefore, belong to the years from 740 to 660 B.C. The remaining 20 per cent. were found with Laconian I pottery only, which puts them to between 660 and about 635 B.C. The total range is thus from the end of the ninth century to late in the seventh; they barely reach the sixth century. A closer idea of their occurrence can be got by bringing these figures into connexion with the lengths of their respective periods. If we do this we shall find that the dedications of these figures are nearly twice as common in the period of Proto-Corinthian pottery as in the preceding Geometric period, and slightly less common than in the succeeding period of Laconian I.[7] It seems, therefore, that, as with the other ivories, their best period is the late eighth and the greater part of the seventh century. Their infrequence with Laconian II pottery, *i.e.* just before 600 B.C., marks

[7] The figures in the text are calculated thus. The Geometric deposits which yielded these figures have been reckoned to extend from 820 to 740, the Proto-Corinthian from 740 to 660, and the Laconian I from 660 to 635 B.C., that is, respectively 80, 80, and 25 years. That the finds in each of these periods are 30 per cent., 50 per cent., and 20 per cent. respectively is only another way of stating what we know from the records which are the base of these percentages, that of the total number of 160 examples, 48 were found in the first period, 80 in the second, and 32 in the third. And from this it results that in the first period on an average ·6 were found in a year; in the second 1 a year, and in the third, 32 in twenty-five years, about 1·3 a year: the second rate nearly double the first and slightly less than the third.

In taking these figures to represent not merely our finds, but to be the same as or at least to bear a constant proportion to the numbers actually dedicated, we are, of course, making the assumption that through all these periods we have all the offerings or else a constant proportion of the whole. This assumption the great richness and still more the continuity of the deposits go a long way to justify.

the cessation of ivory at Sparta about this time, when, as has been said before, it became necessary in order to get plaques of any size to fit together several small plaques of bone.

With the exception of a few of the very large examples described below, all these figures are pierced from front to back through the body of the animal a little above the base. This hole would seem to be for some sort of mount. With this we must connect the fact that so many of the examples have designs cut in intaglio on the lower surface. But these intagli are especially characteristic of the earlier examples in the series: after the cessation of Proto-Corinthian pottery, which we have put to about 660 B.C., they hardly occur at all. This all suggests that the whole series is derived from a type of carved seal, which gradually became used simply as a pendant ornament: of this original use the practice of ornamenting them with an intaglio is a reminiscence. But the general absence of any metallic staining on the ivory round the holes is against their actual use at Sparta as seals, for the mount of a seal would probably have been of metal; the holes seem to have been used only for a cord for suspension. Also the fact that examples with plain bases, and even with the rarer reliefs, are found at the very beginning of the series, and that many of the intagli are too shallow for seals, the earliest ones indeed being often nothing more than a few incised lines, suggest that they were never used at Sparta except as ornaments, or perhaps as amulets, two uses between which it is now impossible to draw any clear line.

To these remarks the very large examples such as are shown on **CXLIX–CLIII** are exceptions: some have no hole pierced through them; some have a hole with stains of metal round it. But these examples are all late; the most notable of them were found in the neighbourhood of the early temple in circumstances to suggest that they were inside it when it was destroyed. Such lateness and their exceptional size and character put them out of court in a discussion of the origin of the type.[8]

Of the animals represented by these ivories the sheep, in all but one or two cases recognisable by its horns as a ram, is by far the commonest, their number reaching 58 per cent. of the total. Next comes the dog with 17·5 per cent., and the remaining 24·5 per cent. is made up of beasts of prey devouring smaller animals, bulls, and various animals some too badly preserved for identification. There are one goat, one bear and one sphinx. The full list is:—

Sheep	93	(**CXLVIII.**)
Dogs	28	(**CLIV, 5** and **CXLIX, 2.**)
Beasts of prey	17	(**CL–CLII.**)
Bulls	11	(**CLIII, 3.**)
Bears	1	(**CLIII, 1**)
Goats	1	
Sphinx	1	(**CLIV, 2.**)
Doubtful	8	
	160	

[8] For the circumstances of their discovery, *v. B.S.A.* xiv. p. 17.

Of all these carvings the class which demands special notice is that of the beasts of prey with their quarry. Of the seventeen examples, four are notable for their size and good preservation; together with the extra large rams, such as the one in the photograph on **CXLIX, 7** or the drawing on **CLIII, 5** they were found more or less closely associated with the early temple. If they were stored in it, they may have been there for some time, but their absence from all the earlier strata makes it likely that they are all to be placed towards the end of the seventh century. They will be contemporary with the large relief of a ship on **CIX–CX.** The examples are :—

1. **CXLIX, 6,** photograph; **CLII, 2,** drawn from two points of view. Base ·06 m. in length. In this instance alone we have a group of three figures. To the beast of prey and its victim the artist has added the avenger, who is shown as a small figure in front kneeling and stabbing the lioness in the neck. The lolling tongue of the calf and the way in which the cheeks of the lioness are spread above the jaw by the action of biting are admirable touches of realism. The man's head was not recovered, but it is certain, from the position of his hair, which falls forward on one shoulder and rests back on the other, that it is rightly restored as facing outwards. The artist is more skilled in drawing than in sculpture. As a drawing the group, seen from in front, is correct, but as a piece of sculpture in the round it fails in the problem of arranging the bodies of the lioness and the calf in three dimensions. There is, in fact, no place for the body of the calf at all; only such parts of it are represented as would show in a drawing taken from the front.

2. **CXLIX, 5,** photograph; **CXLIX, 8,** drawn. Base about ·06 m. long, but a little broken. The hind leg of the victim, apparently a calf, is seen in front of the lioness' hind leg.

3. **CLI,** drawn in two positions. Base about ·06 m. long. The victim is a goat or ibex; the lion is biting its hindquarters, and the upper lip of the beast is shown spreading over the bite. The hair on the forehead is marked by a linear pattern to show its flow, and the mane is rendered by a scale pattern edged with a fringe. The paw which holds the goat is quite shapeless. The lower side of the plaque is corroded, but shows no sign of pattern.

4. **CL,** drawing. Base about ·08 m. × ·05 m. The animal is again a lion biting in the neck a calf which lies on its back. The lion's mane is done by a chequer pattern. On the under side of the figure is a relief of two women facing; they are clasping hands, and in the other hands holding objects which the condition of the ivory does not allow us to identify. The work is on the style of the Second Style of relief as described above on p. 206, examples of which are found as late as the middle of the seventh century.

5. **CLII, 1,** drawing. Here too may be placed the smaller group found in the first year, and not to be precisely dated, of a dog bringing down a calf from behind by the hindquarters. The calf has lost his head. It is remarkable that the artist has entirely omitted his hind parts; he has avoided a problem made all the harder by the size of the ivory at his disposal.

6. **CLII, 3,** drawing. Another example of the smaller beasts of prey. The base is about ·04 m. long. The lion, his mane and the hair on the head

rendered as usual by incised patterns, holds down a calf by one summarily modelled paw. The date is seventh century.

The designs, intaglio or relief, on the lower surfaces of these objects are of some interest. From the beginning to the end of the series there are examples with reliefs and examples where the lower surface is left plain. Examples with intagli, on the other hand, we have already remarked are not found later than about 660 B.C. The importance of this point in regard to the use of these ivories has been noticed; another piece of evidence which equally points to their having been in origin seals, is this, that the intagli, though ending sooner, are much more frequent than the reliefs. Of the whole 160 pieces, 42·5 per cent. have intagli, 22·5 per cent. have the under surface plain; there are 23 per cent. in which the surface is either lost,[9] or so much encrusted as to be indecipherable, and only 12 per cent. with reliefs, and these spread over the range of the whole series. The intagli may be divided into two classes: those representing animals and those of floral or geometric designs. The numbers of each are :—

With intagli—		
of animals	59	76
of floral or geometric designs	17	
With reliefs		22
With the lower surface plain		39
With the lower surface doubtful		23
		160

The subjects of the intagli and reliefs are very various: the list is as follows :—

	Intagli.	Reliefs.	Total.
Standing bird (**CLVI** and **CLVIII**) . . .	10	4	14
Couchant animal (**CLVI** and **CLVIII**) . .	5	6	11
Bird with displayed wings (**CLVIII**) . .	4	2	6
Sphinxes and winged beasts (**CLIX**) . .	2	3	5
Scorpions (**CLVI** and **CLIX**)	5	—	5
Uncertain quadrupeds (**CLX**) . . .	10	1	11
Fish (**CLV**)	4	—	4
Centaur (**CLVI**)	1	—	1
Human beings (**CLV, CLX**)	5	6	11
Doubtful	13	—	13
Floral and geometrical designs (**CLVII**) . .	17	—	17
	76	22	98

Intagli.

Of these intaglio designs the more interesting have been drawn on **CLV–CLVII.** They are :—

[9] The natural lamination of the ivory in these objects is horizontal, curving upwards at the front and back. The lower surface has so often become detached because the ivory tends to split along these lamination surfaces. This direction of the lamination shows that the animals are cut from the tusk, with the longer dimension of the base the long way of the tusk and the base towards the outer surface. This method is to be expected, as it secures the largest animal possible from a piece of tusk of given section.

(1) Four designs of men; one (**CLV, 1**) a man in a long dress carrying a staff and with a pick over his shoulder to which something, perhaps a flask, is suspended; he wears a hat. A second (**CLV, 3**) shows a man apparently naked walking to the right; his hair is done in two great locks. The other two (**CLV, 2** and **4**) show a capering figure of a man, also nude.

(2) Three birds (**CLVI, 1, 3** and **5**).

(3) One fish (**CLV, 5**).

(4) One goat (**CLV, 6**).

(5) One unrecognisable animal, couchant (**CLVI, 4**).

(6) Two scorpions (**CLVI, 2** and **CLIX, 5**).

(7) One design of four kicking legs (**CLVI, 6**).

(8) One centaur of the type usual here, that is, a complete man with a horse attached behind (**CLVI, 7**).

(9) One spider (**CLIX, 1**).

(10) Five examples of the floral and geometrical patterns (**CLVII**).

Reliefs.

The more interesting of the reliefs have been drawn on **CLVIII–CLX.** The rest of the twenty-two were either of no importance or not well enough preserved. Most of them follow the style of the ivory reliefs of the surface-decorated manner, classed as the Second Style (p. 206). As with the intagli, the animal above is generally a sheep. The examples are :—

(1) Two spread eagles (**CLVIII, 1** and **2**). The one (**CLVIII, 1**) with elaborately marked feathers has a figure of a calf above it.

(2) Two standing birds (**CLVIII, 3** and **4**).

(3) A broken example with two standing birds facing one another (**CLIX, 2**).

(4) An animal walking, with a branch of a tree behind its head (**CLX, 1**).

(5) A couchant lion (**CLVIII, 5**).

(6) Two couchant winged beasts. One very much broken has a beast of prey above it; the animal on the other (**CLIX, 4**) is entirely broken away.

(7) A winged man holding two birds (**CLX, 2**). This is shown also on **XCIX, 2**, amongst the relief plaques (p. 209).

(8) A figure on a throne (**CLIX, 3**).

Excepting for the fact that the intaglio designs are hardly found after the period of Proto-Corinthian pottery, the evidence does not admit of any chronological arrangement either of the animals represented or of the subjects of the designs on the lower surface. All the kinds of both, occurring in sufficient numbers for conclusions of this sort, are found both early and late in the series. Nor, again, is there any connexion between the subject of the relief or intaglio design on the lower surface and the kind of animal represented above it. The only fact that results from an examination of the examples from this point of view is that the five intagli of scorpions are all on the bases of figures of dogs, but this means no more than that the figure of a coiled-up dog requires a square rather than an oblong base, and that this suits the design of a scorpion also.

The little ivory figure of a squatting man on **CLX, 3** may be regarded as an appendage to this class of object. The figure is worked in very high relief against an oblong background (·033 m. × ·02 m.), on the other side of which is an intaglio floral design of a lily, of exactly the same kind as those beneath the couchant animals. This background has been partially broken away. The hair falls over the back in a mass broken only by horizontal lines. The dress is a long robe covered with a diaper pattern in exactly the manner of the second class of ivory reliefs, with which it is contemporary, as it was found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery. It dates, therefore, to about 700 B.C.

Bone Flutes (**Pl. CLXI**).

Thirteen fragments were found, all with Laconian I or Laconian II pottery, and so of the latter half of the seventh century, of flutes made by jointing together lengths of hollow bone. Many of the fragments show the holes cut for making the notes. The best pieces are shown in the drawings on **CLXI** and in the photographs on **CLXII, 1–8.** Two fragments are inscribed: one (**CLXI, 2** and p. 370) *to Orthia*, the other with the proper name ΑΧΡΑΔΑΤΟΣ (**CLXI, 4** and p. 370).

The details are :—

Three pieces were found tapered at one end as for the mouthpiece, and at the other end hollowed out to join in the next section. One of these is drawn on **CLXI, 1c.** Their lengths are ·028 m., ·028 m. and ·042 m.

Three fairly complete pieces and two fragments shaped for a joint at each end. They are pierced with three holes on one side and one on the other. The length is, exclusive of the projection for the joint, ·08 m. The best of them is shown in the drawing on **CLXI, 1b,** and photographed on **CLXII, 6.** As far as the evidence goes the position of the holes is identical in all these pieces.

Two pieces without holes, at one end cut clean off as for the end of the flute, and at the other with a projection for a joint. One of these is ·028 m. in length, exclusive of the projection, the other ·05 m. The total lengths are ·036 m. and ·058 m. The longer piece is drawn on **CLXI, 1a,** and photographed on **CLXII, 5.**

Three pieces with one end cut clean off, and with one or more holes, but with no trace of the other end where a joint would be expected. One is drawn on **CLXI, 3a** and **3b,** and photographed on **CLXII, 4;** another is the piece drawn on **CLXI, 4** with the ΑΧΡΑΔΑΤΟΣ inscription; the third is not illustrated.

A piece with the *to Orthia* inscription, drawn on **CLXI, 2;** with two holes and joints at each end.

A piece photographed on **CLXII, 3,** with a joint to the left and one hole.

In the drawing on **CLXI**, in the third row from the top, the three fragments, 1 *a*, 1 *b*, 1 *c*, are shown jointed together, making a flute ·185 m. long. But as the piece 1 *a* is cut for a joint at each end, the instrument is even so not complete.

Contemporaneously with these fragments an immense number of the bone

objects photographed on **CLXII, 1, 2, 7** and **8**, and drawn on **CLXI, 5, 6a, 6b**, were found. Their structure is plain from the section 6 *b*. Each is made of a section of bone, carefully rounded outside. When complete the natural hollow of the bone was closed by a small round piece of bone as shown in the sectional drawing. The object of these things is quite unknown, but it has been suggested that they were the mouthpieces of these bone flutes, and that the taper end of the flute was fixed into them by means of clay or wax. The difficulty is that the stopping has such a permanent appearance that it is safer to regard it as an integral part of the object, and to suppose that these were something of the nature of pieces for a game like draughts.

Miscellaneous Classes of Bone Objects (**Pls. CLXII, 9–CLXVII, B**).

1. **CLXII, 9.** These represent a class of bone bobbin-like objects of unknown use. Length generally about ·03 m., but a few run up to ·05 m. A hole is sunk at the ribbed end. Thirty-six examples; one in a Geometric deposit, but of the rest none earlier than Laconian I pottery and none later than the building of the later temple. They belong, therefore, to the seventh century.

2. **CLXII, 10.** Small bone objects, length ·03 m. to ·07 m., shaped like the cross-piece of a watch-guard. Eight examples; seven with either Proto-Corinthian or Laconian I pottery, and so between about 740 and 625 B.C. One was found later with Laconian III.

3. **CLXII, 11.** Knuckle-bones. An immense number of sheep's knuckle-bones were found; comparatively rarely in Geometric deposits, in particular abundance with Laconian I and II pottery, and many also with Laconian III and IV. A great many were associated with the remains of the early temple. Their period of great abundance is therefore the sixth and seventh centuries.

4. **CLXII, 12.** Oblong strips of bone, from ·10 to ·12 m. long, divided for the greater part of their length into two, three, or four prongs. The strip of bone is made quite smooth on one side, and pierced at the end. The two-pronged type with pointed ends is the commonest. They were found in enormous quantities, but so broken that exact figures are impossible. Only one was found earlier than Laconian I; perhaps three-quarters of the whole were with Laconian I and II pottery, and the remaining quarter in the mixed Laconian III and IV deposits. But where Laconian IV was by itself only one of these objects was found, and this suggests that those from the mixed deposits belong to its earlier elements. This will date them to the seventh and the first half of the sixth century. Their use is unknown.

5. **CLXVI, 1.** *Dice.* Three cubical bone dice were found, measuring about ·01 m. each, and marked like modern dice with one to six sunk dots. One was with Laconian I, one with Laconian II and one with Laconian V pottery; they range, therefore, from the seventh to the fifth century. One from the Chalkioikos was larger (·105 × ·02 × ·025 m.), and was made of a section of bone with the hollow plugged like the four-sided seals on p. 228. For bronze dice of another form *v.* p. 201.

6. **CLXIII, 1.** Objects formed of a piece, about ·10–·12 m. long, of the leg-bone of an ox, split longitudinally and pierced in the centre. The cut surfaces at the ends and the back are smoothly finished, but the inside is left rough; they are never decorated in any way. They were found by the hundred, and are commonest in the seventh century, but there were also a considerable number in the Laconian III and IV deposits of the sixth century. Their use is unknown, but certain archaic figurines from the Argive Heraion have the chiton fastened over the shoulders with a large brooch, a part of which consists of bars very like these bones, and, although it is not easy to see exactly how they were fastened, this may have been their use.

7. **CLXIII, 5.** Lengths cut from the big bones and decorated with mouldings on the outside. They are of two sorts. (*a*) Eight examples, five fragmentary and three ·105, ·10 and ·05 m. long, are one-half cut longitudinally from bones of circular section, and therefore are open at the back. (*b*) Five examples, all ·065 m. long, are cut from smaller bones, flat on one side and convex on the other, and the back is left. They range over the seventh and sixth centuries. Use unknown.

8. **CLXIII, 2–4.** Bone strips drilled from side to side, with incised criss-cross lines on the sides; length ·05 to ·105 m. Of twenty-three examples only five are complete. These complete pieces are pierced also from back to front at each end, and the longest, which has nine holes from side to side, in the middle also. One was found with only Geometric pottery; none later than Laconian III: they therefore date to the latter part of the eighth and the seventh centuries. Their use is unknown.

9. **CLXIII, 6.** Small double axes of bone were common from the Geometric deposits of the eighth century right down to the Laconian IV pottery of the end of the sixth. Ninety-three examples were found. They are either plain or decorated with zigzag incised lines (**CLXVI, 2**), and are always drilled to take a handle, which has, however, in no case survived. The small neatly made smooth examples are generally about ·02 m. across, and they vary from this size to the big clumsily made ones, which are as much as ·04 m. These big ones always have the zigzag decoration, and the waist of the axe is very slightly marked. For examples in other materials, see index.

10. **CLXIV–CLXV.** These strips of bone of various forms, but usually about ·08–·10 m. long and ornamented on one side with incised circles or sunken dots, were extremely common in the seventh-century deposits; later than this they were comparatively rare. Of the various forms shown on **CLXIV** and **CLXV**, the commonest form is a strip of moderate width with one end tapering to a point and with a hole at the other end, and a very unusual form, rounded at both ends is drawn on **CLXVI, 4.** At the back the hollow of the bone generally appears. The example in the drawing (**CLXVI, 3**) with the intaglio design of a man is remarkable as having such an ornament; of the rest, only a few with a pattern of sunk rays go beyond the simple circles and lines. Similar objects were found at the Argive Heraion; their use is unknown.

Plectra.

Of the bone, or ivory, objects shown on **Pls. CLXVI, 5** and **CLXVII, A,** a few were found. Their use is not clear, but from the holes at the end of some of them it would seem that they were mounted on a handle. They are possibly plectra for playing some stringed instrument. The one on **CLXVII** at the top may perhaps not belong here at all. One was found with only Geometric pottery; the latest with Laconian III and IV sherds; they therefore range in date from the eighth to the sixth century.

Kohl-needles (**Pl. CLXVII, B**).

These objects I venture to call kohl-needles, as they are exactly like the instruments used now in Morocco for applying kohl to the eyes: examples are to be seen in the museum at Meknes. They are blades of ivory, decorated with incised patterns, with a spike-like prolongation at one end; the blade serves as a handle, the spike to apply the kohl. Five examples were found: those shown on the plate, two fragments and a spike of a fifth. The guilloche pattern, the circles and the pattern of connected circles are common on the Geometric pottery. They are the very earliest ivories found. The blade illustrated was found underneath the great archaic altar, though above the pavement, and two others, one being the example shown, were found near the earliest altar and actually below the cobble pavement. They cannot thus be dated later than the ninth century B.C.

IV. Miscellaneous Carvings in Ivory and Bone.

Under this heading are collected miscellaneous objects which cannot be brought under any of the previous headings. They are arranged according to their date.

Found with Geometric pottery only, and therefore to be dated earlier than 740 B.C.

CLXVII, 1. Ivory bearded face looking to the left; height ·046 m. Rough and possibly broken behind, but complete all round. The hair is drawn back and held in place by a band behind the ears, below which it falls in a mass marked by zigzag lines. The beard is indicated by very fine incised lines. There is no moustache.

CLXVII, 2. A square piece of ivory ·068 m. by ·068 m. by ·008 m. thick. On the front it is decorated with simple incised patterns, and across a diagonal of the back is a strip of iron riveted in place by two iron rivets, which show in the front near two opposite corners. The iron strip projects beyond one corner of the square. It is also pierced at the centre and at each corner. Use unknown.

CLXVIII, 1. Four bone discs, diam. from ·012 m. to ·019 m., of which

two are shown on the Plate. They are plain on one side and on the other covered with fine concentric circles.

CLXVIII, 2. Semicircular piece of bone, length ·027 m., plain on one side and on the other decorated with small incised circles with a dot centre. It is pierced, and on the straight edge three holes are drilled.

CLXVIII, 3. An ivory seal with three faces: described on p. 229.

CLXVIII, 4. Rectangular ivory plaque, ·02 m. by ·018 m., with a relief of two figures on one side and on the other a twig pattern incised on a raised square.

Ivory scarab, length ·019 m., pierced lengthways. On the lower surface is a trace of a geometric design.

CLXVIII, 5. Ivory plaque, ·023 m. by ·02 m., plain on one side and on the other a couchant lion drawn in fine incised lines.

Bone strip, ·063 m. long and ·022 m. wide, slightly broken at one corner. On one side is an incised guilloche ornament surrounded by a border of dots.

Cylindrical piece of ivory, diam. ·042 m., length ·01 m., incised with a rosette at one end and a floral design at the other.

CLXVIII, 6. Small seal; above shaped into an animal's head, and pierced from side to side; below in intaglio three birds.

Found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, and dating, therefore, from 740 *to* 660 B.C.

CLXIX, 1 and **2.** Ivory horse's head; length ·045 m. The muzzle is missing. Cf. the fragment on **CLXXIII, 3** found with Laconian I pottery, and for horses as dedications to Orthia, pp. 367, 402.

CLXIX, 3. A small squatting figure, man or monkey, with its hands held up to the nose.

CLXIX, 4. Ivory sphinx sitting upon its haunches. Carved in a bold and simple style, but not well preserved, as the ivory has laminated very badly.

CLXX, 1. Bone figure of a nude boy on a small base; height ·063 m. The work is very childish. The back of the body and legs is covered with criss-cross incised lines—possibly the weals of a *bomonikes*—and the head is pierced from side to side.

CLXX, 2. The head and front part of a snake in ivory. It is complete at the hinder end, where a hole is pierced in the centre as if to fasten it to the rest of the body. This end part (length ·0075 m.) was broken off and is not shown.

CLXX, 3. Bull's face in ivory, ·032 m. high. The right horn is missing. Above the forehead is a pierced projection by means of which it could be hung on a cord as a pendant.

CLXX, 4. Figure of a man in ivory, squatting down with the hands on the shoulders. The only dress is a loin-cloth. The feet are missing. The hair hangs in separate locks over the shoulders and breast and at the back is confined by a fillet, which also passes over the forehead.

CLXX, 5. Figure of nude man.

CLXX, 6. Bone eye, with the iris marked by two concentric circles. It is plain behind, and looks as if it were meant to be inlayed in a figure, possibly of wood.

CLXX, 7. Bone object, flat behind and with a palmette carved at one end, which is broken; length ·049 m.

CLXX, 8. Bone peg, length ·054 m. It is pierced transversely by six holes, three in one direction and three at right angles to them, and at one end it is bevelled and pierced by an iron rivet. Another example was found.

CLXX, 9. Bone object like a badly shaped paper-knife; length ·11 m.

CLXX, 10, 11. Two bone squares, ·026 m. each way, pierced with five holes. On one (**CLXX, 11**) there is also an incised pattern of circles and dots.

CLXX, 12, 13. Two roughly rectangular pieces of bone decorated on one side with fifteen incised circles with dot centres and drilled with three holes in each of the longer and with two in each of the shorter sides. Greatest dimension ·027 m. Use unknown.

CLXX, 14. Flat strip of bone; length ·034 m.; drilled with two holes, and decorated with an incised guilloche ornament; plain behind. It is broken at one end.

CLXXI, 1. Ivory object of unknown purpose; length ·048 m. Its front view is shown in the photograph, **1a,** and it is slightly thicker in the middle than at the sides, so that seen from above its shape is a long oval. Below it is broken, but has a long groove like a mortise, as if to fasten it to something. On one face (**1a** and **1c**) is a lightly incised pattern of zigzags and dots; on the other (**1b**) a similarly worked design like a row of upstanding feathers.

CLXXI, 2. Ivory plaque, ·031 m. by ·028 m. On one side a grotesque figure of a man on a horse is engraved in incised lines, very much out of the centre of the plaque.

CLXXI, 3. Small plaque with incised design of two facing birds.

CLXXI, 4. Small plaque with lower part of a couchant animal.

CLXXI, 5. Small plaque with incised design of a star.

CLXXI, 6. Roundel with animal looking over its back, and in the field a flower.

CLXXI, 7. Fragment of a plaque with the lower part of a couchant animal in relief.

CLXXII, 1. A human head with curls on the forehead, full-face between two horses' heads. The object is broken below, but enough remains to show that it rose out of something circular. Similar representations of Orthia between two horses' heads occur in lead and in terracotta, and the whole class has been discussed by M. S. Thompson.[10]

Found with Laconian I pottery only, and therefore dated to between 670 *and* 635 B.C.

CLXXII, 2. Bone disc, diam. ·047 m.; plain on one side and with a rosette pattern inside a border on the other.

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[10] *J.H.S.* xxix., *The Asiatic or winged Artemis*, pp. 286 *sqq.* He reproduces, p. 290, this same ivory, but from a less good drawing. See also p. 266 below.

CLXXII, 3. Two oval pieces of bone, ·03 m. long, with an incised pattern on one side.

CLXXII, 4. Bone object, length ·06 m., possibly representing a feather. It is pierced through the central rib with four holes from back to front, and from side to side with five more. It is complete.

CLXXII, 5. Lance-shaped bone needle, ·11 m. long. The ends of three more were found.

CLXXII, 6. Griffin's head in ivory rising out of an oblong base; height ·047 m. The base is pierced lengthways by an iron rivet, which projects from one end as if to fasten it to something. The ivory itself, except for the loss of the lower jaw, is complete.

CLXXIII, 1. Thin bone square, ·025 m. across, drilled with five holes.

CLXXIII, 2. Bone snake's head, pierced sideways in the neck and in the jaws; length ·029 m. The end is shaped into a tenon, as if to join it on to something.

CLXXIII, 3. Horse's head in ivory. Broken; only the upper part of the head left. Greatest length ·018 m. Very careful work.

A long thin piece of ivory (·15 m. long and ·02 m. high) fretted out into a row of conventionally shaped curled waves. Below the row of waves the strip is a little thicker, forming a kind of rim. It seems possible that this fragment formed a part of some considerable-sized picture in ivory fretwork (? of a ship). Another similar fragment was found with smaller waves.

With Laconian II pottery, and therefore dated to between 635 *and* 600 B.C.

CLXXIII, 4. A small bud-like object, surrounded by leaves.

CLXXIII, 5. An ivory head; upon the forehead are curls, and there are remains of the locks of hair from each side.

CLXXIII, 6. Ivory plaque, ·045 m. square. On the front is a Gorgon's mask with lolling tongue; on the back a fringe-like ornament. The lower edge is cut into teeth.

Found with Laconian III and IV pottery, and therefore dated to between 600 *and* 500 B.C.

CLXXIV, 1. Section of a long bone, length ·086 m.; cut into half longways, like the split bones described on p. 237 (**CLXIII, 1**). The outer convex side of the bone is carved into four buds, probably of pomegranate flowers, set in a row. In the bud at each end is an iron rivet, of which one is preserved, and the other at the broken end has left clear traces.

CLXXIV, 2. Ivory bobbin-like object, length ·034 m.; pierced at one end and in the middle with shallow holes, and with a geometric incised pattern on each end. Possibly the head of a pin.

CLXXIV, 3–5. Three thin strips of bone, lengths ·065 m., ·036 m., ·033 m.; pierced with holes and with an incised line near the edge. Only the first one is unbroken.

CLXXIV, 6–9. Four broken strips of bone with an incised guilloche

pattern on one side. Lengths, ·057 m. (**CLXXIV, 6**), ·041 m. (**CLXXIV, 7**), ·028 m., ·019 m., respectively.

CLXXIV, 10. Bone leaf-like object with a centre ridge on both sides. Tip and stem both broken. Present length ·051 m.

CLXXIV, 11. Bone bobbin, drilled at the smaller end; length ·069 m.

CLXXIV, 12. Flat bone object like a double axe with a loop at each end, of which one is broken. On each side an incised line runs round the edge. Length ·037 m.

CLXXIV, 13. Bone snake's head with a beard, broken off at the neck; greatest dimension ·019 m. The working on one side is very slight, and it is possible that this fragment ought to be classed with the contemporary bone plaques worked *à jour* described on p. 216.

CLXXIV, 14. Bone female figure in long chiton, with the arms held to the sides. Height ·037 m. Bad work.

CLXXIV, 15. Two hands and lower arms in the round in bone. The arms are cut as if to be fastened to a figure and the hands are bored to grasp some object; one holds nothing, in the other is a thin spike of bone. These seem to be later than the rest of the objects here, as with them there was some Laconian V pottery. Perhaps from a jointed doll on a trapeze.

CLXXIV, 16. A fragment in bone of a plaque of a winged man. The background has been partly cut away, but not fully up to the lines of the drawing, which are heavily incised. The technique is exactly like that of the bone fretwork plaque of a chariot of the same date on **CXVI, 2,** and like it is unfinished.

Objects found in 1906 *when the stratification of the site was not yet clear. They are not likely to be later than Laconian IV.*

CLXXV, 1. Flat bone strip, drilled at one end, and with a scallop pattern incised on one side; length ·067 m.

CLXXV, 2. Heavy bone ring; outside diam. ·021 m., length ·013 m.

CLXXV, 3. Broken piece of flat bone strip with incised guilloche ornament; length ·052 m.

CLXXV, 4. Pierced bone disc, the faces worked into concentric ridges.

CLXXV, 5. Ivory heart-shaped object of unknown use; length ·045 m. It is pierced with two iron rivets.

CLXXV, 6–8. With these may go three bobbin-like bone objects of unrecorded provenance. The lengths are ·065 m. (**CLXXV, 7**) and ·08 m. (**CLXXV,** 6 and 8).

Found with Laconian V pottery, and therefore dating to between 500 *and* 425 B.C.

CLXXV, 9. Carved bone rosette, flat behind; diameter ·039 m. The porosities show that it is made of a cross-section of a large bone taken near the joint.

CLXXV, 10. Two flat pieces of bone strip, both broken, incised on one side with large circles; lengths ·035 m., ·042 m.

Latest pieces. These were found in digging the trench for the new course of the mill-stream in 1906. They cannot be closely dated, but from the absence of any Laconian pottery in the earth and the indications afforded by a few later sherds, they cannot be earlier than the fourth century B.C., and may well be later.

CLXXV, 11. Flat T-shaped piece of bone with the upright broken; length ·056 m. Perhaps part of a bone knife.

CLXXV, 14. Flat piece of bone, roughly ·05 m. square, with five incised circles with dot centres on one side.

CLXXV, 12, 13. Two small bone spoons with round bowls. One (**CLXXV, 12**) has the handle broken; length ·056 m. The other (**CLXXV, 13**) is complete; length ·083 m. It was found near the surface at the foot of the cliff to the south of the sanctuary a few yards from the trench for the stream. Except for the absence of Laconian pottery there is no evidence for its date.

Objects of unknown date.

CLXXVI, 1. Head of a doubtful animal in bone, apparently holding something in its mouth; length ·05 m. It is complete at the neck end and below it is hollowed out. Found at the beginning of the excavation in 1906, before the stratification of the site had been settled.

CLXXVI, 3. Heart-shaped leaf in ivory with a short stalk; the point is broken away, and the greatest length is at present ·04 m. The photograph is of the upper side; on the under side the midrib is raised and on each side of it the veins are marked. Also found in 1906.

CLXXVI, 5. Sphinx in ivory. The head, the breast and the wing are preserved, and below and behind the wing is the beginning of the line of the back, and on the breast the beginning of the line of the leg; it was therefore in the usual sitting attitude. Height at present ·05 m. At the back it is flat, but from the front view it is in the round. It was found amongst the masonry of the Roman foundation, and therefore cannot be dated, but it looks hardly earlier than the sixth century.

CLXXVI, 2 and **CLXXVIII, 5.** Nude statuette with no feet.

CLXXVI, 4. Ivory figure seated on a square backless chair playing a double flute; height ·03 m. The arms and the flute are broken away, but the leather band across the cheeks and mouth to which they were fastened remains, and in front of it are the broken stumps of the flutes.

CLXXVII. A piece of ivory in the form of a tree. From the fact that at the top are two paws and at the tip of the right branch a paw as of a couchant animal, it is reasonable to suppose that the original was something in the form of the restored drawing.

CLXXVIII, 1. Male head in ivory wearing a round hat; ·022 m. high. It is complete below and at the back flat. The mouth and chin are broken. The beard is marked by incised lines; the hair falls in locks, each of which ends in a kind of tassel, and is bunched together by a ribbon behind the ears. A hole is drilled in the crown of the head.

CLXXVIII, 2. Fragment of a plaque with a relief of a human-headed sphinx.

CLXXVIII, 4. Ivory pomegranate, found in 1906. It is represented just after the flower has fallen, when the fruit has set and the seed-vessel is beginning to swell. A similar object has been found in bronze.

CLXXVIII, 3. Fragment of bone plaque found in 1906. A head with upraised arm can be made out. The design is incised and looks unfinished; it is akin to the plaque of the charioteer on **CXVI, 2,** and to the fragment of a winged man on **CLXXIV, 16,** above, and like them seems unfinished. No doubt of the sixth century.

Wider Relations of the Ivory Carvings

That some at least of these ivories were made at Sparta is clearly shown by the discovery of a few unfinished pieces (**CVI, 3; CXVI, 1; CXVI, 2**); that in their completed state these carvings would have fallen into the general series is evidence that they were in no way exceptional. And again, this regular chronological development in the style of the plaques is further evidence for their local manufacture. But that many, if not most of these ivories were made at Sparta, does not show that they all were, and this seems the truer when we consider the few plaques which, like **C–CII,** find no apparent place in the Spartan series. Nor, again, does local manufacture disprove foreign artistic influences, however brought to Sparta from the outside world. This question too is quite different from the problem of the origin of the material itself, although the same trade connexion which brought the ivory may very likely have been the channel for artistic ideas and traditions as well, even for the importation of actual carvings. That ivory reached Sparta from the Phoenician east may be taken as certain; the probability of some connexion between the cessation of ivory at Sparta about the year 600 B.C., after which it almost entirely gives way to bone, and the subjection of Tyre in 573, has already been mentioned.[11] Also, if we are right in supposing that the paddle-shaped objects shown on **CLXVII, B,** are in fact needles for the application of kohl to the eyelids, we may see in them articles used in the East, but not known in Greece, and therefore imported ready made through Phoenician trade to Sparta, And with this agrees the fact that they are found only in the very earliest strata, and are the oldest ivories found at the site. With them must no doubt have come other manufactured articles of ivory, and this gives some archaeological support to certain indications of Phoenician style that may be detected in these Spartan carvings. Whether the raw material was imported to Sparta at this very early stage in the art or not, it is impossible to be certain. That the importation of ivory to Greece from the East was no new thing in the very earliest days of the Orthia cult is plain from the quantity of ivory found in the later Mycenaean tombs on the mainland; Spata and Menidi are notable examples.

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[11] On p. 203 above.

Anything approaching a full discussion of the artistic influences to be detected in these ivories would go far beyond the limits of this book, the object of which is the publication of the material, and not to be a treatise on early Spartan art. But a few remarks impose themselves. The ground may be cleared by a comparison with the rich treasure of ivory found by Hogarth at the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. At first sight we see a number of resemblances, but these nearly all resolve themselves into the perfect identity of a few classes of objects of practical use, and of these only one is common. These are the two-disc fibulae of which as many were apparently found at Ephesus as at Sparta.[12] The ivory figures of couchant animals so very common at Sparta are represented at Ephesus by two examples,[13] and the pointed bone strips, which were so abundant at Sparta in the seventh century, by one or perhaps two examples.[14] But apart from the fibulae these contacts may be no more than the result of some casual trading, like the ivory plaque-fibula found in a grave at Syracuse, which from the drawing would fall exactly into the Spartan series, probably the Fifth Style.[15] And that little stress should be laid on these objects appears when we come to look at the mass of the Ephesus ivories : at those carvings in the round in which a definite artistic style is very evident. In these there seems to be no resemblance at all to the Spartan work : if the Ephesus ivories are to be called Ionian, then we must say that there is very little that is Ionian in the Spartan series.

The Spartan ivories have been discussed at considerable length by Poulsen in his *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, and he detects in them influences from Crete, from Cyprus, from Rhodes and from Ionia, but always in the background the art of Phoenicia and even of the Hittites. In this mass of detailed resemblances, which can be pointed out and stressed according to the writer's special predilections, it is difficult to trace any very clear lines of origin; whatever influences too may have been brought to bear upon early Sparta were very largely effaced by the strongly local character to be seen in all the Spartan products. But if we take the important groups of ivories, from Ephesus, from Kamiros, from Nimrud and from Italy, notably the Bernardini and Barberini tombs,[16] it does seem that the points of resemblance are least between Sparta and Ephesus, and most between Sparta and Rhodes. The ivory couchant animal from Kamiros [17] needs be no more stressed than the two from Ephesus, but it is very noticeable that the two heads from Kamiros figured by Poulsen in his book are as like the Spartan ones he places by their side as they are unlike the smooth and refined work from Ephesus.[18] On the gold jewellery too from

[12] *Brit. Mus. Excavations at Ephesus*, Pl. XXXII.

[13] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI, 1 (published as a bull, but clearly a ram) and 5.

[14] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVII.

[15] *Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, p. 119. The relief is the winged Artemis and behind her a standing ibex, just as on our plaque, **CVII, 1,** a horse stands behind the winged figure.

[16] For the Ephesus, Kamiros and Nimrud ivories, *v. Brit. Mus. Excavations at Ephesus*, and for the Italian tombs, *Mem. American Acad. in Rome*, III and V.

[17] *B.M. Excavations at Ephesus*, Pl. XXXII, 2.

[18] Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 85; for the Ephesus heads, *v. B.M. Excavations at Ephesus*, Pl. XXVIII, 1 and 4, and for the Spartan figures our **CXVII, 3** and **CXIX, 4.**

Rhodes in the British Museum we see the winged *Potnia Theron* with animals. Thus on No. 1131 in the Museum Catalogue she is holding a bird by the neck like the Spartan ivories on **XCI, 1, 2; XCII; XCVIII, 1–3;** on others (Nos. 1126, 1107) she holds lions like our **XCII, 2;** and on a series of plaques which formed some sort of belt or necklace (No. 1128) a lion ramps up on each side of her skirt. The resemblance is indeed very close.[19] The Rhodian figures too have the *Etagenperücke*, the hair arranged in masses marked by horizontal lines, a seventh-century fashion which is found on many of the Spartan figures, both ivory and terracotta. On this feature Poulsen lays great stress, and finds it not Ionian but Rhodian, and derived ultimately from Phoenician art, the importance of which in the archaic period in Greece he emphasises all through his book.

Fig. 117.—Bone Figure from Sidon, in the British Museum. Scale *circa* 1 : 2. Height, ·16 m.

If then we are to look from Sparta to Phoenicia by way not of Ionia but of Rhodes, we shall see a confirmation of this view in a bone figure from Sidon in the British Museum which I am now allowed to publish (Fig. 117). We may recognise in it an earlier Phoenician version of the sixth-century Spartan bone figures on **CXVII, CXVIII, CXIX, 6, 7,** popular at Sparta probably as bearing some general resemblance to the *xoanon* of the goddess. We see the same expression of face, the same crownlike headdress, the same longitudinal division of the body into three parts. But whereas in the Spartan figures this division is meaningless, in this Sidon figure we see that the lines represent the edges of a cloak with the waved lines formed by the hanging folds, and that the arms and hands, omitted in the Spartan copies, are shown coming out over the breast from beneath the edges of the cloak. The arms are flexed, and the hands are holding some object. A necklace seems to be hanging over the front of the figure. The hair too falls on each side of the face in heavy curved masses marked by horizontal lines, exactly as in the Sparta figures on **CXIX, 3, 4.**

Another Spartan object with a very oriental pedigree is the ivory griffin's head on **CLXXII, 6.** A piece of iron in the base of this shows that it was fastened to some iron object or vessel, and it is at once plain that the griffin is very like the heads found in Etruria attached to vases and cauldrons.[20] These

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[19] Marshall, *British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.*

[20] Many ivory examples were in the Bernardini tomb, for which *v. Mem. American Acad. in Rome*, III, Pl. 38, 1–4.

are attributed to the art of Asia : Ducati thinks they derive from Ionian art, but they not improbably belong still further east.[21]

Another indication which points in the same direction, but to Hittite rather than to Phoenician art, is afforded by the seal shown on **CCIV, D.** Also the objects in vitreous paste described in Ch. XI (**CCV–CCVII,** Figs. 143–145), whether in actual manufacture Rhodian or Naucratite, will have come to Sparta by way of Phoenician trade.

We are thus led to the general conclusion that, as in all Greek art of this early period, the strongest external influence to be traced in these ivories is Phoenician, whether by direct importation of objects made in the East, or by local imitation of such objects; that the art has a somewhat mixed character, but that in this mixture the Ionian element is the weakest. But in front of whatever foreign influences there were and strongly submerging them, we must recognise a very definite local character. The resemblances to be traced between the various classes of objects, pointing at once to local manufacture and to the impress of the Spartan genius, make this certain, difficult as it is to put into words in what this local character consists. But that a state, so strongly individualised as Sparta was among the other Greek states, both in polity and in ideals, should, if once she laid her hand to art, produce something very much her own and different from that of her neighbours, requires no demonstration. That the local sculpture of the period too was of the same general character we may see by a comparison of the well-known *stele* in the Sparta Museum with many of the ivory plaques.[22]

A further question is how far this local character of our ivories was combined with elements inherited from the earlier age of bronze. Although on the few Mycenaean gems found at the Sanctuary no chronological stress can be laid, they are in this connexion of very considerable importance : they prove that the Spartan artists had before them at least some examples of the earlier art. And that they profited by them appears very clearly from not a few of the designs of plants and animals on these ivories : the strikingly Mycenaean character of the designs on a few of the bone beads has already been pointed out, and with these specially Mycenaean intagli goes a modification of the usual Spartan bone bead-seal in the direction of what is at least a clumsy imitation of the usual Mycenaean lentoid form.[23]

R. M. Dawkins.

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[21] *Storia dell' Arte Etrusca*, p. 122.

[22] *Sparta Museum Cat.*, Figs. 26, 27.

[23] *V.* p. 230 above.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEAD FIGURINES

Introduction.

These peculiar figurines of lead which have since proved so characteristic a feature of Sparta and of Spartan sanctuaries were first discovered by Ross in his excavations at the Menelaion in 1833 and 1841.[1] Kastriotes in his continuation of the excavations at that site found more lead figurines in two campaigns in 1889 and 1900. Some of them are in the Sparta Museum, but the rest with those from Ross' excavations are in the National Museum at Athens. Later Tsountas' fruitful work at the Amyklaion produced more figurines, now in the National Museum at Athens, and the renewal of the German excavations at the same site has naturally yielded more specimens.[2] In 1909 the British School at Athens re-examined the Menelaion, and a large quantity of lead figurines was again discovered there, which were deposited in the Sparta Museum.[3] It is, however, the Orthia sanctuary which has yielded the most surprising quantity of these small but interesting votive offerings, since well over one hundred thousand of them have been counted from the excavations here. Even before the excavations began the river bank at this point was well known as a place where Spartan schoolboys were wont to find considerable numbers after a flood had washed into the soft bank. Two lots of these were in the Sparta Museum [4] when its contents were catalogued by Mr. M. N. Tod and myself, and a third lot reported to have been found at a spot identified as Babyka is probably from the same source.[5] About the same time two other lots reached foreign museums, one in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford being reported to come from Corinth, and the other in the Museum für Antike Kleinkunst at Munich from the Menelaion.[6] Since both these lots made their appearance at the same time when Spartan youths were often engaged in scratching figurines out of the river bank at what was later discovered to be the site of the Orthia sanctuary, and since they are of the Lead II–IV types which were found to be characteristic of the deposit on the river bank one need have little hesitation in considering them also as having been found at the Orthia sanctuary. When the *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* was being written, some Spartan boys showed me the very spot where they were finding the figurines

[1] For these and the earlier figurines from the Menelaion *v.* Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, II. pp. 243 *sq.*; *S.M.C.*, pp. 226 *sqq.*

[2] *S.M.C.*, p. 228; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1927, p. 38.

[3] *B.S.A.* xv. pp. 127 *sqq.*

[4] *S.M.C.*, Nos. 552*a*, 552*b*, 694.

[5] *S.M.C.*, No. 679; the spot was identified with Babyka because the Roman masonry on the bank was thought to be part of a bridge; cf. Leake, *Morea*, I. p. 151.

[6] *S.M.C.*, p. 228.

and I found a few lead wreaths there. The frequency with which lead figurines were then being found there caused the site to be marked as a favourable place for future exploration, and expectations were amply justified when excavations began here in 1906.

Since then almost every site identified as a shrine in or near Sparta has produced a few lead figurines among its votives, the Chalkioikos sanctuary,[7] the Eleusinion,[8] and the sanctuary on the Megalopolis Road,[9] and a possible site for the shrine of Athena Alea, or that of Zeus Plousios,[10] and a site near Anogeia.[11] Other sites at Sparta or in Laconia when excavated may well yield lead figurines, but in the Peloponnese outside Laconia lead figures have only been found at the Argive Heraion, at Bassae,[11a] and at Phlius. That they should be so plentiful at Sparta may be due to the fact that the Spartans had good supplies of lead close at hand, or to the fact that the traditional Spartan contempt for precious metals as evidenced by their iron currency led them to use a base metal, lead, for votives to be offered at one of their principal sanctuaries. The lead figurines are much more plentiful than the cheap terracotta votives so commonly dedicated at shrines throughout Greece, and one can hardly imagine that votives in precious metals were dedicated as often as one might be led to believe from the very abundance of the lead figurines. Consequently it seems more reasonable to suppose that the Spartans had within their boundaries good supplies of lead readily available, and used them to make large quantities of simple small votives which would be inexpensive enough to satisfy the need of every worshipper or pilgrim. They may not unreasonably be compared with the silver votives, sometimes figurines, sometimes plaques, which are commonly offered at popular shrines in Greece to-day. Among these may be found types such as soldiers or sailors, girls, and mules, goats, horses, and oxen.

Stratification.

Though the figurines are found in thousands and the variety of types is great, the difference in style and fabric seems small, and it might therefore easily be held that a study of the stylistic development of the types would be difficult, since the small size and rough casting give an archaic appearance to nearly all the figurines. Careful study, however, of the stratification at the Orthia site and the chronological separation of the various deposits provided a sure basis, and the figurines themselves when carefully examined in detail showed that there was a clear evolution or sequence of types, of style, and indeed of fabric, and that the opinion advanced in the *Sparta Museum Catalogue*,[12] that they covered the period from the sixth to the fourth century, was more than justified because they were found to extend from the age of Proto-Corinthian pottery to the beginning of ordinary Hellenistic wares, from the

[7] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 153; xiv. p. 145; xxvi. p. 248.
[8] *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 12.
[9] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 173.
[10] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 7.
[11] *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 65.
[11a] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910, p. 324, Fig. 45. Laconian pottery was also found at the same site, *ibid.*, p. 294.
[12] P. 230.

eighth to the end of the fourth century B.C. Once the sequence had been recognised, the lead figurines themselves were distinctly useful as confirming the evidence of the pottery for the age of any deposit, a feature which held good at the Menelaion as well as at the Orthia sanctuary.

As a result of the study of the stratification and of the evolution of the types at the Orthia sanctuary, it has been found possible to divide the lead figurines into seven successive groups or periods to correspond with the pottery characteristic of the age. These groups are called, Lead 0, I, II, III, IV, V, and VI, and begin with Lead 0, which is parallel to the first appearances of Proto-Corinthian pottery, and the other six groups, Lead I–VI, which were found in the same strata as the six successive varieties of Laconian pottery[13] are obviously contemporary with them. The numbers of the figurines of these seven periods found at this sanctuary are given immediately below, and against each period is indicated the stratum or the specific part of the sanctuary where such figurines were most plentiful.

Lead 0. (The last years of the 8th century B.C.) 23.

These were all found within the area of the early sanctuary between the early temple and the archaic altar, and at the same level as Proto-Corinthian pottery.

Lead I. (700–635 B.C.) 5719.

Of these, 1785 were found in the area of the early sanctuary between the early temple and the archaic altar, and at the same levels as Laconian I pottery; 3158 were found in the lower levels around the early temple, and 776 within the foundations of the later temple.

Lead II. (635–600 B.C.) 9548.

Of these, 9088 were found within the early temple and immediately below the sand in the northern part of the early sanctuary under the Roman masonry north and north-east of the later temple, roughly speaking from the northern arc of the Roman Arena as far as the river bank, and 460 were found in the southern part of the early sanctuary below the sand under the Roman masonry south of the later temple—both groups were found with Laconian II pottery.

Lead III–IV. (600–500 B.C.) 68,822.

The figurines of these two periods cannot be separated, but were all found with Laconian III and IV pottery. They were found above the sand in the deposits immediately succeeding the building of the second temple and at the foot of the slope of the mound of sand to the south and to the north of the later temple, the latter deposit including the figurines found under the river bank where the excavations began, and where Spartan boys had found the figurines in the Sparta Museum, and probably also those at Munich and Oxford. Those found on the northern slope amounted to 27,226, and those found on the southern to 41,596.

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[13] *V.* Chapter II.

Lead V. (500–425 B.C.) 10,617.

Of these, 2389 were found on the east side of the Greek altar, and 6361 among the houses just outside the sanctuary wall on the east, 1099 at the south-east corner of the temple, and 768 on the edge of the deposit succeeding the building of the second temple and to the south of it towards the drain, and just outside the wall retaining the edge of the sand.

Lead VI. (425—possibly as late as 250 B.C.) 4773.

Of these, 11 were found in the upper levels of the sacred enclosure, 702 were found among the houses in the easternmost part of the sanctuary, and 4060 in the same upper levels as are marked by Laconian VI pottery along the northern arc of the arena from the north-east corner of the later temple towards the north end of the Greek altar.

Finally, 1271 figures which were found in a trial trench across the arena in 1906 mostly belong to Lead I and II, but cannot now be divided between these two periods. These bring the grand total up to 100,773.

This enormous number of course cannot represent all the lead figurines dedicated at the sanctuary. Hundreds must have been lost by the erosion of the river bank, many more are probably still to be found in the unexcavated parts of the site, and some allowance must also be made for those destroyed in ancient times. Still, the figures themselves are sufficient to show how popular and how cheap these lead votives must have been. The small size and the crude character of many of the figurines as well as the technical simplicity of their manufacture emphasise their popularity and cheapness. Yet, if lead had not been abundant in Sparta, we can hardly believe that it would have been employed as the material for these characteristic Spartan votive offerings.

Technique.

The figurines have all a distinct front and back, and, as the latter is always flat and smooth, were clearly cast in one-sided moulds to which flat slabs were clamped before the molten metal was poured in. A few types, like scarab rings (Fig. 118), and the couchant lion ornament (Fig. 122, *d*), which are modelled at the back, seem to have been cast in two-sided moulds. Except for the solid figures, which must have been cast in deep moulds, all were cast in shallow moulds which, to judge by one example for casting winged goddesses found in a Lead II context, were sometimes at least in lead itself. The types intended to be cast were cut in shallow intagli in the mould with small channels running from the edge of the mould connecting all the intagli. Thus lead wreaths (**CXCIII, 11**) were often found in strips of several together, united by the lead stalk that remained in the channel. Apparently a mould was not necessarily confined to one type of figure, and in this it agrees with the steatite moulds for casting glass ornaments found at Mycenae.[14] This is shown by cases such as **CLXXXV, 31,**

[14] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Figs. 162, 163; Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ; 1897, Pl. VII, 1, A. A somewhat similar steatite mould from Knossos is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and another from Asia Minor in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

where the different types are seen attached to each other by the strip of lead remaining in the runnels of the mould, and by Fig. 125, *a*, which shows the result of putting two moulds together. In many cases the shape and size of the 'stalk' left at one end of the figure, usually the head, by the lead left in the introductory channel shows that the type was cut either near the edge of the mould or close to a long transverse channel serving as a runnel for the molten metal to penetrate equally to a long series of types. Apparently the mould and the flat plate were not always clamped sufficiently close together, or else there was some other irregularity, because many of the figurines show a rather wide 'fin' round their edges where surplus lead ran between the level parts of the mould and the flat plate, *e.g.* **CLXXXIII, 10; CXCV, 1; CXCIX, 12.** As the figurines were obviously cast in such numbers and were apparently so cheap, the craftsmen took no steps to remove the 'fin,' and so many figurines present a ragged and rough-and-ready appearance. The earlier figurines are generally larger, thicker and better cast; the later are smaller, thinner and carelessly cast. One can also observe that in the earlier periods, Lead 0–Lead II, the mould was as a rule more carefully engraved, so that the figurines are more distinct and better shaped. Indeed an inspection of the figurines when classified in periods according to their stratification gives the impression that the earlier figures were made in moulds which could equally well have been used for precious metals, that is, for jewellery, whereas the later have the appearance of cheap votive offerings made in hundreds or thousands to fill a popular demand. The earlier would thus be substitutes for offerings of gold and silver or ivory and other valuables, and it is significant that it is precisely in Lead 0 to Lead II that the jewellery types are commonest, just as it is the same period which yielded so many ornaments in gold, silver, bronze, and ivory, whereas the later are cult votives relating to the attributes or functions of the goddess. This may be the result of a gradual change in the cult and popularity of the goddess, and will be more apparent when the sequence of the types has been discussed.

The Succession of Types.

Lead 0. **Fl. CLXXIX.**

In the first period the figurines are fairly thick and well made and practically confined to more or less obvious imitations of jewellery.

Earrings[14a] in the form of discs with or without pendant buds below are the commonest among these (**CLXXIX, 6–17, 19–21**). The decoration of the disc is usually a seven-pointed star with small dots inserted between the points (**CLXXIX, 6–9**). The discs without pendant buds usually have a ring of dots set round a central rosette (**CLXXIX, 17**). Two others (**CLXXIX, 15, 16**) have a central boss, round which is a diamond-shaped device with the points spread into twin scrolls, a type of decoration that distinctly recalls some of the gold ornaments from the fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.[15]

[14a] Cf. the gold rosettes from Kamiros, *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX. 6, 8.

[15] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 258, 259, Figs. 377–86.

Another earring (**CLXXIX, 12**) shows an interesting variant of the rosette type and is obviously a substitute for jewellery.

There are two curious pendants in the form of a crescent[15a] (**CLXXIX, 22**), perhaps an evil eye charm, and one of a basket shape (**CLXXIX, 3**), which is not easy of explanation.

The lead double axe (**CLXXIX, 18**) is parallel to those of gold, silver, ivory or bone, terracotta and bronze found here and elsewhere.[16]

The two sphinxes seem also to be ornaments made either for pendants or perhaps to attach as decoration to wooden caskets. One of them has a hole pierced through the top of the head (**CLXXIX, 1**), and the other has a long shaft as though for suspension (**CLXXIX, 2**).

Unusual types which are much more solidly made than the rest are the tortoises (**CLXXIX, 4, 5**), but it is a type of votive known elsewhere, especially in terracotta, and examples in terracotta, bronze, bone and ivory were found at the Orthia sanctuary.[17]

With these few figurines that from their types and fabric clearly belong to an older and separate class, there were found a few examples of types that are common in the next two periods, and these may be considered as the earliest of the ordinary types. No certainty can be expressed, because in practically every case where such figurines occurred there were found in the same stratum a few sherds of Laconian I pottery in addition to Proto-Corinthian and Geometric. The types in question are :—

Wreaths with pendant balls (cf. **CLXXX, 1**).
Winged Goddesses (cf. **CLXXXII**).
Warriors with the whirling pattern on their shields (cf. **CLXXXIII, 13–15**).
Women (cf. **CLXXXI, CLXXXII**).
Grids (cf. **CLXXXI, 19, 20**).
Tasselled Pendants (cf. **CLXXXI, 29, 30**).
Scarab Rings (cf. **CLXXX, 7**).
Pins (cf. **CLXXX, 23, 24**).
Protomai, Women (cf. **CLXXX, 29–31**).
Oxheads (cf. **CLXXX, 27, 28**).
Horses (cf. **CLXXXIV, 1–3**).

Lead I. **Pls. CLXXX–CLXXXIV.**

In this period jewellery types or lead figurines offered as substitutes for more precious materials are still fairly common, but the great majority of the figurines is now composed of votives of more ordinary types, human and animal, real and mythical, such as representations of the goddess, women

[15a] Cf. the gold example from Kamiros, *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX. 7, and that from the Orthia sanctuary, p. 384, **Pl. CCIII, 2.**

[16] *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 49 (Lusoi); *B.S.A.* vi. p. 109, Fig. 40 (Dictaean Cave); cf. pp. 159 (No. 12), 199, 238, **Pls. LXXXV, CCXIII, CCII, 2.**

[17] See pp. 158, 197, 217, **Pls. XLI, 14; LXXX, CXV.** An example in bronze is pierced for suspension and so was probably an ornamental pendant, **Pl. LXXX,** *a*.

votaries, warriors, and animals connected with the cult of the goddess. With these are what may be termed cult objects such as double axes and wreaths, and there are inevitably a few miscellaneous types which cannot yet be interpreted or do not fall easily into any one of the main classes.

Jewellery Types.

Ionic Capitals, **CLXXXI, 13–17.** These are clearly pendants, for one, **CLXXXI, 13,** has a hole pierced through the end of the stalk and another a horizontal tubular attachment for suspension (**CLXXXI, 14**) like some gold work from the Menelaion.[18] Gold pendants of this type are known from the Acropolis at Athens,[19] Eleusis and Curium,[20] and may well be descended from the lily ornament of Minoan[21] and Mycenæan art which is found in a variety of different materials at Mycenae,[22] lapis lazuli, terracotta, ivory, gold, bone and glass, and is to be seen also on one of the steatite moulds from the same site.[23]

Protomai, Women, **CLXXX, 29–31.** This type recalls gold work from Athens, Ephesus, Kamiros, Delos, Megara and elsewhere.[24] Examples in bronze and ivory from the Orthia sanctuary may also be compared.[24a]

Grids, **CLXXXI, 19, 20.** Several of these have the horizontal tubular attachment at the top and small pendants at the lower angles, and so would seem to be pendants of some kind, but no parallel to them is known. They are as a rule more solidly cast than most figurines.

Rings, **CLXXX, 6.** Plain gold rings of a similar type were found at Ephesus[25] and the Orthia sanctuary.[26] One example, **CLXXX, 5,** seems to show how two different sizes could be cast together.

Scarab Rings, **CLXXX, 7, 8,** Fig. 118. These are[27] so obviously substitutes for gold or silver rings set with scarabaeoid intagli that it would be superfluous to cite analogies. In most cases the back of the scarab is clearly marked. A favourite subject (Fig. 118, *d*) for the intaglio is a gorgoneion which possibly served an apotropaic purpose. Other subjects which occur (Fig. 118, *g*, *h*, *m*, *n*), are a seated lion, a hare, a horse and a flying bird. In one case (Fig. 118, *c*), that of a lion or leopard, the subject is in cameo and not in intaglio.

Pendant Plaques, **CLXXXI, 27, 28.** These seem to imitate pendant

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[18] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VIII. 5, 6. Cf. the Orthia examples, p. 384, **Pl. CCIII, 8, 9, 12, 13.**

[19] Athens, National Museum, No. 7258.

[20] Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, III. Fig. 600.

[21] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II. p. 776 ff.

[22] Athens, National Museum, Nos. 2330, 2524, 2893, 2929, 3024, 4543 (*B.S.A.* xxv p. 385, Fig. 87*c*).

[23] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 109, Fig. 163.

[24] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX. 2, 11, 12; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. III. 9; Salzmann, *Camirus*, Pl. I; Daremberg-Saglio, I. Fig. 934.

[24a] *V.* pp. 201, 219, **LXXXIX,** *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, **CXXI, 1, 2.**

[25] Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX. 10.

[26] *V.* p. 383 (6).

[27] Cf. *B.M. Cat. Rings*, Pl. VII *sqq.*, p. xxxviii; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II., Pl. LXXXIX.

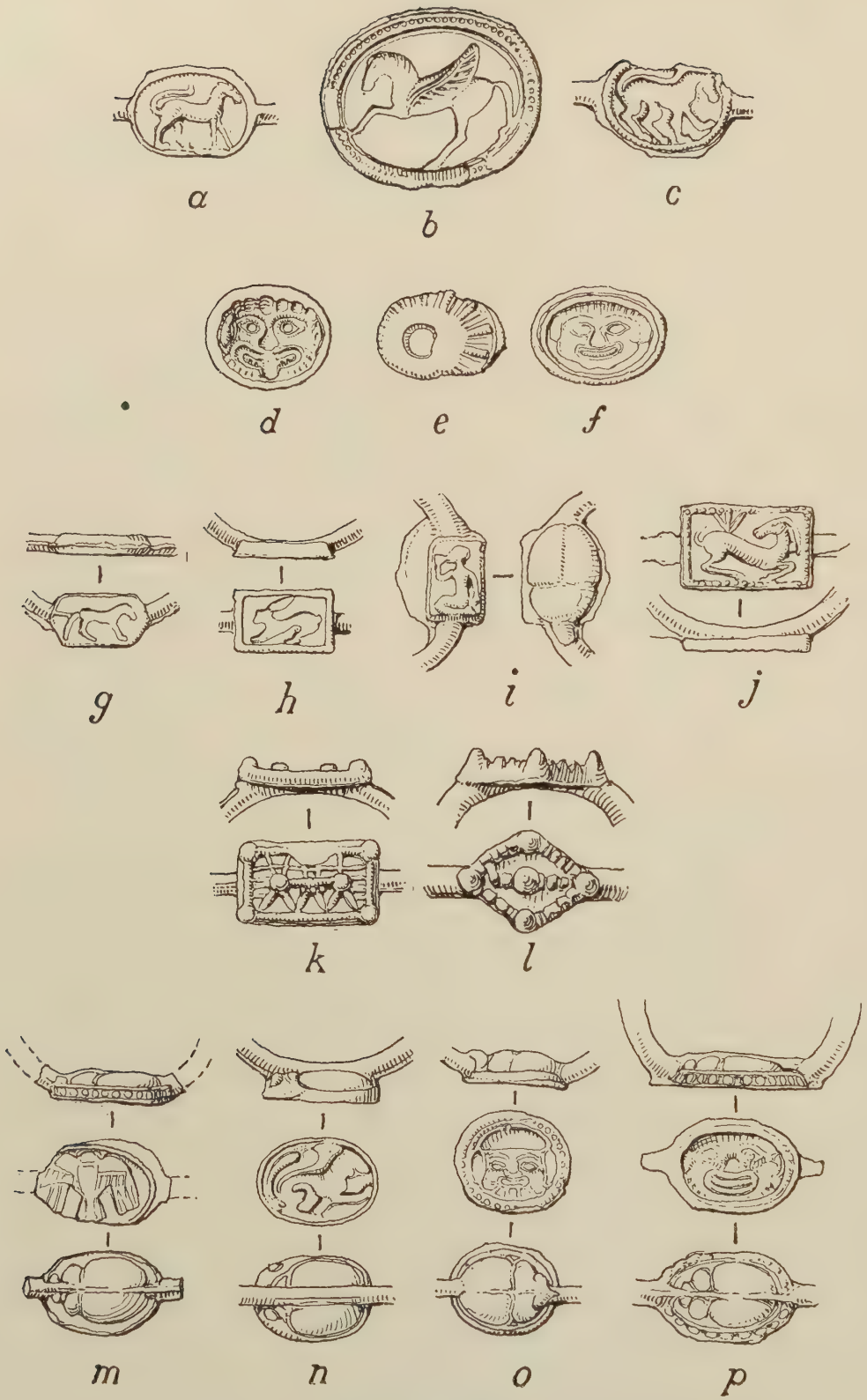

Fig. 118.—Lead Figurines. Devices on the Bezels of Scarab and other Rings, except *b*, which is a Leaden Seal covered with Gold. (Scale 3 : 2.) Lead I, II, and III–IV.

plaques of thin sheet gold or silver and decorative strips from Athens and Ephesus.[28]

Tasselled Pendants, rectangular and curved, **CLXXXI, 29, 30.** These may have served as breast ornaments or perhaps as earrings, and recall some jewellery from Rhodes.[29]

Bracelets (?), **CLXXXI, 24.** The identification is not certain, and these may also be narrow pendant plaques decorated with raised bosses.

Pomegranate Buds, **CLXXX, 15, 16.** These are imitations of jewellery,[30] since they have the horizontal tubular attachment at the top similar to gold and silver examples from the Menelaion,[31] where an actual gilt bud was found.[32] There are specimens in gold, silver, ivory and terracotta from the Orthia sanctuary as well.[33] The bronze buds from the Menelaion should also be compared.[34]

Ornament with Four Spirals, **CLXXX, 17.** This type cannot be satisfactorily explained. It suggests some spiral gold ornaments from Troy and Mycenae,[35] and also the bronze fibulae with four spirals.[36]

Pins in Pairs, **CLXXX, 23, 24.** These clearly represent the heavy-headed pins frequently seen worn in vase paintings and on terracottas,[37] and specimens in gold and silver are known and bronze examples are quite common.[38] Since the gold pins from the Orthia sanctuary[39] are a pair fastened by a chain, and as the lead pins always occur in twos side by side, it would seem that these pins were usually worn in pairs, probably with one on the left shoulder and the other on the right shoulder.

Pin, **CLXXX, 22.** A single pin with a curved head studded with small balls. This being single cannot be a hair-pin, but probably imitates an ornamental pin used for fastening the garments.

Oxhead Pendants, **CLXXX, 27, 28.** These are less solidly made than the corresponding type from the Menelaion.[40] That they were really worn as ornaments is shown by a Cypriote terracotta[41] and the bronze examples from the Menelaion and the Orthia sanctuary[42] which have tubular attachments for suspension. They are known in gold from

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[28] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 4, 5; Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX.

[29] *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 41; Salzmann, *Camirus*, Pl. I.

[30] Cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 41; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XXII.

[31] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VIII, 5, 6.

[32] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VIII. 9.

[33] *V.* pp. 158, 202, 383, **Pls. XLII, 7; LXXXIX,** *i, n*; **CXXXV; CXXXVI, 4; CCII, 5; CCIII, 1.**

[34] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. IX. 15–17.

[35] Schliemann, *Ilios*, Figs. 836, 838; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, Figs. 198, 174, 175.

[36] *V.* p. 198, **Pl. LXXXI.**

[37] Hadaczek, *Jahreshefte*, 1902, p. 212; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II. Pl. XLII *sqq.*; Thiersch, *apud* Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 404.

[38] *Olympia*, iv., Pl. XXV; Thiersch. *op. cit.*, p. 404, Pl. CXV; Waldstein, *op. cit.*, II., Pl. LXXX *sqq.*, and see pp. 200, 383, and **Pls. LXXXVI; CCII, 1, 6.**

[39] *V.* p. 383, **Pl. CCII, 1.**

[40] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 133, Fig. 8, 4–6.

[41] *B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, Pl. XIV.

[42] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. IX. 2, 4, 6, 8; *v.* p. 200, **Pl. LXXXIX,** *d.*

Cyprus[43] and Rhodes, and ivory examples from Mycenae[44] suggest that the type has a long history.

Rosettes, **CLXXX, 25, 26.**

Discs with Rosette Patterns, Earrings, **CLXXX, 10–13.** Both these types recall the examples in gold, bronze, ivory, and lead found at many sites, Kamiros, Ephesus, Curium, Aegina, Lusoi,[45] and at the Orthia sanctuary itself.[46] Some of the disc type were probably earrings, and one indeed, **CLXXX, 10,** is similar to a type found in Lead 0. Rosettes are a favourite ornamental motive in Mycenaean art, and single ornamental rosettes of that period are known in glass, gold and bone, and two examples in glass have holes for suspension.[47]

Couchant Lion Ornament, **CLXXX, 21.** This occurs also in Lead II, **CLXXXV, 11; CLXXXVI, 18,** and what seems to be the best representation of the type is shown in Fig. 122, *d*, which belongs to Lead II. Here the construction of the original ornament which the lead imitates is much more clearly rendered. The figure of the lion shows which was the top of the ornament, and the two horizontal rods suggest it might have formed the central pendant of a necklace. The closely related type of Lead II, **CLXXXVI, 18,** in which the horizontal rods are ribbed like the tubular suspension pieces, perhaps confirms this.

With these jewellery or ornamental types may reasonably be grouped two more, because, though not jewellery, they are certainly substitutes for more valuable offerings:—

Mirrors, **CLXXX, 20.** These clearly represent the usual bronze mirror with a handle of ivory or bronze. The earliest example is perhaps that from the Tomb of Clytemnestra at Mycenae,[48] and later examples of classical times are well known from elsewhere and from this site.[49] Miniature silver mirrors were also found, see p. 384 (20).

Lyres, **CLXXX, 19.** In these the tortoiseshell body is quite clearly defined.

Solid Figures.

These form a separate class alluded to above which begins in Lead I, but is mainly characteristic of Lead II and III. These figures are thick and heavier and stand out among the innumerable small and thin figures of the period by their more substantial fabric.

The suggestion that the jewellery and allied types just described are base

[43] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. I.

[44] Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*[2], No. 232. An ivory example dating between 740 and 670 B.C. was found at the Orthia site, p. 240, **Pl. CLXX, 3.** Gold examples have been found in Mycenaean tombs at Ialyssos, *Clara Rhodos*, I, p. 64.

[45] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 6, 8; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pls. VIII, XX; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XXVI; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Pls. CXIII, CXIV; *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 57, Fig. 106.

[46] *V.* pp. 243, 384, **Pls. CLXXV, 9; CCIII, 10;** *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 116, Fig. 6, *f*.

[47] Athens, National Museum, Nos. 2512, 3683.

[48] *B.S.A.* xxv. Pl. LIX.

[49] *E.g.* Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, Pl. LX; cf. above, p. 197, **Pl. LXXX,** *h*, *n*.

or cheap substitutes for ornaments and jewellery of more precious materials is confirmed by a solid leaden seal belonging to this period to which there still adheres part of a thin sheet of gold that formerly covered it all (Fig. 118, *b*). It is decorated in intaglio with a Pegasus and may be compared with the ivory seals.[50]

Further proof is provided by another solid figure in lead representing a winged goddess holding a lion in each hand (Fig. 119). This shows on the back in relief a reproduction of part of a bronze safety-pin with two rivets attached exactly in the manner in which such pins were fastened to the backs of the ivory plaques.[51] This, however, does not represent a plaque, but a group carved out of ivory in an open-work manner. No ivories of this date carved in this style were found, but it suggests both the early eagle fibulae and the bone reliefs of later date.[52]

Another group in open-work but with no signs of any pin behind is shown in Fig. 120. Four examples were found and belong to Lead I and II. A winged goddess is seen standing *en face* and holding the tail of one of her two attendant lions in each hand. On either side facing toward her is a female votary with a votive wreath in her hand. The goddess and the two votaries wear poloi. The figures of the goddess and of the two lions especially as they stand on a kind of plinth suggest a cult group, and it may have been intended to represent that of Orthia. If so, such groups cast in lead may have been substitutes for similar groups in more precious materials, such as the ναοί which Demetrius the silversmith and his fellow-craftsmen made for Artemis at Ephesus. In any case both this type and the preceding seem clearly related in style and in subject to the ivory plaques representing the goddess with or without her animal attributes, **XCI–XCIII, XCVI, XCVIII.**

The solid head in lead, **CLXXXIII, 30,** although it hardly appears to have been part of a complete statuette, may have formed part of a representation of the goddess similar to that in this group, and in any case belongs to this period.

A plaque (Fig. 121, *d*) with a group of two warriors may also not unreasonably be considered an imitation in lead of a relief in gold, silver, ivory or bronze. It may be compared to one of the ivory plaques, **CVII, 2.**

Human and Animal Types.

Mythical Subjects.

Winged Goddesses, **CLXXXII, 1–16**. Seventeen types *en face* and in profile. Most interesting is that with a lion (Fig. 122, *f*), which compares with the terracottas and ivories.[53] The crude almost aniconic type, **CLXXXII, 6,** is characteristic, and beginning in this period continues into Lead III–IV. Large numbers were found, so that it must have been a cheap and popular type. In this and in some other types the goddess holds a wreath in each hand.

[50] *V.* p. 229, **Pls. CXLIV–CXLVI.**

[51] *V.* pp. 204 *sqq.*, **Pls. XCI, XCII.**

[52] *V.* pp. 217, 218, 225, **Pls. CXIV, CXVI, CXXXIV.**

[53] *V.* pp. 149, 206, **Pls. XXXII, 1–3; XCII, 2.**

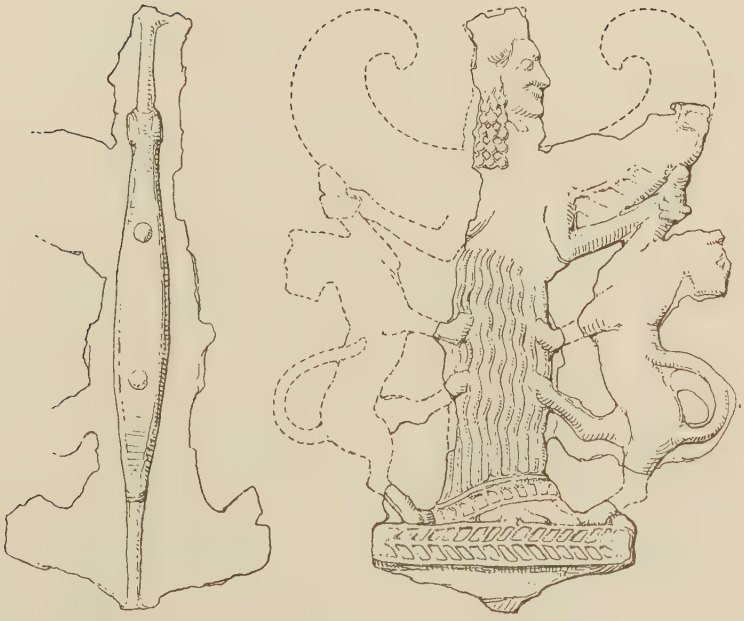

Fig. 119.—Lead Imitation of an Ivory Fibula Plaque. Lead I. (Scale 1 : 1.)

Fig. 120.—Lead Group of Orthia and Votaries. Lead I and II. (Scale 1 : 1.)

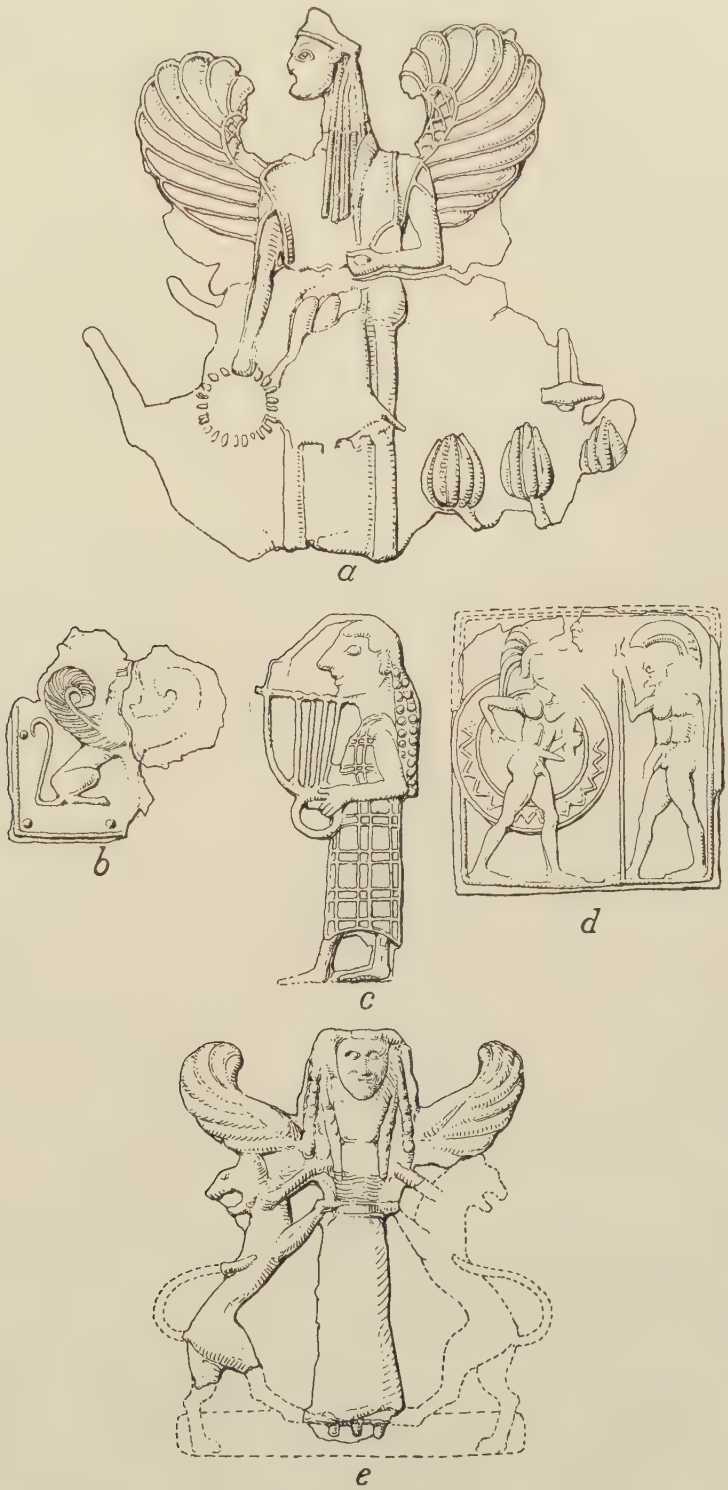

FIG. 121.—LEAD FIGURINES. LEAD I AND II. (Scale 1 : 1.)

Sphinxes, **CLXXXIV, 11–16.** Six varieties, two only of which are known at the Menelaion, **CLXXXIV, 15, 16.**[54] As sphinxes were sometimes used as pendants, some of these at least might be classed as jewellery types, compare **CLXXXVII, 19,** p. 268.

Centaurs, **CLXXXIV, 21.** A very rare type.

Pegasi, **CLXXXIV, 4.** Another rare type.

Gorgons, **CLXXXIII, 29.** One variety only.

Natural Subjects.

Human.

Women Votaries, **CLXXXI, 1–12; CLXXXII, 17–25.** Twenty-one varieties, several of which carry wreaths, **CLXXXI, 1, CLXXXII, 25,** palm branches, **CLXXXI, 8,** and alabastra or pomegranates, **CLXXXII, 18,** as votive offerings. Though those completely in profile and of severe style appear to be the older, it was not found possible to separate them stratigraphically from the freer types in which the body is often *en face* while the head and legs remain in profile.

Warriors, **CLXXXIII, 1–15.** Fifteen varieties. The designs on the shields are all rosettes or of the whirling pattern, **CLXXXIII, 13–15,** which occurs on vase paintings of the period.[55] One type, **CLXXXIII, 6,** is extremely crude. Each warrior carries spear and shield, and wears a helmet with cheek- and nose-pieces and a high crest and a pair of greaves. As the shield hides the body it cannot be seen whether they wear body armour or not, but to judge by some examples of later date, *e.g.* **CXCI, 20,** Fig. 122, *a*, *b*, belonging to Lead II, corslets seem to have been worn. The thigh-pieces which are worn by a warrior on the moulded pithos found at the Heroon [56] are not apparent.

Bowmen, **CLXXXIII, 16, 17.** Two varieties. The bow has a plain shaft.

Musicians, Lyre-Players, **CLXXXIII, 18–20.** Three types. As would be expected, the lyre is held in the left hand with the tortoise-shell outwards and the strings towards the right hand.

Musicians, Flute-Players, Men, **CLXXXIII, 21, 22, 24** (Fig. 126, *j*). Three varieties.

Flute-Players, Women, **CLXXXIII, 27, 28.** Two varieties.

Allied Types, Men, **CLXXXIII, 23, 25, 26.** Three, one of which, **CLXXXIII, 23,** may be playing a flute or some kind of wind instrument.

Animal.

Horses, **CLXXXIV, 1–3,** (Fig. 126, *d*). Three types, of which **CLXXXIV, 3,** is the commonest.

Goats, **CLXXXIV, 19.** One type.

Cocks, **CLXXXIV, 20.** One type.

Lions, **CLXXXIV, 5–10.** Five types, of which four are known at the Menelaion.[57]

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[54] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VII, 29, 33.

[55] Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 293.

[56] *V.* **Pls. XV, XVI.**

[57] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 131, Fig. 7, 4, 7, 11, 12.

Fish, **CLXXXIV, 17.** One type, which suggests a sea fish such as a dolphin or a tunny, and may be compared with those on the ivory plaque.[58]

Boar, **CLXXXIV, 18.** A rare type.

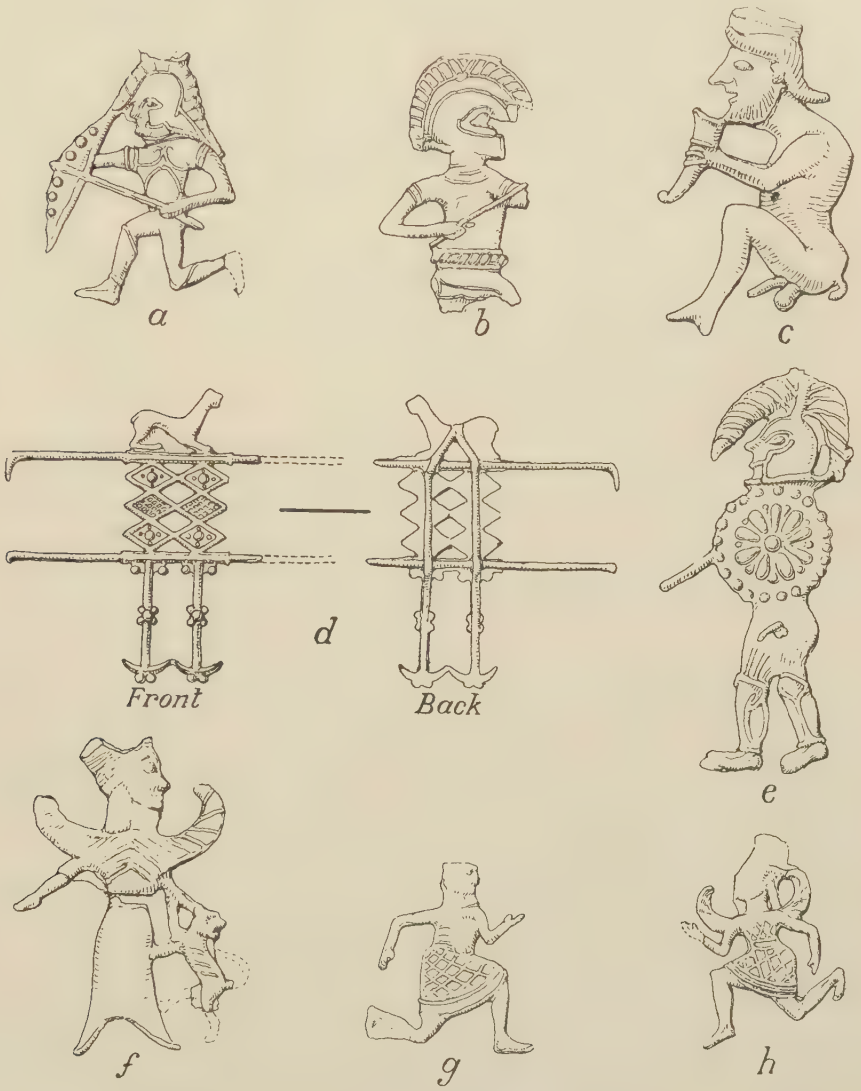

Fig. 122.—Lead Figurines. Lead I and II.
The Satyr *c* is from the Menelaion. (Scale 1 : 1.)

Other Votives.

Wreaths, Ball, **CLXXX, 1.**
Pomegranate Bud, **CLXXX, 3.**
Ribbon, **CLXXX, 4.**
Vandyke, **CLXXX, 2.**

[58] *V.* p. 214, **Pls. CIX, CX.**

All these different types of wreaths appear to be miniature substitutes in lead for the wreaths carried by votaries and sometimes by the goddess herself, **CLXXXI, 1, 2; CLXXXII, 8.** Probably the wreaths they represent were made of flowers and leaves, and the lead wreaths may be merely cheap substitutes for the originals, or they may have been offered at seasons when wreaths of flowers or foliage were unobtainable.

Double Axes, **CLXXX, 34.** These have been found in bronze at many sites, Tegea, Lusoi, the Dictaean Cave and the Menelaion,[59] and the Orthia sanctuary has produced specimens in gold, silver, ivory and terracotta.[60]

Miscellaneous.

Decorative Plates (pendants?), **CLXXX, 18, 33; CLXXXI, 18.**
Grilles, **CLXXXI, 21–23.**
Pendant Coils, **CLXXX, 32; CLXXXI, 25, 26.**
Bearded Head in a Disc, **CLXXX, 14.**

Of these four types the third may perhaps represent coils or ropes of hair. The grilles still remain inexplicable, for the suggestion that they were bases for animal figures like the open-work bases of some small bronzes of the Geometric period at Olympia is untenable, since none of the grilles show any signs of an attachment to the upper side. The vandyke edging to one rather rare type, **CLXXXI, 21,** suggests that they were ornamental and perhaps used as pendants. The types grouped for convenience under the term decorative plates comprise three distinct varieties. The oblong plate with a St. Andrew's cross pattern is clearly some form of ornament, **CLXXX, 18;** the curved plate, **CLXXX, 33,** resembles a smaller type found in Lead II, **CLXXXI, 18,** which appears to be a conventionalised form of a flower bud, and the rectangular plate, **CLXXXVI, 27,** is inexplicable unless it might be interpreted as a chiton laid flat. The "Pendant Coils" may be votive tresses of hair or perhaps some form of beaded earring, as suggested by a rare type belonging to Lead II, Fig. 124. The last type, **CLXXX, 14,** of which only one example was found, is probably also a copy of a jewellery type, though no parallel can be quoted.

Lead II. **Pls. CLXXXV–CXCII.**

It is not easy to separate the figurines of this period from the preceding, but those here illustrated and described as belonging to it came from the levels—especially in and around the early temple—which are stratigraphically the latest below the layer of sand. They come from strata in which Laconian II pottery was found, and correspond remarkably well with the figurines from the Menelaion [61] which were also found with Laconian II pottery.

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[59] *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 49; *B.S.A.*, vi. p. 109, Fig. 40; xv. Pls. IX, VIII. 14, 9, 10.

[60] *V.* pp. 159 (No. 12), 199, 238, **Pls. LXXXV, CLXIII, CCII, 2, 4.**

[61] *B.S.A.* xv. pp. 129 *sqq.*, Figs. 6, 7, 9, Pl. VII.

Jewellery Types.

Ionic Capitals, **CLXXXV, 1–5.** Two, **CLXXXV, 1, 3,** survive from Lead I, **CLXXXI, 14, 15,** but two new varieties, **CLXXXV, 4, 5,** appear which are smaller and inferior in technique.

Protomai, **CLXXXVI, 22, 23.** Of the two varieties, one, **CLXXXVI, 22,** is a survival from Lead I, and with these perhaps can be classed the bust in profile which has a loop for suspension and was clearly a copy of an ornament, **CLXXXVI, 25.**

Grids, **CLXXXV, 19.** One variety which is closely akin to those of the preceding period.

Rings, **CLXXXV, 31; CLXXXVI, 35, 36.** These are similar to those of Lead I.

Scarab Rings, **CLXXXVI, 37, 38.** These again do not differ from those of Lead I. The gorgoneion, Fig. 118, *f*, *o*, *p*, is still a favourite device, and in two cases the reverse of the bezel is rectangular and bears a device in cameo; one is a seated youth holding one hand to his mouth (perhaps a flute-player), the other seems to be a horse, Fig. 118, *i*, *j*.

Pendant Plaques, **CLXXXV, 21, 22.** The broad variety does not occur in Lead I and is rare in this period.

Tasselled Pendants, **CLXXXV, 7, 8.** These still remain popular types.

Bracelets (?), **CLXXXVI, 17.** This type is still known, and with it may be grouped the curious strip **CLXXXVI, 19,** which has a clasp-like projection at the lower end.

Pomegranate Buds, **CLXXXV, 25, 26.** These still occur, but except for one rather solid, bead-like variety, **CLXXXV, 27,** are not so well defined as those of the preceding period.

Ornament with Four Spirals, **CLXXXV, 6.** This continues as a popular and characteristic type.

Pins in Pairs, **CLXXXVI, 2–4.** These still preserve much the same types as in the last period. Single pins are found, **CLXXXVI, 1,** but these may be from pairs that have been accidentally separated.

Oxhead Pendants, **CLXXXVI, 26.** One variety.

Rosettes, **CLXXXVI, 10–14, 16.** These remain popular, and three of the varieties seem to be identical with those of Lead I; for instance, **CLXXXVI, 11, 12, 13** are equal to **CLXXX, 11, 12, 13.** An interesting variant is **CLXXXVI, 16,** which has four slight projections and resembles one from the Menelaion.[62] One, **CLXXXVI, 13,** has an attachment pierced at the top for suspension.

Couchant Lion Ornament, **CLXXXV, 11; CLXXXVI, 18.** Two varieties, one of which is better made and more distinct in type.

Mirrors, **CLXXXVI, 5.** These still show the same type as before.

Snake Ornament, **CLXXXV, 10.** This, if it is inverted in the photograph, as it seems to be, bears a close resemblance to a snake-like ornament

[62] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 131, Fig. 7, 26.

which frequently appears on Mycenaean seal stones and in one of the gold pendants from Aegina.[63]

Horsehead Ornament, **CLXXXVI, 8, 9.** The various types of this

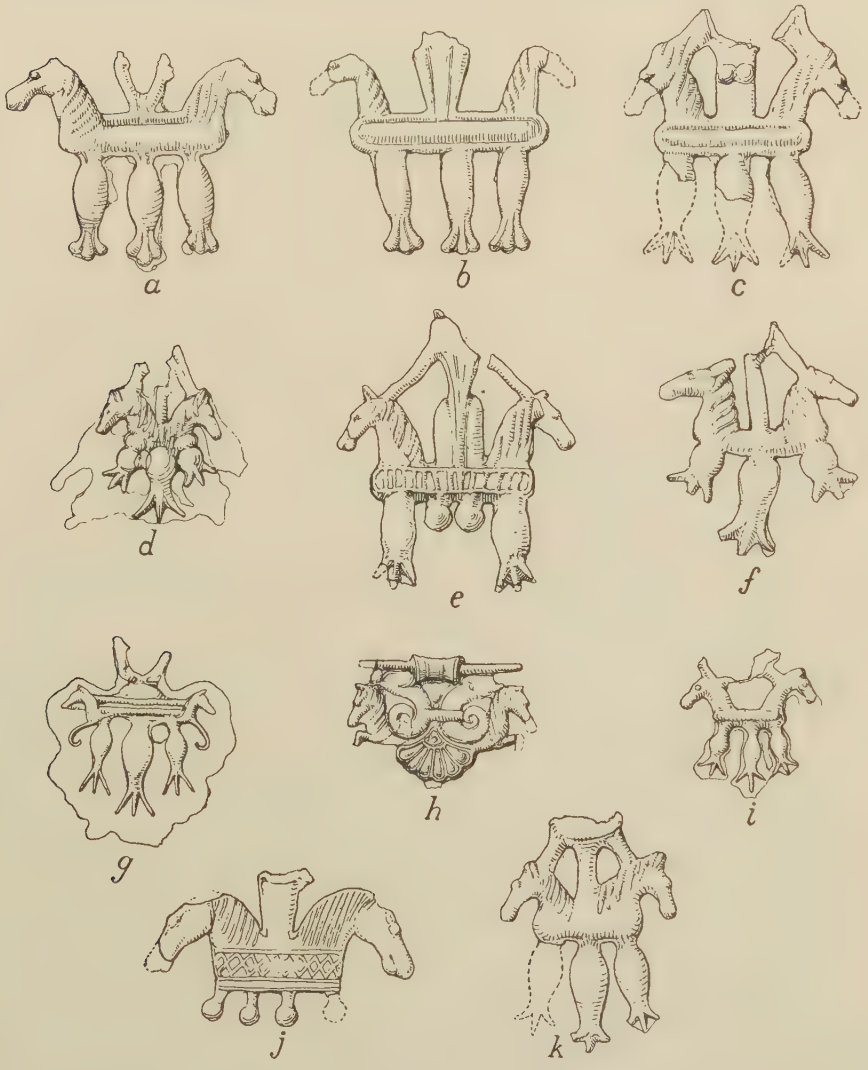

Fig. 123.—Lead Figurines. Horsehead Pendants. Lead I, II, and III–IV. (Scale 1 : 1.)

characteristic type are shown in Fig. 123.[64] In its simplest form it consists of a pair of horseheads with pomegranate buds hanging below, Fig. 123, *d*, *j*. In one case, Fig. 123, *h*, the horizontal suspension tube at the top shows clearly that this ornament is a pendant. In

[63] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 311 *sqq.*, Pl. II.

[64] *V. J.H.S.* xxix. p. 290.

other cases, Fig. 123, *c*, *e*, it seems to represent a figure of a goddess standing on a throne, the sides of which are decorated with horseheads like the throne of Zeus on a black-figured amphora.[65] Ivory and terracotta examples of this ornament were found at the Orthia sanctuary.[66]

Helmet, **CLXXXVI, 24.** This, like the mirrors, is doubtless a substitute for an actual helmet in bronze, and is analogous to the miniature bronze helmets which have been found at so many sites.[67]

Combs (?). **CLXXXV, 23, 24.** This identification is not certain, and some of the examples have holes for suspension at the top.

Spiral Fibulae, Fig. 125, *g*. This type, of which only one example was found, is obviously a substitute for a variety of fibula found both in ivory and in bronze.[68]

FIG. 124.—LEAD FIGURINE. (Scale 4 : 5.)

Another type which probably belongs to this period is the ornament shown in Fig. 124, which appears to be a beaded pendant and suggests an original of gold or silver. It is possible, however, that it represents short chains of ribbed beads, which rather resemble one of the types classed as a pomegranate bud, **CLXXXV, 27.**

Solid Figures.

These are, as shown above, closely allied to the jewellery and other types which are substitutes for more precious offerings. In some cases they seem to be imitations of ivories, in others of bronze statuettes.

Plaques, **CLXXXV, 29,** Fig. 126, *b*. A lead plaque of a goddess or woman holding a water-bird by its neck in each hand closely resembles some of the ivory plaques for fibulae from the Orthia sanctuary.[69] Another with a sphinx, Fig. 121, *b*, probably also imitates an ivory plaque.[70]

Statuettes, **CXCII.** Prominent among these are stiff xoanon-like figures, **CXCII, 6–8,** which recall some terracottas and ivories [71] and perhaps represent the cult image of the goddess. Next come figures of recumbent animals, **CXCII, 4, 5,** one of which is a sphinx apparently, and these again suggest the somewhat similar recumbent animals in ivory.[72] The others are a moschophoros, **CXCII, 2,** a male statuette,

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[65] Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Fig. 27.

[66] *V.* pp. 149, 241, 242, **Pls. XXXII, 4, 5; CLXXII, 1, CLXXIII, 3.**

[67] *E.g.* at Bassae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910, p. 314, Fig. 33.

[68] *V.* pp. 199, 224, **Pls. LXXXII,** *s*, **CXXXIII,** *b*, *c*; cf. Blinkenberg, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales*, pp. 264 *sqq.*, type xv., 1–7. A lead fibula of similar type comes from Tegea, *B.C.H.* 1921, p. 428, No. 370, Fig. 42.

[69] Cf. pp. 205, 206, **Pls. XCI, XCII, 2**; cf. the gold plaques from Rhodes, Zervos, *Rhodes*, Fig. 687.

[70] Cf. pp. 208, 210, 213, **Pls. XCVII, 1; CII, 1; CVI, 2.**

[71] *V.* pp. 147, 218, **Pls. XXIX, 1–3; CXVII–CXX.**

[72] Cf. pp. 230 *sqq.*, **Pl. CXLIX** *sqq.*

CLXXXV, 28, and a woman votary, **CLXXXV, 31,** though this last is so rigid that it may perhaps be intended for the goddess herself.

Groups, Figs. 120, 121. Examples of the winged goddess with two lions and two votaries,[73] Fig. 120, were found in this period, and also one specimen of a similar type without votaries, Fig. 121, *e*.

Miscellaneous, **CXCII, 1, 3; CLXXXV, 30.** These include a female bust, a lion's head and a gorgoneion.

Human and Animal Types.

Mythical Subjects.

Winged Goddesses, **CLXXXVIII; CLXXXIX, 1–5.** About twenty-nine varieties belong to this period, some of which, notably the crude type, **CLXXXVIII, 18,** and a severe type in profile, **CLXXXVIII, 24,** occurred also in the preceding. Several of the varieties show the goddess holding wreaths in her hands. An exceptionally fine example is reproduced in Fig. 121, *a*.

Warrior Goddess, Fig. 125, *d*. One type only, which seems to be peculiar to this period.

Sphinxes, **CLXXXVII, 14–29.** Sixteen varieties. One is clearly a pendant, as there is a hole pierced through the top and a ribbed base with tassels, **CLXXXVII, 19.** An example of this type was found at the Menelaion.[74] Another, **CLXXXVII, 22,** which has a ribbed border at the top, may also be a pendant or part of a plaque cast defectively and similar to Fig. 121, *b*.

Pegasi, **CLXXXIX, 18.** One variety.

Nikai, Fig. 122, *g*, *h*. Two varieties. Both are running, and one has wings. The wingless figures need not be Nikai, but their similarity to the winged type makes it very probable.

Siren, **CLXXXIX, 19.** One variety. The human head and hair are quite distinct.

Satyr (?), Fig. 125, *c*. The stratification of this figurine is not known, as it was found in the first days of the excavation, but it probably belongs to Lead II or III. No other example was found.

Natural Subjects.

Human.

Women Votaries, **CXC.** Thirty varieties. Several varieties of the severe archaic type in true profile continue from Lead I, **CXC, 12, 22, 24, 29, 30=CLXXXLI, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25.** Some types are exceedingly crude, **CXC, 10, 18, 21,** in strong contrast to the severer types. Many carry offerings, such as wreaths, palm branches and alabastra or pomegranates. One type in full-face of a rigid xoanon appearance may not be a votary, **CXC, 25,** but a representation of the

[73] *V.* p. 259.

[74] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VII, 30.

cult image of Orthia in view of its likeness to the ivory and terracotta figures.[75]

Warriors, **CXCI.** Eighteen varieties, of which some repeat types known in Lead I. The shields all bear devices of a rosette or wheel type and the whirling pattern is again prominent, **CXCI, 12–16.** One variety, Fig. 122, *e*, rather crude, though detailed in drawing, seems peculiar to Lead II. With these usual types of warriors can be grouped three others, **CXCI, 20, 21, 26,** and Fig. 122, *a*, *b*, only one of which, a warrior kneeling with couched spear, is at all complete. Yet another type, Fig. 125, *b*, probably shows the warrior from his right side carrying his shield on his left arm. In the usual types, if the warrior faces left he has his shield on his left arm quite correctly, but if he faces right he has his shield on his right arm incorrectly. This is probably due to an error of the engraver of the mould, who forgot to reverse the figure. The fragment, **CXCI, 30,** may be a kneeling warrior.

Bowmen, **CXCI, 18, 19.** Two varieties, both known in Lead I; see **CLXXXIII, 16, 17.**

Musicians: Lyre-Players, Men, **CLXXXIX, 10, 11.** Two varieties, both known in Lead I; see **CLXXXIII, 18–20.**

Lyre-Players, Women, **CLXXXIX, 7,** Fig. 120, *c*. One variety.

Flute-Players, Men, **CLXXXIX, 13–15.** Three varieties as in Lead I; see **CLXXXIII, 21, 22, 24.**

Flute-Players, Women, **CLXXXIX, 6, 8, 9.** Three varieties, the third known in Lead I, see **CLXXXIII, 27, 28.**

Allied Types, **CLXXXIX, 12; CXCI, 22–25; 27, 28.** Seven varieties, two being known in Lead I, **CLXXXIII, 23, 26.**. One, **CXCI, 27,** seems to be a running man, and another seems to carry a horn or trumpet in his hand, **CXCI, 23.**

Man on Horseback, **CXCI, 29.** One variety.

Animals.

Horses, **CLXXXIX, 16, 17.** Two varieties, neither known in Lead I.

Goats, **CLXXXIX, 23–25.** Three varieties, one known in Lead I; see **CLXXXIV, 19.**

Cocks, **CLXXXIX, 20, 21,** Fig. 126, *e*. Two varieties, the first already known in Lead I; see **CLXXXIV, 20.**

Lions, **CLXXXVII, 1–13.** Thirteen varieties, of which five continue from Lead I; see **CLXXXIV, 6–10.**

Fish, **CLXXXIX, 22.** One variety, different from that of Lead I.

Bulls, **CLXXXIX, 26–29.** A new type with four varieties.

Other Votives.

Wreaths: Ball, **CLXXXVI, 30.**
Pomegranate Bud, **CLXXXVI, 31.**

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[75] Cf. pp. 147, 218, **Pls. XXIX, 1–3; CXVII–CXX.**

Wreaths: Ribbon, **CLXXXVI, 29.**
Vandyke, **CLXXXVI, 28, 34.**
Knobbed, **CLXXXVI, 33.**
Spike, **CLXXXVI, 32.**

There is a greater variety of wreaths in this period, and now the small spike wreaths, **CLXXXVI, 32,** which later become so popular, make their first appearance, but the ball and the pomegranate bud wreaths are the favourites of this period, since the others are by no means so common.

Double Axes, **CLXXXVI, 7.** These still continue, and the example illustrated shows that they were usually represented as hafted.

Palm Branches, **CLXXXV, 18.** These appear for the first time and clearly imitate the branches carried by the women votaries, **CXC, 5.**

Miscellaneous. Decorative Plates (Pendants ?), **CLXXXV, 9, 12; CLXXXVI, 20, 21, 27.**
Grilles, **CLXXXV, 15–17, 20.**
Pendant Coils, **CLXXXV, 13, 14.**
Wheels, **CLXXXVI, 15.**
Anthemia, **CLXXXVI, 6.**

These last two types occur first in this period. The grilles show the same general type as before, but there is less difference between them and the pendant coils, which now do not much resemble locks of hair. One variety of grille has pendants at the bottom, **CLXXXV, 15.** Another peculiar type of grille has balls set in it, **CLXXXV, 20,** and is known also at the Menelaion.[76] It seems clear that these grilles played a prominent part in the cult. Some of the decorative plates, **CLXXXV, 12; CLXXXVI, 20, 21,** as in the previous period, probably represent gold strips used for ornamental purposes, and the two curved objects, **CLXXXV, 9; CLXXXVI, 27,** which have pendants below, seem to imitate flower buds, but this is by no means certain.

Lead III–IV. **Pls. CXCIII–CXCVII.**

As stated, the types of these two periods can hardly be separated, but they belong to the period which succeeded the building of the later temple. If it were desired to distinguish them, the types most akin to Lead I and II figurines found below the sand could be classed as Lead III, and those which continue in Lead V could be called Lead IV. The solid figures in any case are most probably to be confined to Lead III.

Jewellery Types.

Ionic Capitals, **CXCIV, 26.** One variety, small and thin; it occurs in Lead II, but not in Lead I; see **CLXXXV, 4.**

Palmettes, **CXCIV, 38–39.** Three varieties. These are a new type, and perhaps a refinement of the Ionic capital ornament.

Rings, **CXCIV, 35,** Fig. 118, *k, l.* The plain rings and scarab rings of Lead

[76] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 131, Fig. 7, 17.

I and II cease, but their place is taken by a type of ring in which the bezel is rectangular or diamond-shaped and bears a pattern of dots and lines in cameo.

Pomegranate Buds, **CXCIV, 33, 34.** Two varieties, one of which survives from Lead II, **CXCIV, 34** = **CLXXXV, 26,** and the other, a smaller and more refined type, appears for the first time.

Pins, in Pairs **CXCIV, 28–32.** Five varieties, mostly small and conventionalised.

Oxhead-Pendants, **CXCIV, 25.** One variety which still persists from Lead I and II.

Horsehead Ornament, **CXCIV, 37, 40.** Two varieties, neither of which is as detailed or as well made as those of Lead II.

Solid Figures.

Plaques, **CXCIV, 41,** Fig. 125, *j*. Two varieties showing an amphora set in a frame. It occurs also at the Menelaion.[77] It is not easy to tell whether it was meant to be a solid or an openwork plaque. If the latter it may have the same relation to the earlier lead plaques which the latter open-work bone carvings have to the earlier ivory plaques.[78] The amphora suggests those which appear on reliefs connected with the Dioscuri.[79]

Statuettes, **CXCIII, 1–5.** The rigid xoanon type is again prominent among these and may well, as suggested above, represent the cult image of Orthia.[80] The male figure, **CXCIII, 5,** is unusual, but the recumbent animals, **CXCIII, 6–8,** two sphinxes and a lion, recall the ivory animals of similar type [81] and are probably to be regarded as cheap substitutes for more valuable offerings in ivory or bronze. The two small adzes, **CXCIII, 9, 10,** are a peculiar type and are not analogous to any other votives at this site.

Human and Animal Types.

Mythical Subjects.

Winged Goddesses, **CXCV, 1–12.** Twelve varieties, among which the curious headless type still persists, **CXCV, 12.** The rigid archaic type disappears and the figurines tend to get smaller.

Sphinxes, **CXCVI, 17, 18.** Two small varieties only.

Centaurs, **CXCVII, 43–44,** Fig. 125. *f*. Three varieties, quite distinct from the archaic type of Lead I, **CLXXXIV, 21.**

Nikai, **CXCVI, 26.** One variety which survives from Lead II, Fig. 122, *h*.

Siren, **CXCVI, 25.** Fig. 125, *i*. One variety, rather small but refined.

Gorgon, Fig. 126, *k*. A type which may perhaps be a gorgon.

Goddess with Bow, **CXCVI, 3.**

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[77] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 140, Fig. 11, 28.

[78] *V.* pp. 217, 218, **Pl. CXVI.**

[79] *S.M.C.*, p. 113, Fig. 14, p. 114, Nos. 7, 27, 291, 356, 575, 613; *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 214.

[80] *V.* pp. 147, 218, 267.

[81] *V.* pp. 230 *sqq.*, **Pl. CXLIX** *sqq.*

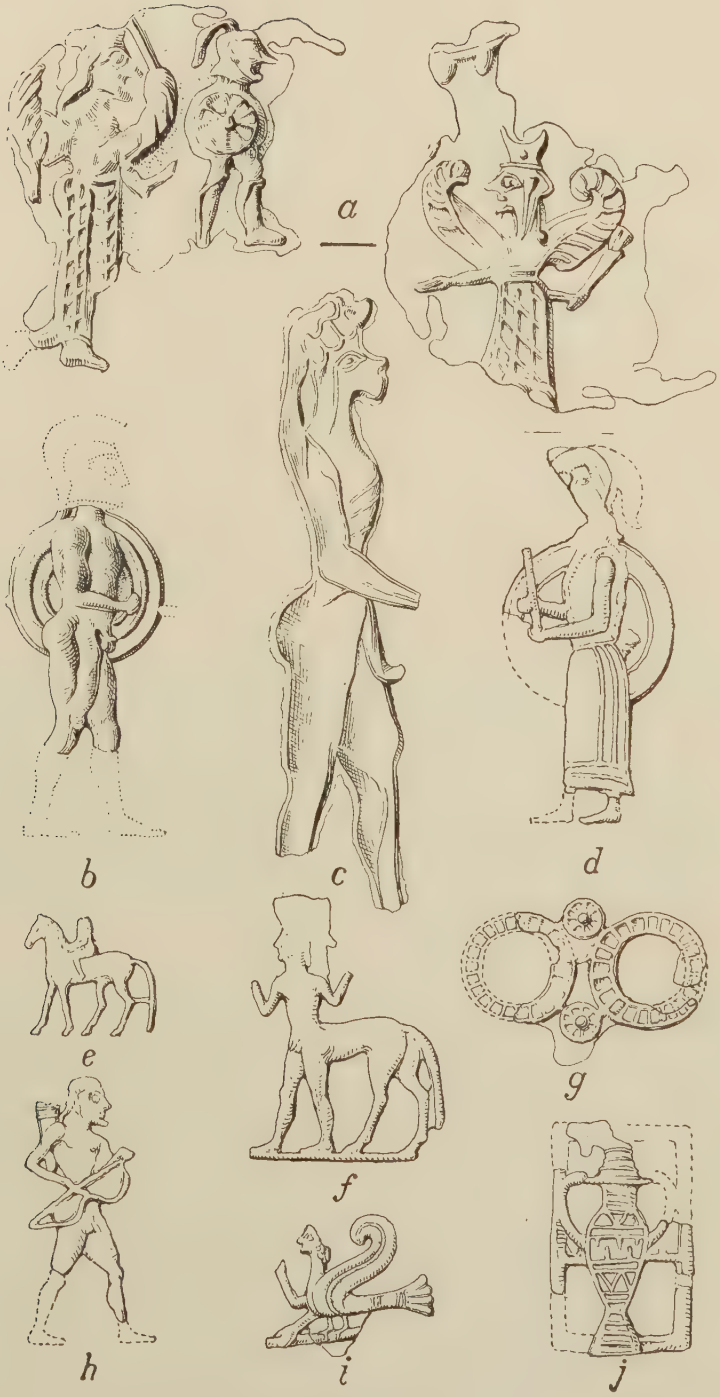

FIG. 125.—LEAD FIGURINES. LEAD II AND III–IV. (Scale 1 : 1.)

FIG. 126.—LEAD FIGURINES. LEAD I, II, AND III–IV. (Scale 1 : 1.)

With Bow and Aegis, **CXCVI, 2.**
With Spear and Aegis, **CXCVI, 4–15.** Fig. 126, *c.*
With Spear, Shield and Aegis, **CXCVI, 16.**
With Deer or Lion (?), **CXCVI, 1.**

These are new types and show a striking difference from the winged goddesses, and the many varieties of the goddess with spear and aegis imply that it was a popular type. They might be identified as representing Athena but for the goddess with a bow and aegis and the occurrence of these types at the shrine of Orthia.

God with Trident, **CXCVI, 29,** Fig. 127, *a, b, f, g.*
With Trident and Fish, **CXCVI, 28,** Fig. 127, *h.*
With Trident and Ram (?), **CXCVI, 31,** Fig. 127, *d.*
With Caduceus and Ram, **CXCVI, 30,** Fig. 127, *e.*
With Club, Fig. 127, *i.*

These also are new types, and while those with the trident alone or with the trident and fish might be held to represent Poseidon, and those with the caduceus and ram Hermes, it is not easy to see what god can be intended by the figurine with the trident and ram. One other type, **CXCVI, 32,** a man clad in a chiton and carrying a ram on his left arm, is possibly a variant of the god with the trident and ram. There is no certainty that he had a trident, for no example of this figurine is complete.

Natural Subjects.

Human.

Women Votaries, **CXCV, 13–41.** Twenty-nine varieties, none of which seem to be survivals of Lead II. They occur in great numbers in this period, and the smaller types, which are crudely made, are the most popular. The severer types in profile now disappear.

Warriors, **CXCVII, 1–26.** Twenty-six varieties, only two of which seem to be survivals from Lead II, **CXCVII, 6, 7 = CXCI, 7.** They occur in great numbers at this date, and the smaller types, which are roughly made, are the most popular. In addition to the rosette and whirling patterns on the shields, animal devices now appear, water-birds, doves, lions, scorpions, oxheads, cocks, boars, and gorgoneia; see Figs. 126*f*, 128. Such devices are to be seen on shields on red-figured vases,[82] and a warrior on the moulded pithos from the Heroon, **XV, XVI,** bears a cock on his shield. It is possible that these blazons on the shields are those of Spartan military units, as similar blazons have been identified as those of Athenian families.[83] Eupolis, however, says that the Lacedaemonians bore a Λ on their shields, and on a Proto-

[82] *E.g.* Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pls. XXII (Cock, Gorgon), XXXIV, LXI, LXXIV, LXXXV (Lion), LXII, CXI (Scorpion), LXXXV, CXIII (Bull), LXXXIV (Boar), LXII (Bird).

[83] Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, pp. 19 *sqq.*; *Art and Archaeology*, xxvii. pp. 59, 136.

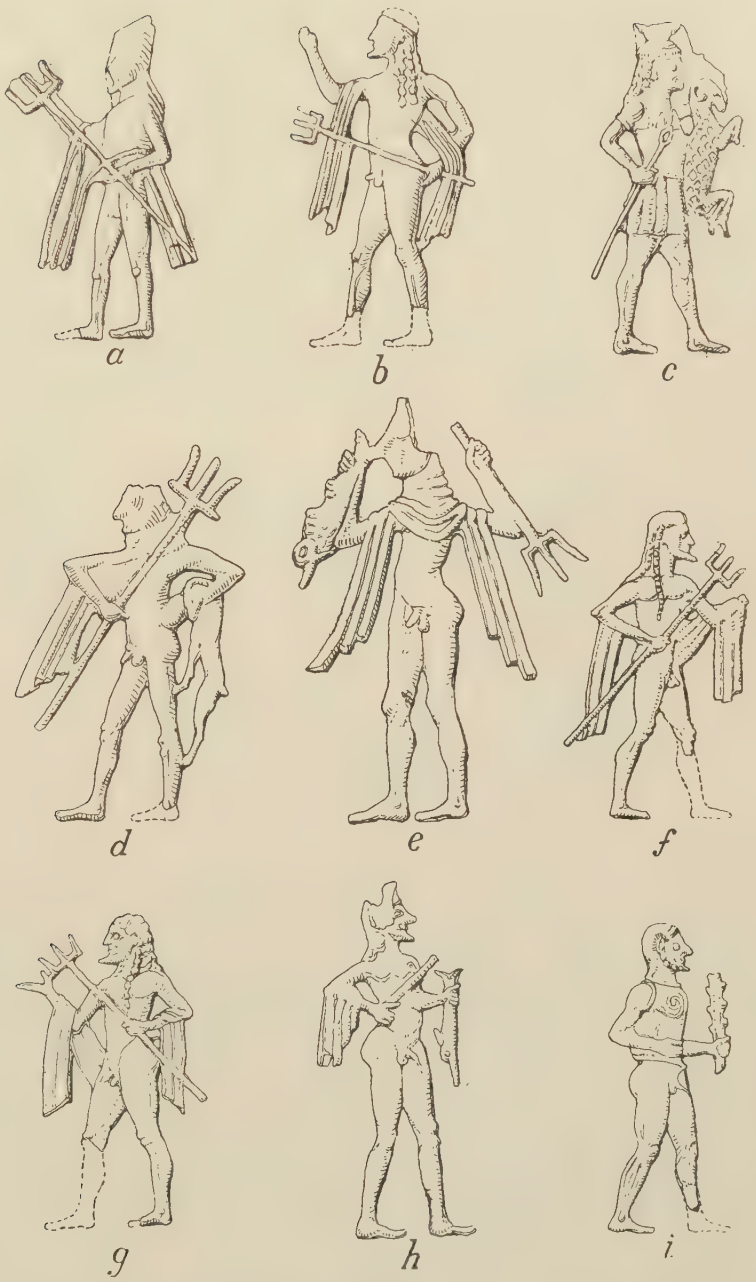

FIG. 127.—LEAD FIGURINES. "POSEIDON" AND "HERMES" TYPES. LEAD III–IV AND V. (Scale 1 : 1.)

Corinthian vase in Berlin the warriors of one company do not by any means all have the same blazon on their shields.[84]

Bowmen, **CXCVII, 33.** Only one certain type which seems to be a survival from Lead II; see **CXCI, 18.**

Musicians, Lyre-Players, Women, **CXCV, 42.** One type.

Flute-Players, Men, **CXCVI, 19, 20–22, 24.** Five varieties, one at least being a survival from the preceding period; see **CLXXXIX, 14.**

Flute-Players, Women, **CXCV, 43, 45.** Two varieties, both quite small.

Cymbal-Players, Women, **CXCV, 44.** One variety, small.

Fig. 128.—Lead Figurines. Blazons on the Shields of Warriors. Lead III–IV and V. (Scale 1 : 1.)

Allied Types, Men, **CXCVI, 23, 27.** Two varieties, one already well known in the two previous periods; cf. **CLXXXIII, 23; CLXXXIX, 12.**

Men on Horseback, **CXCVII 40, 41, 45.** Three types, one of which, **CXCVII, 45,** Fig. 12, *g*, is much above the average in style and technique.

Men on Foot, **CXCVII, 27–32, 34–39.** Twelve varieties; ten are nude and two have short chitons. Some are running, some are walking, one is kneeling, one has a satyric appearance. They are all small and, though spirited, rather roughly made.

Animals.

Horses, **CXCIV, 20–23.** Four varieties, all rather rough.

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[84] Pfuhl, *Meisterwerke Griechischer Zeichnung und Malerei*, Pl. IV; cf. *Ant. Denkmäler*, II. Pl. XLIV, Proto-Corinthian vase in Museo Villa Giulia, Rome.

Goats, **CXCIV, 24.** One type, a survival from Lead I and II; see **CLXXXIV, 19; CLXXXIX, 25.**

Cocks, **CXCIV, 13–19.** Seven varieties. These are well made in comparison with most of the figurines of the period, and with deer are the most popular of the animal types at this time.

Lions, **CXCIV, 6–11.** Six varieties, only one of which survives from Lead II, **CXCIV, 9 = CLXXXVII, 3.**

Bulls, **CXCIV, 12.** One variety only.

Deer, **CXCIV, 1–5.** Five varieties. This animal is not known before this period and at once becomes a popular votive offering.

Other Votives.

Wreaths: Ball, **CXCIV, 51.**
Pomegranate Bud, **CXCIV, 50.**
Spike, **CXCIV, 52.**

The first two types, though the figurines are smaller and more roughly made, still survive, but in numbers and popularity they are completely overshadowed by the spike wreaths which were dedicated in thousands.

Palm Branches, **CXCIV, 45, 47–49.** Fig. 126, *h*. Four varieties. These now become fairly popular, as is shown by the increased number of varieties. Perhaps the peculiar figurine, **CXCIV, 46,** may be considered as allied to this type.

Miscellaneous: Grilles, **CXCIV, 42–44.** These mysterious votives still persist, but become smaller and usually have small knobs at the lower end.

Caduceus (?), **CXCIV, 27.** This identification is not certain.

Lead V. **Pls. CXCVIII–CXCIX.**

By this period the great popularity of the lead figurines had passed, and although one or two new types occur, yet except for the spike wreaths and the deer they were no longer offered in such quantities as before and the jewellery types practically cease. The women and warrior and winged goddess types still remain favourites.

Jewellery Types.

Pomegranate Buds, **CXCIX, 19.** One variety only, and the identification of this is not certain.

Human and Animal Types.

Mythical.

Winged Goddesses, **CXCVIII, 23–29.** Seven varieties. One at least, **CXCVIII, 25,** survives from the last period and one in profile is peculiar to this period, **CXCVIII, 29.**

Goddess with Bow, **CXCIX, 9, 10.** Two varieties.

With Spear and Aegis, **CXCIX, 1–4, 6–8,** Fig. 129. Eight varieties. Two of them are broken and it is not certain, though probable, that they had both spear and aegis. In one case the aegis has a gorgoneion as well as a fringe of snakes, **CXCIX, 6.**

Fig. 129.—Lead Figurine. (Scale 4 : 5.)

With Spear, Shield and Aegis, **CXCIX, 5.** One variety.

In long chiton holding Spear, **CXCVIII, 20–22.** This type seems to represent a goddess, though the exact interpretation is doubtful.

God with Trident, **CXCVIII, 13, 15,** Fig. 127, *a*, *b*.

With Trident and Fish, Fig. 127, *e*, **CXCVIII, 17.**

With Trident and Ram, **CXCVIII, 12,** Fig. 127, *d*.

With Caduceus and Ram, **CXCVIII, 14,** Fig. 127, *c*.

As in the last period there can also be included with these types the figure of a man in a chiton carrying a ram on his left arm, **CXCVIII, 11.** Allied to this is perhaps the man in a short chiton, **CXCVIII, 16.** One type of god with trident and fish seems peculiar to this period, **CXCVIII, 17,** Fig. 127, *e*.

Natural Subjects.

Human.

Women Votaries, **CXCVIII, 30–39.** Ten varieties, all of which are crudely made and with one exception are small.

Warriors, **CXCVIII, 1–10.** Ten varieties, of which the smaller are the commoner. Shields with blazons in the larger varieties are more frequent than those with rosettes. The whirling pattern disappears.

Bowmen, **CXCVIII, 18, 19.** Two varieties, both new and both carrying bows made of two pieces of curved horn joined in the middle. One of them, **CXCVIII, 18,** cf. Fig. 125, *h*, has an elaborately ornamented bow and carries a quiver on his shoulder.

Animals.

Cocks, **CXCIX, 17, 18.** Two varieties, both small and poorly made.

Deer, **CXCIX, 11–16.** Six varieties, one of which continues from the last period. They now form practically the only animal type among the figurines.

Other Votives.

Wreaths : Ball, **CXCIX, 26.**
Pomegranate Bud, **CXCIX, 25.**
Spike, **CXCIX, 24.**

These three types still continue, but the spike wreaths are still the most popular and the other two types tend to die out altogether.

Palm and Other Branches, **CXCIX, 20–22.** Three varieties. Only one can really be called a palm branch, **CXCIX, 22.** The second is perhaps an olive branch, **CXCIX, 21,** and the third, though only doubtfully a branch at all, may, as in the last period, see **CXCIX, 20,** be classed with this type.

Grilles, **CXCIX, 23.** These inexplicable votives still continue, but there is practically only one variety.

Lead VI. **Pl. CC.**

In this period the lead figurines die out and only a few types appear, among which the spike wreaths and the deer are the most popular and characteristic.

Mythical Subjects.

Winged Goddesses, **CC, 1, 2.** Two types, one of which appears in the two previous periods; cf. **CXCVIII, 25, 27; CXCV, 4.**

Goddess with Spear and Aegis, **CC, 3, 4, 6.** Three varieties, one of which, **CC, 6,** is very crude and peculiar to this period.

Goddess in long chiton holding Spear, **CC, 5.** One variety, a survival from the last period, see **CXCVIII, 20–22.**

God with Trident, **CC, 9.** One variety, a survival from the last two periods.

Natural Subjects.

Human.

Women Votaries, **CC, 7, 8.** Two varieties, both quite small.

Warriors, **CC, 10–12.** Three varieties. The blazoned shields do not appear in this period.

Animals.

Deer, **CC, 14–20.** Seven varieties which illustrate the popularity of the type, the only animal type to survive. One variety, **CC, 14,** continues from Lead III–IV, **CXCIX, 11.**

Other Votives.

Wreaths: Spike, **CC, 22.** This is the only type of wreath to continue and it still occurs in considerable numbers.

Palm Branches, **CC, 21.** One variety only.

Discs, **CC, 23–27.** Six varieties. One has a rosette pattern, others have simple concentric circles and the rest are plain, but scyphate in shape. All have a hole punched through the centre. They do not appear before this period and have no obvious interpretation.

Dress.

Owing to the small size of the figurines and the rough manner in which the majority of them were cast, the details of the dress of the women and of the winged goddesses cannot be observed with any accuracy. It has been

suggested [85] that they wear something like the Mycenaean bodice and skirt, but this view does not seem borne out by a close examination of the figurines. Where any detail is observable, as in the groups of the goddess with her lions and her votaries, Figs. 120, 121, *a*, *e*, and in some of the better-made figurines,[86] the Doric chiton seems always to be worn as on the ivories and terracottas, **XXVIII–XXXII, XCI–XCVIII, CXIX.** It is usually girt in fairly tightly at the waist, and there is nearly always a difference in pattern between the upper part of the garment and the skirt, this being due probably to the apoptygma. There is no indication in the case of the goddesses how a Doric chiton could be worn with a pair of wings. It is impossible to tell whether the patterns represented on the skirts are intended to imitate the designs of the actual textiles (cf. Fig. 126, *a*, *c*), or whether they are mere decoration added by the artist's fancy. In any case, if real textile patterns, they all give quite simple designs of a geometric character which could be easily rendered in weaving and do not imply embroidered or applied ornamentation.

The men are usually nude, at least the musicians, bowmen, riders and allied types are mostly naked, and the warriors seem to wear nothing except their armament. On the other hand, some of the Poseidon [87] types carry a chlamys and some of the others, such as the Hermes [88] type, wear a short chiton.

The Evolution of the Figurines.

From the above analysis of the different types and their varieties which occur in the successive periods, it will have been recognised that, after a study of the differences that prevail between the periods, it is not very difficult to date a deposit of any considerable number of lead figurines according to the types it contains. Thus we dated by them the later (Laconian V and VI) deposits in the arena where pottery was very scarce. It will therefore be a convenience to append here a summary of the differences which distinguish one period from another, always, of course, with the reserve that future discoveries may cause some modification of these results. Since, however, these conclusions hold good for the many thousand figurines found both at the Orthia sanctuary and at the Menelaion, no great modification perhaps need be expected.

Lead 0.—The distinguishing feature of this period is that the types found are thickly cast and more carefully modelled than the later figurines. Further, no wreaths occur and the types are practically confined to imitations of jewellery. Types such as the tortoises, **CLXXIX, 4, 5,** and the earrings, **CLXXIX, 6–9,** seem to be peculiar to this period.

Lead I.—With this period the human and animal types begin and the jewellery or ornamental types are popular. Most, however, of these types, such as double axes, grids, tasselled pendants, ornaments with four spirals, bracelets (?), Ionic capitals, protomai, scarab rings, and mirrors occur also

[85] *B.S.A.* ix, p. 386; *B.S.A.* xii, p. 324; but *v. S.M.C.*, p. 230.

[86] *E.g.* **Pls. CLXXXII, 21–25; CXC, 22–30.**

[87] *E.g.* Fig. 127, *a*, *b*, *d-h*.

[88] *E.g.* Fig. 127, *c*.

in Lead II, and generally speaking a deposit of Lead I can be distinguished best from one of Lead II by the actual number of the figurines and the number of different types represented. A deposit of Lead I date should have only about half the number of figurines which a deposit of Lead II would have, and the number of types represented should also be about half as great. A few types, of which hardly more than one specimen each has been found, seem to be peculiar to Lead I, the plaque with the goddess and lions, the fish, the centaur, the boar, the lyre, the gorgon [89]; but the very rarity of these types shows that their presence or absence would be an unsound basis for dating any particular deposit.

Lead II.—The outstanding feature of this period is that figurines become commoner and that a great number of types, many of which have several varieties, are employed. The most frequent types are women, winged goddesses, warriors, and ball wreaths, all of which in any given deposit of this period are present in about equal numbers. This is in strong contrast to the later periods, in which, as will be seen, the wreaths greatly outnumber all the types together. Yet one or two types, which have been found in sufficient number both here and at the Menelaion, seem to be peculiar to this period. Such are the winged goddess, **CLXXXVIII, 14**; the lions, **CLXXXVII, 2, 7, 10**; the female lyre-player, **CLXXXIX, 7**; the warriors, Fig. 122, *e*, **CXCI, 26,** and the seated satyr,[90] Fig. 122, *c*, which occurs at the Menelaion, but not at the Orthia site.[91] Animal types are specially popular during this period, and bulls and the horse-head ornament first appear and solid figures are in vogue.

Lead III–IV.—With this period the figurines change profoundly, in that the total number of types and varieties in use decreases greatly, especially the jewellery and animal types, yet at the same time the total number of figurines increases to an amazing degree, for more than half the total number of figurines found belong to this period. This is brought about by the excessive quantity of certain types, especially the spike wreaths, which, though they make a tentative appearance towards the close of the preceding period, now achieve tremendous popularity. For instance, in the deposit to the south of the second temple there are 8600 spike wreaths against 3725 figurines of all types. The solid figures continue, but apparently die out by Lead IV. The types of winged goddesses change very much, and so do those of the women and the warriors. In all three types the figurines become much smaller and seem to have been much more hastily and roughly made. Types that seem to be peculiar to this period are the framed amphora plaques **CXCIV, 4,** Fig. 125, *j*; the horsemen, **CXCVII, 40, 41, 45,** and the Athena-like figures with shield and spear and aegis, **CXCVI, 16.** Types which make their first appearance are the warriors with blazons on their shields and the different varieties of goddesses with an aegis, **CXCVI,** and what may be called the Poseidon and Hermes types.[92] A notable new-comer is the deer, the animal specially connected with

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[89] *V.* pp. 258, 259, 262, 263, **Pls. CLXXX, 19; CLXXXIII, 29; CLXXXIV, 17, 18, 21,** Fig. 119.

[90] Cf. the Corinthian Vase in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. VII.

[91] *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VII. 20.

[92] *V.* Fig. 127, **Pls. CXCVI, 29–31; CXCVIII, 12–17.**

Artemis, which makes its appearance when the lions of Orthia noticeably diminish in number.

Lead V.—With this period begins the decline of the figurines and far fewer were found in deposits to be assigned to it. The spike wreaths still maintain their preponderance over the other types, and in the deposit immediately east of the Greek altar 2048 spike wreaths were found against a total of 541 of all other types together. Animals types now decrease, and only deer, the most popular, and cocks are found, and jewellery types cease also except for pomegranate bud pendants. Most popular are the winged goddesses, the women, the warriors, the various aegis-wearing goddesses and the Poseidon and Hermes types. Of these, **CXCIX, 5,** and **CXCVIII, 17,** seem to be peculiar to this period, with the two bowmen, **CXCVIII, 18, 19.**

Lead VI.—In this last period the exhaustion of the figurines is only too apparent, but the spike wreaths still keep in advance of the others. In the deposits of this age, among the houses east of the Greek altar, 1798 spike wreaths were found as against 1092 of all the other types together. Characteristic and apparently peculiar to this period are the discs **CC, 24–27,** deer like **CC, 20,** and aegis-wearing goddesses like **CC, 4.**

The Figurines and the Cult.

When the evolution in the types of the figurines outlined is carefully considered, there naturally arises the idea that the change in the figurines may be concerned in some way with changes in the cult or in the attributes of the goddess. Orthia, it has been suggested by Professor Nilsson,[93] was one of the many local goddesses surviving from the Minoan-Mycenaean pantheon, and to judge by the representations on the ivory plaques could be considered a πότνια θηρῶν. Consequently it is not surprising that among the earlier figurines, especially in Lead I and II (700–600 B.C.), animal types except deer are very popular, and fish, goats, bulls, boars, cocks, lions and horses, and the peculiar type of ornament with horse-heads, Fig. 123, are especially prominent. Further, several of the jewellery types or patterns occur also in the Minoan-Mycenaean age[94]; sphinxes, bulls, oxheads, earrings like **CLXXIX, 15, 16,** double axes, ornaments with four spirals, Ionic capitals, and rosettes with pendant holes for suspension. The combination of double axe and lion occurs on two seal stones from Tomb 515 at Mycenae.[95] Thus, although the actual sanctuary of Orthia does not go back beyond the Iron Age, yet the offerings and attributes mentioned above seem to suggest that the goddess Orthia herself had descended from the Bronze Age, or that her cult at least had close relationship with the cults of that period. During the period covered by Lead III and IV (600–500 B.C.) a distinct change takes place in the character of the votives. The older jewellery types and the animal figurines decrease rapidly in number and many of them become extinct. Only one new animal type appears, and that is the deer, the favourite of Artemis. Further, in

[93] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p.433.
[94] *V.* pp. 255 *sqq.*, 265 *sqq.*
[95] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Pl. II, 9. See, however, p. 401 below.

addition to the winged goddesses, other goddesses with the aegis appear, and some of these are armed with the bow. Finally, all animal types die out except the deer, which remains popular to the end. Also in this same period as the jewellery and ornamental motives decrease and vanish, so the ordinary types of votives, wreaths, winged goddesses, women and warriors multiply. It would seem then that a great change in the cult itself gradually took place during the sixth century. The presence of the deer and of the goddesses with bows suggests that the change was the identification of Orthia with Artemis, or perhaps even the eclipse of Orthia by Artemis. In this connexion it is to be observed that the figurines found at the Menelaion follow the same general rule as to change of type as those from the Orthia sanctuary, and also include deer.[96] This would suggest that Helen and Orthia belong to the same type of local goddess,[97] and that each was regarded as a πότνια θηρῶν. Yet Helen seems to have preserved her individuality throughout and was never absorbed by another goddess, while Orthia succumbed to Artemis, for to Pausanias [98] the Menelaion is the shrine of Helen and Menelaus, but the Limnaion is the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, though most early inscriptions are dedications to Orthia.[99] If then such a change in the cult did take place, the evidence of these figurines would hint that it came to pass during the sixth century, and that thereafter the goddess was assimilated as far as possible to Artemis.

Style.

Objects so small as these figurines which were also made so roughly and quickly and produced in such numbers, and so cheaply, afford few points by which their style can be estimated with any degree of satisfaction. Since they seem so far as the Peloponnese is concerned to be peculiar to Sparta, it may be assumed that they are all of Spartan or Laconian fabric, and therefore, so far as they have any stylistic value, may be considered to be characteristically Laconian. Votives of all kinds have a natural tendency to follow a conservative tradition, and these figurines are no exception. The style of the earlier periods is inevitably archaic, and this archaic air seems to be preserved even down to the last period. The drawing of the figures is distinctly Peloponnesian and related to Corinthian art, though here and there, especially in the winged goddesses, lions and sphinxes, Ionian influences can be traced. Several of the earlier types of women votaries and of winged goddesses, which are in full profile and severe in treatment, at once recall the figures of *adorantes* on the Chrysapha relief in Berlin [100] and a somewhat similar hero relief in the Sparta Museum.[101] The *adorantes* on these reliefs are carrying pomegranates, cocks and pomegranate flowers, all of which appear among the lead figurines themselves. There is naturally a close kinship in style between the figurines and the ivory carvings, since the former in some

[96] *B.S.A.* xv. p. 140, Fig. 11, 1–6.

[97] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 456.

[98] III. 19, 9.

[99] See pp. 367, 371 *sqq.*

[100] E. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 149, Fig. 22.

[101] *S.M.C.*, No. 3.

cases imitate the latter.[102] The fish, **CLXXXIV, 17,** resembles those on the ivory relief of the ship, **CIX, CX,** and the lions and winged goddesses, when allowance is made for the difference of material, show the same style as those which appear on the ivories.[103] In particular the group of the goddess and her votaries, Fig. 120, and the imitation fibula plaque in lead, Fig. 119, show, as might be expected, a clear attempt to achieve the same result as the ivories, though in a very different technique. It is, however, in the pottery that the closest likeness to the lead figurines can be found, and the drawing of the human figures and the animals is so reminiscent of the Laconian vases that, owing to their own obvious Spartan origin, they provide yet another argument, if one were necessary, for the Spartan origin of the Laconian vase style. The animals which decorate the vases, cocks, sphinxes, deer, water-birds, and the warriors and other human types are at their zenith in the Third and Fourth Laconian periods,[104] that is, just at the time when they are equally prominent among the lead figures. The warriors on the Berlin kylix carrying their dead comrade [105] are akin to some of the Poseidon and Hermes types [106] of Lead III–IV, and the running figures on the kylix from Sparta [107] and on the Arkesilas vase [108] recall the small running lead figurines.[109] The small figurines of running men, flute-players and the like, especially those which have a rather satyric appearance,[110] can be compared with the figures on the kylix from Sparta, pp. 85, 97, Fig. 68. Individual resemblances between particular type of lead figurines and Laconian vase paintings could be much prolonged, but the above instances are enough to indicate the stylistic relationship between the two. The pomegranate, which plays a prominent part in the decoration of the Laconian vase,[111] is also to the fore among the lead figurines, both among the wreaths and among the ornamental types. Thus, when the figurines are compared with the vases, ivories or sculpture, the same characteristics which can be claimed as definitely Laconian are to be recognised in them all, and they all display a distinctly Peloponnesian spirit in spite of the obvious influences from Eastern Greece.

A. J. B. Wace.

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[102] *V.* pp. 261, 267.

[103] *V.* **Pl. XCI ff.**

[104] *V.* pp. 80 *sqq.*

[105] *C.A.H., Plates* I, p. 379; cf. also the vase, *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 19, Fig. 7.

[106] *V.* Fig. 127.

[107] *V.* **Pl. IX.**

[108] *Corpus Vasorum,* France 7, Bibliothèque Nationale 1, Pls. 20, 21.

[109] *E.g.* **Pls. CXCVI, 26; CXCVII, 28, 31, 39,** Fig. 122, *g, h.*

[110] *E.g.* **Pls. CXCVI, 19, 21–24; CXCVII, 27–32, 34–37;** cf. *B.S.A.* xxviii. p. 71, Fig. 13 *d.*

[111] *V.* pp. 112 *sqq.*

CHAPTER X

INSCRIPTIONS

Introduction

The inscriptions from the site may be conveniently divided into two parts, the first, and larger, of which consists of those engraved on marble or other hard stone; and the second comprises the various minor inscriptions on votive objects, which fall appropriately into groups according to the material on which they are engraved, or (in the case of some of those on pottery) painted, as follows :—(A) on carvings in soft stone; (B) on bronze objects; (C) on ivory and bone; (D) on pottery. Since the contents of Part 2 have formed the subject of a recent and comprehensive study (*B.S.A.* xxiv. pp. 88–117), they need not be discussed again here, and a short summary of them, on pp. 367 *sqq.* below, will, it is hoped, prove sufficient for our purpose.

Of Part 1 the great majority have been published already in successive volumes of the *Annual*, beginning with No. XII (1905–6), and all these are reprinted in the *Corpus* (*I.G.* v. 1, *Inscriptiones Graecae Laconiae et Messeniae*, ed. W. Kolbe, Berlin, 1913). Nevertheless, it seems fully worth while to publish them again here, for more than one reason. In the first place, further examination of the stones by the writer of this chapter has enabled him to obtain improved readings of many of the texts, and he has accordingly prepared more exact facsimiles where they seemed desirable, as well as facsimiles of all the texts from the excavations previously reproduced in type only. Secondly, in order to present a complete conspectus of the epigraphical material there are now included a number of fragments omitted from the previous publications owing to their small size and unimportant, and very often unintelligible, contents; to these, however, must be added a complete statue-base found in a supplementary excavation on the site in 1928 (No. 144), and a fragment which joins and furnishes a satisfactory restoration for a stele-fragment found in 1907 (No. 63). Lastly, the writer has been enabled to make some definite progress towards a fuller understanding both of the date and of the interpretation of several of these inscriptions, partly thanks to restorations and other suggestions proposed by Kolbe in the *Corpus*, and partly in the light of the important series of documents discovered during his own excavations at the Theatre in 1924–27.

Of the first part the most numerous and most interesting are the dedications by victors, mostly boys, who won prizes in contests held apparently in honour of the goddess Orthia. When it is recalled that before the excavations began not more than eight, or at most nine, of these inscriptions were known, and that

their interpretation in all details was by no means a matter of general agreement, whereas now the total number recognised as belonging to the series exceeds one hundred and thirty, the importance of the excavations from this point of view needs no emphasis. In order to present all the available material in a convenient form, the examples known before 1906 are included here, as well as four which were found elsewhere than at the site of the Orthia sanctuary, during the years 1906–10 (Nos. 68, 95, 105, 127): of these, No. 68 was found built into a private house in Sparta, No. 105 was last seen in the possession of the late Mr. Matallas, the owner of the site prior to its expropriation, at his house at Aphesou, across the Eurotas from Sparta, and the other two—both small, unpublished fragments—were found during trial excavations, No. 95 close to the south slope of the Acropolis, and No. 127 in the garden of a house to the west of modern Sparta. This dispersal of the inscriptions from the site is not surprising, seeing that the ruins of the Roman circus must have served as a convenient quarry for builders for many decades past, proof of which is found in the fact that of the few inscriptions of this class known before 1906, two were obtained at Magoula (Nos. 7 and 62) and one from a church at Sparta (or Mistra?) (No. 69), while one (No. 42) is still built into a house-wall in Sparta.

The Formulae employed on the Votive Stelai.—These inscriptions normally consist of a dedication to the goddess Orthia (or Artemis Orthia, but never to Artemis without the other title), engraved on a marble stele with pediment and acroteria, of an iron sickle, for which there is usually a groove or socket cut in the stone. The sickle was the prize of victory, as some of the dedicators tell us,[1] and when, as was often the case, a victor won more than one contest he dedicated more than one sickle; the maximum number of sockets on any stone is five on No. 1; there is one example with four (No. 41), and several stones have sockets for three and two. Nor was it unknown for a boy-victor to join with another, perhaps his brother or cousin, in a joint dedication of their two sickles (as, for instance, No. 46, and probably No. 47, though no sockets are preserved on this fragmentary stone). For the ritual associations of the sickle see Chapter XII, below.

The dedication is usually in prose, but we have nine examples (Nos. 1–9) which are wholly, or partly, metrical, and thus depart from the usual formulae; No. 4 adds an elegiac couplet at the end of a prose dedication of normal type. The name of the eponymous Patronomos of the year is usually added, prefaced with ἐπί, in the genitive case, and in some instances the activity on his behalf of a deputy-Patronomos is mentioned (Nos. 29, 30, 48); this practice furnishes invaluable aid towards the dating of many of the texts of the series. That the contests were mainly, if not entirely, competed in by boys is proved by the fact that, in nearly all the inscriptions complete enough to be used as evidence, the term τὸ παιδικόν (παιδιχόν) is employed to describe them, or explicit mention is made of the age of the victor (μικκιζόμενος, πρατοπάμπαις, *vel sim.*); sometimes both alternatives appear in conjunction. As this point has been fully discussed by Tillyard (*B.S.A.* xii. pp. 380 *sqq.*) and by the present writer (*op. cit.*, xv. pp. 44 *sqq.*), and summarised by Kolbe (*I.G.* v. 1, p. 79), it need not be further

[1] In Nos. 4, 8 and 9.

dealt with. It is, however, permissible to add that to the thirty-six instances of the use of the word παιδικόν, tabulated in *B.S.A.* xv. p. 44, note 2, six more may be added, if we include practically certain restorations (Nos. 96, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112 of those here published), and that the references to the age of the victor amount to twenty-nine, as we may add Nos. 63, 86, 99 and 129 to the twenty-five previously collected. Examples of the definite omission of any indication that the contest was among boys number only seven (Nos. 25, 51, 55, 57, 60, 62, 70), of which the first belongs to the Flavian era, and the rest to the late second, or in some cases perhaps the early third, century. That these may relate to victories gained by boys who had attained the status of ἔφηβοι, as was suggested (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 45), remains a conjecture, which would gain in cogency if we had a single reference to a victory won by an Ephebos, but in the circumstances carries little weight.

The view which seems to accord best with the evidence alike from the inscriptions and from general probability is that there was not a separate contest in each of the events commemorated for boys in each of the six years of their state-training, but that they competed, or were entitled to compete, in them without regard to age-classes.[2] This best accounts for the comprehensive nature of the term τὸ παιδικόν, and explains why we have not as many dedications by boys of other ages as we have of μικκιζόμενοι. The few apparent examples to the contrary (*e.g.* No. 31, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 366, 15 in which Onasikleidas is described as νεικάσας κασσηρατόριν πρατοπαμπαίδων, ἁτροπαμπαίδων,[3] εἰρένων δὲ κελοῖαν) seem capable of explanation as due to a loosely descriptive use of the genitives; in No. 44 the phrase κελοῖαν μικιχιζομένων may be similarly regarded.

In discussing the few examples of these inscriptions then known, Preger put forward the view that they commemorated victories won by teams, led in each case by a βουαγός.[4] This was followed by Tillyard,[5] who regarded it as probable that the musical contests, at any rate, consisted of choral singing; but with some hesitation, as it was clear that many of the texts found in 1906 represented dedications by boys who were not βουαγοί and, *ex hypothesi*, not team-leaders. Actually, however, none of the texts which have come down to us give any indication whatsoever that the prizes were competed for, or dedicated after victory, by teams; and there is no reason for doubting the correctness of the natural conclusion that without exception the winners were individuals. In fact, we may feel sure that had they been teams they would have commemorated the fact accordingly, after the manner of the victorious teams of Σφαιρεῖς, who recorded on their stele the name of every member of the side.[6]

[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xv. p. 47 f.

[3] For these two terms *v. B.S.A.* xv. pp. 46 *sq.*, where it is shown that they are used to describe boys in their eleventh and twelfth years respectively. Kretschmer has suggested, *Glotta*, iii. pp. 269 *sq.*, that ἁτροπάμπαις = ἁδροπάμπαις, 'der reife, ausgewachsene πάμπαις gegenüber dem in ersten Stadium befindlichen, dem πρατοπάμπαις,' quoting from *G.D.I.*, 3591, 3593, 3627, 3637, Βατρόμιος for Βαδρόμιος (from Kalymnos and Kos). The writer's derivation from ἕτερος (= ἄτερος = ἄτρος) still seems to him preferable, as pointing the contrast with πρατοπάμπαις.

[4] *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. pp. 338 *sq.*

[5] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 354, 386 *sq.*

[6] *I.G.* v. 1, 674 *sqq.*

The Nature of the Contests.—The three principal contests are well known, and call for no further discussion, namely, the καθθηρατόριον (καθθηρατόριν, κασσηρατόριν, etc.), some sort of hunting-game played by the boys, and, in view of the age of the competitors, surely not a literal ταυροκαθαψία, as some commentators had interpreted it;[7] the κελοῖα (κελῆα, καιλοῖα, etc.) and the μῶα (= μοῦσα), both musical contests, apparently vocal and not instrumental, about which we do not know enough to state their distinguishing features. Of these three contests we have records of about thirty victories in the first-named, about thirty-two in the second, and twenty-two in the third, reckoning all instances where the words are either certain or a very probable restoration.

In addition to these we have one fragmentary stele set up by a victor in the καρτερίας ἀγών (No. 37), dating from about 100 A.D., which is too incomplete to show whether it comprised the dedication of a sickle. Certainly there is no particular reason to suppose that it did not. This dedication must refer to the famous ritual contest of flogging at the altar of the goddess, victory in which entitled the assumption of the name βωμονίκης. It is too well known to need further comment here, and is referred to again below.[8] Four other texts must, however, be mentioned as indicating the existence of other contests not recognised at the time of publication. Kolbe is undoubtedly right in pointing out that the attempts of Tillyard and the writer to interpret their names as those of Eponymoi, and not of contests, were mistaken. Unluckily all four are fragmentary, and none permit of a full and certain restoration. They read as follows: No. 11, Δάμιππος Ἀβολήτου | ἐπὶ Σιδάμου νικάσας τ[ὸ] | παιδιχὸν ε̣ρ̣ . . . . | μώαι [καὶ κυνα] || γέτα[ι-]: No. 16, Λαχάρης Λαχάρε|ος νικάας τὸ π̣[αιδι]|χὸν κ̣ελέ̣ρ̣[ι καὶ (?)] εὐβάλκ̣[ει ἐπὶ πα] || τρονόμ[ω . . . . .] | δα καὶ Σρ̣ - - | καὶ Κλεοξ̣[ένω . .] | καὶ κυναγ[έται - -] | καὶ δερει̣ - - - || νίκαθρον Β[ορθέαι]: No. 18, Π̣ρατιάδας | Ἀ̣ρίστ̣ω̣νος | γικάας τὸ παι|δ̣ιχὸν κετεύ||ων ἐν τῶι εὐβάλκει καὶ κ̣υ̣ν̣α̣γ̣έ̣τ̣[αι] and No. 84, where we have in the last three lines κελείαι τὸ|[παιδιχὸν (?) τ]ὸ τῷ̣ εὐβάλ|[κει καὶ τῷ̣] κ̣[υ]ν̣α̣γ̣έ̣[ται]. Certain features emerge clearly, namely, that in all four we have a contest called (ὁ) κυναγέτας, and in the last three one called (ὁ) εὐβάλκης[9] and that the winner of No. 11 wins also in the μῶα, and the winner of No. 16 also in the κελεία. We may at least be sure that the εὐβάλκης and the κυναγέτας are distinct from each other and from the two musical contests. Now it is of importance to observe that in none of these four texts have we mention of the καθθηρατόριον, and we may reasonably ask if one or other of the newly-mentioned contests may not be another name for it. Seeing the similarity in sense between the two terms κυναγέτας and καθθηρατόριον, it is plain that of the two alternatives the κυναγέτας is the more likely to fulfil our requirements. We should observe also that there is a general similarity of formulae between all four fragments in the use of the dative for the name

[7] *I.G.* v. 1, p. 79, '*cum in ipsa voce non insit, taurum mittamus*' (Wilamowitz).

[8] Chap. xii. pp. 404 *sq.*

[9] Bourguet, however, believes there to have been heroes of these names at whose shrines the victories (at any rate in No. 18) were gained. This seems highly speculative. See his *Dialecte Laconien*, p. 126.

of the contests, and that this is a feature typical of the earlier stones in our series (as dated by the mention in them of persons known to belong to the first century B.C.). Thus we may class these four fragments as early—a conclusion with which the letter-forms do not conflict—and proceed with more confidence to the belief that the hunt-game was for some time called the κυναγέτας, and received only later the more familiar name of καθθηρατόριον, of which the earliest datable example comes in No. 27, which belongs to the era of the Flavians. From this time onwards the new name seems to have been used, in one or other of its many forms, exclusively.

Εὐβάλκης is less easy to explain. It must be the same word as εὐάλκης, an extremely rare adjective meaning 'robust' (used once by Clement of Alexandria with νεότης, p. 411), but familiar as a Spartan name both as Εὐάλκης (*I.G.* v. 1, 1124, the tombstone of a man who fell at Mantinea), and as Εὐβάλκης (father of one Λίβυς, v. 1, 210, l. 17). Further, Εὐβάλκης Ὀλυμπιονίκα[ς] (v. 1, 649, l. 2) is believed to be a proper name. But ἐν τῶι εὐβάλκει must be the name of a contest, not, as Tillyard and the writer originally thought, that of the Eponymos expressed in an unusual way. No such contest is known in connexion with the worship of Orthia or at any other Spartan sanctuary, and we may again ask if it may not be an earlier synonym for a contest known by another name. While it would not be surprising to find an allusion to a victory won elsewhere, of which we have a good example in No. 41 (victories in the boys' wrestling matches at the sanctuaries of Poseidon Gaöchos and of Athena), the alternative must not be too promptly rejected, and it is tempting to propose that the εὐβάλκης (ἀγών) is an earlier name for the ordeal by flogging, the καρτερίας ἀγών, of which we have a record in No. 37, as already mentioned. If we admit the possibility, fuller consideration tends to confirm it: we find our victors in it had all been victors in the κυναγέτας, a proof no doubt of physical endurance; and we may also take into account the fact that the more barbarous and spectacular side of the flogging at the altar seems to have been a development mostly of Roman Imperial times.[10] Thus it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that victors in the contest of endurance in the first century B.C. were satisfied with recording their success along with other less exacting triumphs on the same votive stele. The time had not yet come for the victor in this contest to be rewarded with one or more statues (*e.g.* Nos. 142—144 below), as was the practice about the end of the second century of our era. If then we accept the explanation of εὐβάλκης as the earlier name for the καρτερίας ἀγών, may we not perhaps see in Εὐβάλκης in the inscription already mentioned (v. 1, 649), not a proper name but an allusion to the victory in this contest of the man whose name comes in l. 1?; line 2 will thus give the names of two victories which he won. The fact that the two words are separated by a space, whereas his name and title (Διάρης ἰαρεύς) are not so spaced in l. 1, affords further evidence in favour of the suggested interpretation.

The other terms found in Nos. 16 and 18 defy explanation; as we cannot complete lines 6, 7, and 9 of the former we cannot be quite sure which elements belong to the names of the three (?) Eponymoi under whom Lachares won his

[10] Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 314 *sqq.*; chap. xii. p. 405, below.

victories (attested by three sickle-sockets). And the letters καὶ δερει- in l. 9, in which Kolbe sees a possible allusion to Artemis Dereatis, are in any case hard to combine with the construction of the remaining words. No easier is it to explain κετεύων in No. 18, for the writer's original—and very unconvincing—suggestion of an error for some word, *e.g.* κε(λ)εύων, which might be connected with κελοῖα, *vel sim.*, will not stand at all now that we know better the meaning of εὐβάλκης and κυναγέτας, which follow it. It seems rather to be a participle than a genitive plural, but is not explicable as it stands.[11]

The Terms βουαγός, κάσεν, συνέφηβος. It seems desirable to add a note on these three terms, which occur frequently in the inscriptions of this series and are only to be understood when considered together. They have received no little attention, but there is still some vagueness as to the interpretation of the last two, and the origin of the word κάσεν is, moreover, a subject of dispute. As they all occur frequently in other Spartan inscriptions, such as lists of magistrates, it is clear that they were not restricted to dedications by boys. As to the meaning of βουαγός, fortunately there is no room for doubt, as the gloss of Hesychius, βουαγόρ· ἀγελάρχης, ὁ τῆς ἀγέλης ἄρχων παῖς, gives entirely satisfactory sense, and refers to a distinction conferred in boyhood and lasting through life. Exactly how the leader of the ἀγέλη was chosen, and to what extent the choice was influenced or dictated by membership of a distinguished family, we cannot tell. In the inscriptions here considered we have twenty-eight dedications by βουαγοί, in twenty-two of which the boy describes himself as βουαγὸς (*vel sim.*) μικκιζομένων, in two as β. πρατοπαμπαίδων, and in the other four, one of which is metrical, as βουαγός alone. Now in none of the twenty-eight is the βουαγός described as κάσεν or συνέφηβος to any other person, and consequently none of the boys who appear in these dedications as κάσεν or as συνέφηβος to another, of which terms there are eleven and seven examples respectively, is a βουαγός. This establishes a strong presumption that it was to the βουαγός, and not to the πατρονόμος ἐπώνυμος, that a boy was κάσεν or συνέφηβος.[12] Kolbe dismisses the point without discussion, accepting Boeckh's original contention that the two terms referred to relationship to the Patronomos, a view which seemed to be justified as some—but by no means all—of the persons to whom Spartans were described as κάσεν (*vel sim.*) were also known as Eponymoi. Now, however, that we have ample proof that the term κάσεν was used in boyhood, and retained for life, and also that no βουαγός was a κάσεν and no κάσεν a βουαγός, Boeckh's view of the matter can no longer stand; and as a result we must delete from the list of Eponymoi all those names which are based solely on the κάσεν relationship. In other words, we may here also take Hesychius literally when he writes

[11] The simplest emendation would be ἱκετεύων, but the sense would be better suited by πυκτεύων (for which we should have to assume that one or both of the contests partook of the nature of a boxing-match). The latter is distinctly tempting, in view of the Hesychius gloss (quoted by Preger, *op. cit.*, p. 341) : λιμνομάχαι· παῖδες οἱ πυκτεύοντες τόπῳ Λίμναις καλουμένῳ. This must surely refer either to εὐβάλκης or to κυναγέτας at the sanctuary of Orthia.

[12] Cf. *B.S.A.* xv. pp. 49 *sqq.*, where this is contended in the case of κάσεν.

κάσις· ἡλικιώτης, and κάσιοι (*sic*, κάσις *em.* Musurus) [13] οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί, etc., and recognise that a boy presumably called himself κάσεν to a βουαγός because he was his brother or cousin. Most of our examples indicate or imply the latter rather than the former alternative. That it cannot merely mean membership of the same ἀγέλη as the βουαγός is proved by the restricted use of the term, for many dedications are by boys who are neither βουαγοί nor described as κάσεν or συνέφηβος to another.[14]

Συνέφηβος is more obscure at first sight, and in spite of the inappropriateness of the term it seemed to the writer when last discussing its meaning in these inscriptions that Boeckh's view was probably right, that it meant a kind of boy-orderly, or perhaps even god-child, to the Eponymos.[15]

A fresh consideration of the evidence now shows that this is wrong and that the term συνέφηβος stands to βουαγός on a similar footing to κάσεν. Not only, as we have seen, is no βουαγός a συνέφηβος to another boy, but there is positive evidence for this corrected interpretation:—(1) In No. 8 of our texts we have the victor saying συνστέφομαι . . . τοῖσι βοαγοῖς and [αὐτὸ]ς δ' ἐκ πάν[τ]ων συν[εφήβων ε]ἵλ̣ο̣ν̣ [ἄ]εθλο̣ν̣, which can only mean that three victors were crowned, two being βουαγοί and the third a συνέφηβος (to one or both of them). (2) In No. 142 the victor in the καρτερίας ἀγών is συνέφηβος to two persons, and the βουαγοί (presumably the two referred to) defray the cost of the statue. (3) In No. 143 the victor in the same ordeal is συνέφηβος to one person, and the cost of the statue is defrayed by the mother of the βουαγός. (4) In a list of Nomophylakes found engraved on the east parodos-wall of the Theatre (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C3 (β)), the five names are followed by the words βουαγὸς καὶ συνέφηβοι, which must indicate that the president was a βουαγός and the other members his συνέφηβοι. The sense being thus clear, we must ask wherein it differs from κάσεν, and the answer must be that it means membership of the same ἀγέλη as the βουαγός, but without implying relationship; but at the same time it must have been a limited privilege, as the term is found much less frequently than κάσεν. But a further difficulty must be faced: it cannot be used merely as meaning simultaneous membership of an ἀγέλη as ἔφηβοι (*i.e.* at the age of fourteen and upwards), seeing that the term is used on more than one occasion by a μικκιζόμενος (Nos. 43 and 44), and once in connexion with τὸ παιδικόν. It must, in fact, have had a certain elasticity in its application, for we can hardly suppose that the victor at the age of ten waited till he was an ἔφηβος before recording his success and dedicating his sickle to the goddess. But that, like κάσεν, it can only refer to relationship to the βουαγός now seems absolutely certain.[16]

The form κάσεν is not easy—indeed it seems impossible—to account for; its sense is certainly that of κάσις, in the singular, but why it is invariably spelt

[13] Query κάσεις, A.M.W.; cf. *B.S.A.* xv. p. 49.

[14] There are approximately twenty texts in which this is certain.

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 *sq.*

[16] No convincing answer is offered for the curious case of Νέων (Νέωνος), who is described in two separate inscriptions, once as Δαμάρει κάσεν and once as συνέφηβος Δαμάρους, v. 1, 38, ll. 1–3, and 68, l. 16; ignorance on the part of the responsible person is not impossible.

κάσεν, when not abbreviated, is still obscure. We must notice the attempt made by Kretschmer [17] and Hoffmann,[18] and accepted unquestioningly by Bourguet,[19] to explain its origin as καθ' ἕν, in a prepositional sense = 'together with.' This usage, for which there seems no classical parallel whatsoever, would require the word to be followed invariably by the dative, but in No. 35 we have the victor describing himself as κάσεν to three persons whose names appear in the genitive, and the same usage is found in *I.G.* v. 1, 89, l. 16. Moreover, it seems most improbable that the derivation of the term should so far have been forgotten that it should never be used in its original form. Seeing that it so exactly corresponds to Hesychius's explanation of κάσις, it is surely more simple to regard it as an archaic alternative form, from the same root. If the ending seems unacceptable, might we not regard it as possibly an abbreviation for κασίγνητος, written originally κασιγν, and later regarded as an indeclinable neuter, of which we seem to have another example in the strange word ἀφατειν, *I.G.* v. 1, 209, l. 34?

The Dialect, as illustrated by these inscriptions, would demand a more prolonged treatment than there is space for in this introduction, and the appearance of Bourguet's *Dialecte Laconien*, where the principal features are admirably and fully dealt with, makes a fresh account of it superfluous.

The Dating of the Stelai from the Παιδικὸς Ἀγών. There is little to add to the considerations put forward by the writer in *B.S.A.* xv., though some conclusions there set forth must be modified in the light of fuller knowledge of Spartan prosopography, and some of the stones, of which the date was there left vague, can be dated with a fair amount of confidence.

Of the metrical texts, which are here placed first (Nos. 1–9), No. 1, the earliest of the whole series, belongs to the fourth century B.C., and very likely to its first half. No. 2 can hardly be later than the second century B.C.; No. 3 probably belongs to the first; Nos. 4 and 5 probably to an early date in the first century after Christ, and Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9 to the second. No. 8, by its lettering, can be little, if at all, earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius (161–180), and No. 7, in which use is made of στίχοι ἰσόψηφοι, may on that account be later still. The other two (Nos. 6 and 9) may well belong also to the second half of the second century, though we have little to guide us, except a general impression based on the letter-forms.

The Arrangement of the present Publication.—The majority of the better-preserved stones have been arranged as far as possible in chronological order (Nos. 10–71), and the fragmentary ones (Nos. 72–135) roughly grouped according to what is left of their contents. In arranging the former the present writer's conclusions are on the whole in agreement with Kolbe's order as set out in the *Corpus*, but where there seem good grounds for changing it, attention is called to them in the notes. As the arrangement here followed is tabulated below, further discussion can be avoided. In dealing with the fragments, very few of which seem likely to be earlier than the second century of our era, account has been taken of the lettering, the formulae, and the prosopography,

[17] *Glotta*, iii. p. 272.
[18] *G.D.I.* iv. p. 684.
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

where we have any clue from it. Two points not hitherto noticed seem to help us in placing otherwise doubtful fragments, namely, the use, or omission, of the heading Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, which is not found on any datable text before about A.D. 150, and the addition of the name of Artemis to that of Orthia, which seems unknown before the Flavian era, approximately. The archaising language is an obvious clue, to which attention was called in the discussion of the date of these texts (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 73 f.), and this argument need not be reconsidered here. But in spite of all these indications for the dating of many of the fragments, there still remain several which afford no satisfactory clue. All that can be said is that they do not seem likely to belong to a later date than the latest well-preserved stele, No. 71 (*ca.* A.D. 230), and that, as they shed no fresh light on the formulae of dedication, they can the more pardonably be left out of account.

The following table represents an attempt to group all the texts belonging to this series according to the dates to which they seem to belong. It will be understood that even now many of the dates assigned must be regarded as mere approximations, resting on very slight evidence.

Table showing Approximate Dating of the παιδικὸς ἀγών *Inscriptions.*

Fourth Century	B.C.	. . . .	1.
Second	,,	,, ...	2.
First	,,	,, (first half) . .	3, 10, 11.
First	,,	,, (second half) . .	4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 84, 91.
First	,,	A.D. (first half) . .	17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 89.
First	,,	,, (50–80) . . .	25, 26, 27, 29.
First	,,	,, (81–100) . . .	30, 31.
First	,,	,, (presumably) . .	22, 28, 32.
Second	,,	,, (Reign of Trajan) .	33, 34, 35, 36, 37.
Second	,,	,, (Reign of Hadrian) .	38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45.
Second	,,	,, (Reign of Antoninus) .	46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.
Second	,,	,, (first half) . .	6, 41, 47, 53, 54, 73, 90.
Second	,,	,, (Reign of M. Aurelius)	55, 56.
Second	,,	,, (180–200) . . .	63, 64, 65, 66, 67.
Second	,,	,, (second half) . .	7, 8, 9, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 72.
Third	,,	,, (201–25) . . .	68, 69, 70.
Third	,,	,, (226–40) . . .	71.

Rough Classification of the Smaller Fragments.

Before 150 A.D. .	42, 78, 79, 81, 92, 95, 96, 102, 110, 112, 115, 118, 132.
After 150 A.D. .	74, 75, 76, 77, 83, 85, 94, 97, 100, 101, 103, 107, 108, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119–128 (incl.), 131.
Undatable . .	80, 82, 86, 87, 88, 93, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106, 109, 111, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135.

Uninscribed Fragments.—It is worth recording also that there are about thirty uninscribed fragments from votive stelai belonging to this series. None of these could be combined together convincingly, nor did any obviously belong to any of the inscribed stelai. They are mostly broken into very small pieces, and their sole interest is that they indicate that the original number of dedications was larger, by at any rate thirty, than the total of the inscriptions

themselves. Thirteen have remains of sockets for sickles, and seventeen come from pediments or acroteria. Three are of *rosso antico*, the rest of white or bluish marble. A few are shown on Fig. 130 together with two of the more ornate inscribed pieces, and attention may be called to the large fragment, from the lower half of a stele, which shows an incised wreath and palm.

The other Inscriptions of Class (1).—The remainder of the inscriptions on marble or other hard stone, which number only thirty-four (Nos. 136–168),

Fig. 130.—Fragments of Ornate Types of Stelai.

include examples of many types, but a regrettably high proportion consist of the merest fragments. Five archaic texts are put first: three of these (Nos. 136–8) are inscribed on the edges of marble bowls or περιρραντήρια, the first of them having contained, apparently, instructions with regard to libations, whilst on the other two nothing has survived beyond small portions of the word ἀνέθεκε. Nos. 139, of which there are three fragments which do not join, and 140 offer insoluble problems, though the contents of the former seem to have included numerals, as we may recognise δύϙ, [hε]ϝιτά, and possibly [τέττ]ϙαρϙ.

No. 141 is inscribed on a marble bench, dedicated to Orthia by a certain

Σοιξιάδας Ἀρικράτεος, who was three times a member, and twice president, of the Gerousia. It must date from the first century B.C., and is interesting as the sole remaining indication of the seating arrangements for witnessing ritual ceremonies at the sanctuary of Orthia before the amphitheatre was built in the third century of our era.

These are followed by eight, or possibly nine, statue-bases, all of the Imperial period. Three are of columnar type, and bore statues of βωμονῖκαι,[20] erected by the city, but paid for by individuals: the cost of No. 142 was defrayed by the two βοαγοί to whom the recipient was συνέφηβος, that of No. 143 by the mother of the βοαγός, and that of No. 144 by the recipient's brother. None of these is likely to be earlier than the beginning of the third century after Christ. To a slightly earlier date, perhaps the last decade of the second century, may be assigned Nos. 144 and 145, both large four-sided statue-bases dedicated to P. Memmius Pratolaos, qui et Aristokles, Damaris f.; the former by his seven colleagues in the office of Patronomos, and the other by certain trainers and instructors, both in physical and moral discipline, in the gymnasia, though the damaged condition of the stone makes the restoration of their exact titles a matter of some doubt. Nos. 147–9 are also from large statue-bases, but little can be made of their contents owing to their fragmentary nature; and No. 150, in view of its unusual shape, may have been part of an inscribed plinth attached to a statue-base.

Nos. 151–4 are small pieces which seem to have belonged to lists of magistrates, one of which (No. 152) was apparently headed [Ἔφορ]οι ἐπ[ὶ - -]. No. 155 seems to be a mason's name, incised faintly in Hellenistic lettering, on the edge of a building-stone which is perhaps a survivor from the temple of that date. No. 157 is a fragment of an altar to Antoninus Pius of a type represented by numerous examples (*I.G.* v. 1, 407 *sqq.*). Nos. 158, 159 and perhaps 160 are from tombstones, which may have been brought from elsewhere as building material for the amphitheatre, though we know that Spartan custom permitted the burial of the dead near sanctuaries.[21] No. 156 is inscribed on a fragmentary marble *phiale*, Nos. 161 and 162 come from reliefs of which nearly all has perished: the latter perhaps represented the Dioscuri. Nos. 163–8 must be dismissed as hopeless.

Other Inscriptions relating to the Sanctuary of Orthia.—We may advantageously call attention here to a few inscriptions found at other spots in or near Sparta at various times, which in some way bear on the sanctuary of the goddess. *I.G.* v. 1, 602 records the erection of a statue, perhaps in the early third century of our era, to a priestess of Artemis Orthia.[22] The opening lines give her name and titles as follows:—Ποντῳνίαν Καλλ[ι]στονείκην Ἀριστ[έ]ου ἱέρειαν διὰ βίου κ[αὶ] διὰ γένους τῆς ἐπιφ[ανε]στάτης θεοῦ Ἀρτέμιδ[ος] Ὀρθείας κ[αὶ] τῶν συνκ[α]θειδρυμένων αὐτῇ θ[ε]ῶν, followed by various other divinities of which she was priestess. This may well have been erected at the sanctuary of Orthia. Another woman who received a statue, set up definitely in that sanctuary, is commemorated in *I.G.* v. 1, 599, which begins

[20] For the term see p. 288 above.

[21] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 27.

[22] This stone was found at Trypi, some two hours west of Sparta, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 212.

thus :—[Ἡ Πόλις] τὴν σεμνοτάτην καὶ φιλοσοφωτάτην καὶ εὐγενεστάτην Ἡράκλειαν Τεισαμενοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ Ὀρθίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἱδρύσατο. There is nothing to indicate that she was a priestess, or what was her especial connexion with the sanctuary. The other inscriptions calling for mention are two bases of statues erected to βωμονῖκαι (*I.G.* v. 1, 652, 653), the latter of which almost duplicates No. 144 below, though there are differences in the wording. It seems hardly likely that both the statues of this victor, M. Αὐρ. Κλεώνυμος ὁ καὶ Ὕμνος Ὕμνου, would have been set up together in the same precinct, but we may claim a certain degree of probability that the other victor's statue stood here originally. Another statue-base, *I.G.* v. 1, 654, is also restored by Kolbe as reading βωμονικήσαντα, but this reading is too uncertain to justify us in claiming that the statue probably stood in the sanctuary of Orthia, and it seems preferable to leave the point undecided.

Part I. A. Inscriptions relating to the ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΣ ΑΓΩΝ. (Nos. 1–135)

§ I. *Metrical Dedications* (Nos. 1–9).

1. Upper portion, broken through, of a stele of grey marble, with pediment, in which the inscription is engraved on a rectangular panel. H. ·38; br. ·46; th. ·06. Letters *ca.* ·01. The stele is complete above and on r.; five sockets for sickles are cut below the architrave. (The smaller piece was found in 1906, the larger in 1908.)

B.S.A. xii. p. 380, 48; xiv. p. 101, 48*; *I.G.* v. 1, 255; Bourguet, *Dialecte Laconien*, p. 75, xv.

Fig. 131.—Stele showing Sockets for five Sickles.

Ϝωρθείαι τάδ' Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος | νικῶν ἀνέσηκε |
ἐν συνόδοις πα[ί]δων | πᾶϝιν ϝορῆν φανερά.

Date, probably early fourth century B.C. (Wilamowitz).

2. Relief representing a distyle temple *in antis*, with sockets for three sickles in the intercolumniations. H. ·60; br. ·51; th. ·03–·04. Letters *ca.* ·01. White marble, broken into six pieces; the lower r. corner is still missing. L. 1 is cut on the architrave, the rest low down in the intercolumniations. (The lower left-hand corner was found in 1906, the rest in 1908.)

B.S.A. xii. p. 380, 47; xiv. p. 95, 47*; *I.G.* v. 1, 256; Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 102, xxviii.

Fig. 132.—Relief with Distyle Temple *in antis* and Sockets for Sickles.

Ὑιὸς Ἀριστοκρίτω Ξενοκλῆς μώας με ἀ[νέθηκε·]

Ξενοκλῆς		
Λῃϊλόχοι κάσεν	πρατ[οπάμ-]	[ἄτροπάμ-]
μικιχιδδόμενος·	παις·	[παις (?).]

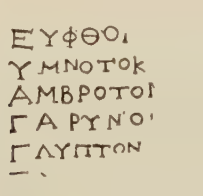
Date, second (or possibly early first?) century B.C. There is no doubt about the initial Λ of Λῃϊλόχοι, warranting Kolbe's change of the name to Δῃϊλόχοι. Actually no name is known in Laconia beginning with either alternative,[23] but there seems no objection to equating it with those beginning

[23] Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 103, would see in it a name compounded with λᾶις (λᾶσις), from the Doric λᾶν (' to wish ').

Λαϊ-, *e.g.* Λαΐνικος, Λαΐστρατος, etc., where the root is clearly not λαός. For πρατοπάμπαις see *B.S.A.* xv. p. 46. The third victory may have been as ἀτροπάμπαις, for which see No. 31, below.

3. Fragment of greyish marble, complete on left only; apparently nothing is lost from above l. 1. H. ·12; br. ·09; th. ·08. Letters ·01, neatly cut.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 183, 50; *I.G.* v. 1, 315.

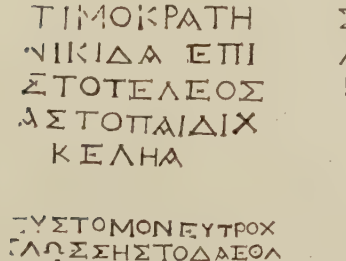


Εὐφθογ[γ - -]
Ὑμνοτόκ - -
Ἀμβροτοῦ - -
Γᾶρυν ὀπ̣[αδο - - (?)]
Γλυπτὸν - - - -
Ε̣ὖ - - - - - - - - - -

The lettering indicates the first century B.C. as the probable date. The few words preserved point to a victory in a musical contest, but restoration is impossible. Ὑμνοτόκος seems not to occur elsewhere until Nonnus, *Dion.* xxvi. 203. The first word of l. 4 must be γᾶρυν (= γῆρυν), and the second possibly ὀπ̣[αδόν] ('accompanying'), or possibly ὀπ̣[άδοντες]. Γλυπτὸν in l. 5 perhaps refers to the carved votive stele set up by the winner.

4. Stele of blue Laconian marble. H. ·43; br. ·23; th. ·05. Letters, in lines 1–5, ·01; in lines 6–10, *ca.* ·006; faintly cut, and hard to decipher in places, owing to the worn surface.

B.S.A. xii. p. 361, 5; xiii. p. 199 (more correctly); *I.G.* v. 1, 264.

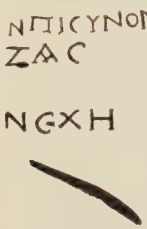


Τιμοκράτη ς Ἐπι-
γικίδα ἐπὶ Ἀρι-
στοτέλεος νικά-
ας τὸ παιδιχ ὸν
κελήᾳ.
Ε̣ὔστομον εὐτροχ άλου
γλώσσης τόδ' ἄεθλ ον
ἀείρας,
Παρθένε, σοὶ δρέπανο ν
Τ̣ιμοκράτης ἔθετο.

In view of its neat lettering this may well belong to the Augustan period (Kolbe), and not, as was previously thought, to the second century of our era. The version in the *Corpus* marks as incomplete several letters which are complete, and brackets the last letter of δρέπανον, which is clear.

5. Narrow fragment of a stele of *rosso antico*, complete on r. only. H. ·18; br. ·10; th. ·03. Letters ·01. Remains of socket for sickle below.

Unpublished: B. S. Inv. No. 2520; S.M. No. 1601.

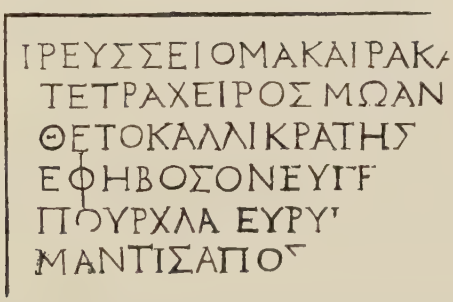


- - - ν πισυνόν
- - - ζας
- - - ν ἔχῃ.

No restoration suggests itself, and our ignorance of the original breadth of the stone does not enable us to decide whether l. 1 contains the end of a pentameter, or the first part of a hexameter ending with -ζας in l. 2; in any case l. 3 suggests the ending of a pentameter.

6. Stele of grey marble with pediment and border marked by incised lines; complete above and on l. only. H. ·275; br. ·26; th. ·04. Letters ·014.

B.S.A. xii. p. 378, 44; *I.G.* v. 1, 259.



Ἰρεὺς σεῖο μάκαιρα, κα[σιγνήτου] | τετράχειρος
Μῶαν [νικήσας ἄν]|θετο Καλλικράτης,
[-υυ-συν] | ἔφηβος ὃν εὐγε[νέτις τέκε] || Πούρχλα
Εὐρυκ[ράτης (?) δὲ πατήρ,] | μάντις ἀπὸ Σ[κοπέλου.]

For the possible, but not absolutely certain, identification of Apollo Τετράχειρ with the Apollo of Amyklai see Ziehen in Pauly-Wissowa, IIIA, col. 1461, *s.v.* Sparta (Kulte). Πούρχλα = Πούλχρα (Kolbe). The victor is not identifiable, but the lettering hardly suggests a date before A.D. 150.

7. Complete gable-topped stele, with plain pediment, having an iron sickle-blade still in position above l. 1. H. ·65; br. ·32. Letters, in ll. 1–6, ·027; the rest ·02. (Found near Magoula before 1868.)

S.M.C. 218; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 355, *a*; *I.G.* v. 1, 257.

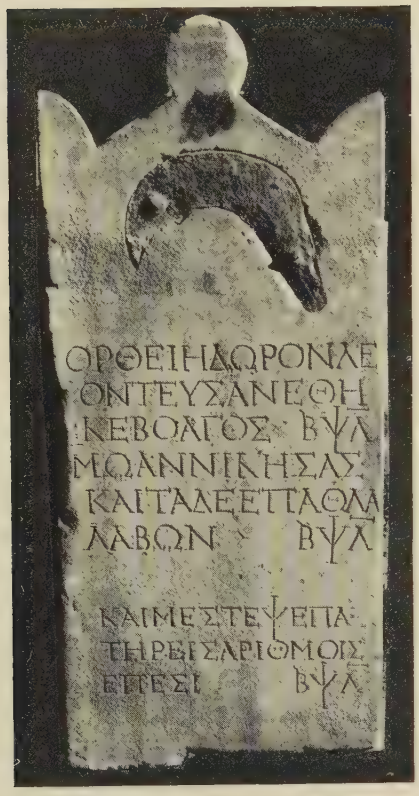


Fig. 133.—Stele with Στίχοι ἰσόψηφοι.

'Ορθείῃ δῶρον Λε | οντεὺς ἀνέθη | κε βοαγὸς βψλ' | (= 2730).
μῶαν νικήσας || καὶ τάδε ἔπαθλα | λαβών. βψλ' | (= 2730).
καὶ μ' ἔστεψε πα | τὴρ εἰσαρίθμοις | ἔπεσι. βψλ' (= 2730).

This is the only recognisable example among inscriptions from the sanctuary of the use of εἰσάριθμα ἔπη (or στίχοι ἰσόψηφοι), and the practice is not likely to have reached Sparta before the middle of the second century of our era at the earliest. Neither the victor's name nor the style of writing permits an exact date to be assigned to the stone. We may compare three examples from Pergamon,[24] and recall the incurable devotion to such formulae of the Gnostics and Early Christians.[25] Perdrizet, in giving an invaluable conspectus of the material,[26] says appositely, 'Cette maladie intellectuelle dut venir à la pensée Hellénique quand elle eut pris contacte avec la pensée juive.'

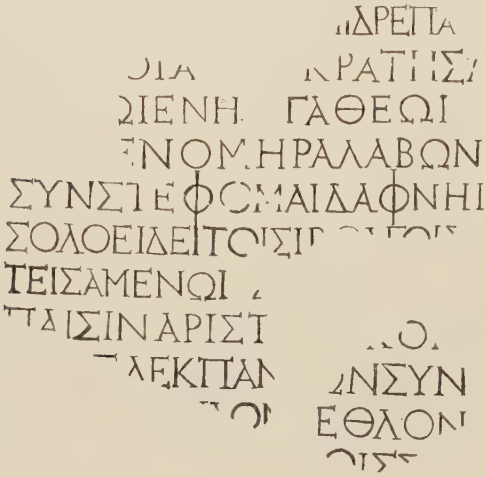
[24] Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 333, 339, 587; two of these are products of the genius of Nikon, father of Galen, who was highly esteemed (at any rate by the latter) as a mathematician.

[25] For examples from Syria, of later date, *v.* W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Part III. of *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, 1899–1900: New York, 1908), pp. 23 *sqq.*

[26] *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1904, pp. 350 *sqq.*

8. Stele of white marble, with drafted margins, put together from six fragments; incomplete below, and lacking its upper corners and a small piece on the right. A socket for a sickle is cut in the centre of the upper portion. H. (originally) not less than ·50; br. ·45; th. ·05. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 196, 63; xv. p. 106; *I.G.* v. 1, 258.



[Ἴαμος (?) Ὀρθεί]ῃι δρεπά[νην | τὰ κελ]ο̣ῖα̣ κ̣ρ̣ατήσα̣[ς] |
[χώρ]ῳι ἐν ἠγαθέωι | [θῆκ]ε̣ν ὅμηρα λαβών. ||
Συνστ̣έφ̣ο̣μαι δάφνηι | σολοειδεῖ τ̣ο̣ῖσι β̣ο̣α̣γ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς
Τεισαμενῶι Σ[υυ-] | π̣α̣ισὶν ἀριστ[οτό]κ̣οι[ς] |
[Αὐτὸ]ς̣ δ̣' ἐκ πάν[τ]ῳν συν || [εφήβων ε]ἶ̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ [ἆ]εθλο̣ν̣ |
- - - - - - ο̣ις̣ σ̣ . .|- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - .

This improved version is mostly due to Kolbe, who suggested Ἴαμος as the victor's name. He must, however, be in error in identifying him with Ἴαμος in No. 35 (= *I.G.* v. 1, 298), below, since the present boy is συνέφηβος to two others, whilst the latter is clearly a βουαγός, to whom the victor is κάσεν.[27] At the end of the second couplet I have substituted ἀριστ[οτό]κ̣οι[ς] for his Ἀριστ[ολό]χου, as the letter before the οι seems to have been κ, not χ, and there is just space for the final *sigma*. Moreover, such an epithet for the βουαγοί is very appropriate. At the beginning of l. 9 there seems no room for [πρῶτο]ς̣, and [αὐτὸ]ς̣ gives satisfactory sense.

Δάφνη σολοειδῆς is no doubt for δ. θολοειδῆς, in reference to the dome-shaped crowns of agonistic victors.[28]

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[27] For these terms *v.* above, Introd., p. 290.

[28] For these crowns *v. Num. Chron.* v. (1925), p. 305, note.

The style of lettering suggests the second half of the second century as the most probable date.

9. Fragment of bluish marble, complete on r. H. ·14; br. ·16; th. ·03. Letters ·02. Traces of socket for sickle.

B.S.A. xii. p. 367; *I.G.* v. 1, 316.

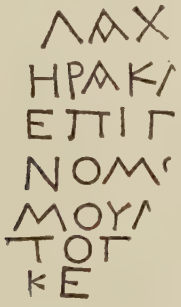
['Ορθείη] δρεπάνην |
[τήνδ' ἀνέθη]κα λαβών.

Perhaps the poem consisted of this pentameter only, with the victor's name and other details in prose below. Date, probably not before A.D. 150.

§ II. *Dedications in Prose* (Nos. 10–71). (In approximate chronological order.)

10. Large fragment from a stele of bluish marble, complete above and on left. H. ·32; br. ·22; th. ·06. Letters ·025. Socket for sickle on left.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 84, 75; *I.G.* v. 1, 265.

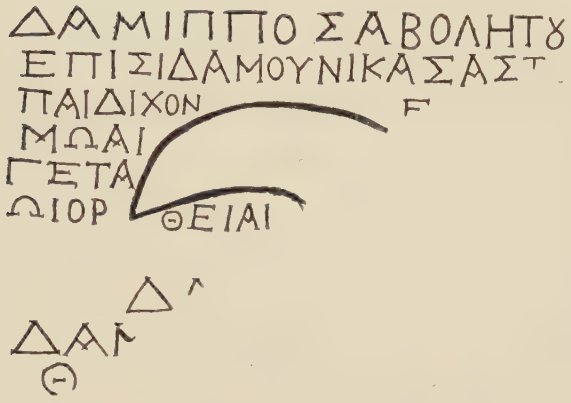


Λαχ[άρης]
'Ηρακλ[ανοῦ]
ἐπὶ π̣[ατρο-]
νόμ[ου (?) . . δά-]
μου μ̣[ικάσας]
τὸ π̣[αιδικὸν]
κε[λέαι - -]

The fourth letter in l. 4 seems to have had an oblique stroke, /, and cannot be read as ο; this is perhaps due to an error of the engraver, who wrote πατρονόμμου. If, as suggested originally, the victor is the father of the well-known Eurykles, and himself fought at Actium, this stone cannot be put later than 50 B.C. The name of the Eponymos was perhaps [Σί]δαμος, and if so, very likely he is to be identified with that in No. 11.

11. Stele of white marble, with pediment and acroteria, broken on r. and below. Socket for sickle cut in ll. 3–6. H. (without pediment) ·215; br. ·31; th. ·045. Letters ·015–·02.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 74, 66; *I.G.* v. 1, 260.



Δάμιππος Ἀβολήτου
ἐπὶ Σιδάμου νικάσας τ̣[ὸ]
παιδιχὸν ε̣ῳ̣ . . . .
μώαι [καὶ κυνα-]
γέτα [ι θε(?)-]
ῶι Ὄρ θειαι [ἀνέθηκε.]
Δά̣[μιππος (?)]
Δαμ̣[ίππου (?) - -]
θ - - - - - - - - - - - -

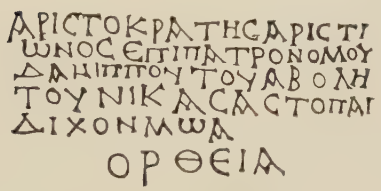
Traces are visible of ◌ after Ε in l. 3, *ad. fin.*

Kolbe has pointed out that κυναγέτας here, and in Nos. 16, 18 and 84 below, must be the name of a contest, and not, as was originally held by Tillyard and the writer, of an Eponymos. The restoration remains uncertain, as the letters ε̣ῳ̣ (or ε̣θ̣) in l. 3 preclude the obvious suggestion ἓν̣ [τῆι] μώαι.

There seems no means of deciding whether the second part of the inscription contained the record of another victory won by Damippos, in which case the letters δαμ will have formed part of the name of the Eponymos, or that of another member of the family, perhaps a son, of the present victor. Date, in any case, about the middle of the first century B.C. at latest.

12. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·55; br. ·31; th. ·08. Letters ·01–·02. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xii. p. 360, 3; *I.G.* v. 1, 261.

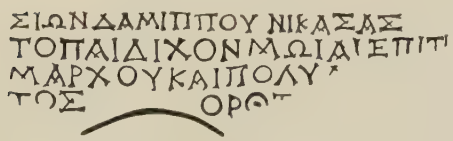


Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστί-
ωνος ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
Δαμίππου τοῦ Ἀβολή-
του νικάσας τὸ παι-
διχὸν μώα̣
Ὀρθεία̣.

The Eponymos is without doubt the victor in No. 11, and we may thus date this text roughly twenty to thirty years after the other.

13. Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, broken through on r., and incomplete below. H. ·26; br. ·40; th. *ca.* ·05. Letters ·01–·02. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 86, 79; *I.G.* v. 1, 262.

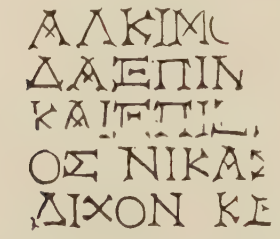


Σίων Δαμίππου νικάσας
τὸ παιδιχὸν μώιαι ἐπὶ Τι-
μάρχου καὶ Πολυδ̣[άμαν-]
τ̣ος Ὀρθ̣ε̣[ίαι].

The curved line appearing above the middle of l. 1 in the original publication and in the *Corpus* does not exist. The lettering bears out the possibility that the victor was a son of the Damippos found in Nos. 11 and 12.

14. Part of stele of greyish marble, broken through, and the right hand portion missing; complete above, below and on left. H. ·20; br. ·18; th. ·07. Letters ·025.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 80, 72; *I.G.* v. i, 299.

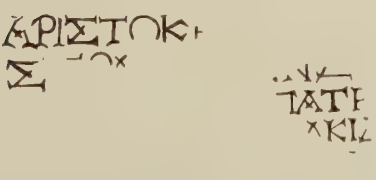


Ἄλκιμο[ς Σωκλεί-]
δα ἐπὶ Ν . . . . . .
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ Ξ̣[ενοκλέ (?)-]
ος νικάσ̣[ας τὸ παι-]
διχὸν κε̣[λήαι . . .].

The restoration of the patronymic as [Σωκλεί]δα is tempting if not certain; the same names should apparently be restored (Ἄλκιμος Σ̣ω̣κ̣[λείδα]) in the list of Ἱεροθύται, *I.G.* v. 1, 141, l. 25, and the bearer is presumably identical with the man who appears in an inscription at Delphi as Ἀ. Σ. Λα[κε]δα(ι)μόνιος πρόξενος Δελφῶν in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, 160 (cf. *I.G.* v. i. p. xvi, ll. 98 ff.), dated by Pomtow to A.D. 23. Thus as a boy he may have been victor here at about the beginning of the Christian era. With this date the letter-forms agree quite well. As to the Eponymoi, Kolbe's restoration of Ν[ικιππίδα] in l. 2 will not suit, as the only one known is of the second century after Christ, and Σ[ωσικράτε]ος is impossible, as the name began with Ξ, and not with Σ, as I originally read it. No such Eponymos of about this time is known, and for my suggestion, Ξ̣ενοκλῆς, there are also possible slightly longer alternatives such as Ξενοφάνης or Ξενοκράτης. There seems no space for the goddess's name unless it was in much smaller letters.

15. Two fragments of a gable-topped stele of greyish marble, of which (*a*) is complete on l. and above; (*b*) is broken on all sides. Dimensions: (*a*) H. ·07; br. ·16; (*b*) H. ·07; br. ·075. Original breadth *ca.* ·31. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 198, 64; *I.G.* v. 1, 266.



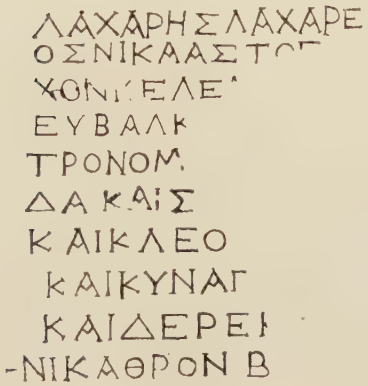
Ἀριστοκρ̣[άτης Ἀρι-]
στοδ̣[άμου (?)] Ἀ̣νσ̣[έτωι]
[κάσεν ἐπὶ] π̣ατρ̣[ο-]
[νόμου Μενα]λ̣κίδ̣[α]
[νικάσας τὸ παι]δ̣ι̣[χ-]
[ὸν - - - - - -]

The apicated letters agree with the evidence from the name of the Eponymos Μεναλκίδας for a date in the first century B.C. The scanty

remains of l. 5 seem to point to παι]δι[χ | όν] rather than to Kolbe's μικ]ι̣χ[ιδ | δόμενος].

16. Stele of greyish marble, broken through and incomplete on r., with three sockets for sickles, one on the left and two on the right. H. *ca.* ·36; br. *ca.* ·32; Letters *ca.* ·01.

B.S.A. xii. p. 373, 35; *I.G.* v. I, 267.

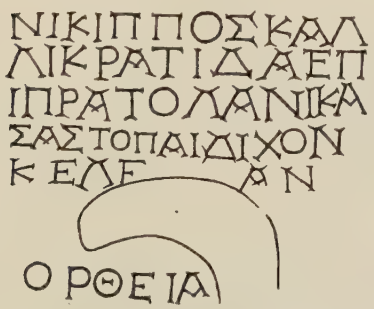


Λαχάρης Λαχάρε-
ος νικάας τὸ π̣[αιδι-]
χ̣ὸν κ̣ελέα̣[ι καὶ (?)]
εὐβάλκ̣[ει (?) ἐπὶ πα-]
τρονόμ[ω . . . . . .]
δα καὶ Σο̣ . . . . . .
καὶ Κλεοξ̣[ένω . .]
καὶ κυναγ[έται - -]
καὶ δερει̣ - - - - - -
νίκαθρον Β[ορθέαι.]

For the contests known as εὐβάλκης and κυναγέτας see above, Introd., pp. 288 *sq.* Δερει̣, in l. 9, is inexplicable, as Kolbe's reference to Artemis Dereatis is, at best, dubious. If the victor was, as suggested, the brother of the well-known Eurykles, his date may have fallen *ca.* 30 B.C.

17. Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, incomplete below. H. ·37; br. ·295; th. ·05, back rough. Letters ·024.

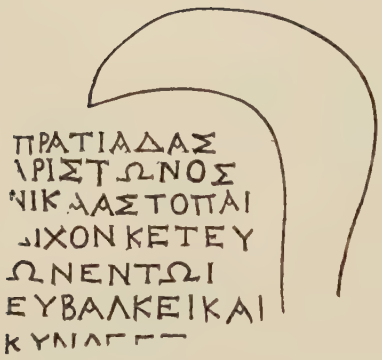
B.S.A. xiv. p. 84, 76; *I.G.* v. 1, 263.



Νίκιππος Καλ-
λικρατίδα ἐπ-
ὶ Πρατόλα νικά-
σας τὸ παιδιχὸν
κελέ αν
Ὀρθεία.

18. Gable-topped stele of white marble, broken below. H. ·30; br. ·225; th. ·065, back rough. Letters ·01.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 85, 78; *I.G.* v. 1, 268.



Πρατιάδας
Ἀρίστωνος
νικάσας τὸ παι-
διχὸν κετεύ-
ων ἐν τῶι
εὐβάλκει καὶ
κυνα[γε]τ[αι - -]
- - - - - .

It is pointed out above (p. 288) that the words in ll. 6 and 7 are names of contests, and not, as I originally thought, of Eponymoi; κετεύων, whether as participle or genitive plural, remains entirely enigmatic as it stands. For a possible emendation, (πυκ)τεύων, see above, p. 290, note 11.

19. Stele of bluish marble with pediment but no acroteria; the architrave is well moulded. H. ·43; br. ·31; th. ·06. Letters ·02. Two sockets for sickles on left.

B.S.A. xii. p. 361, 4; *I.G.* v. 1, 269.

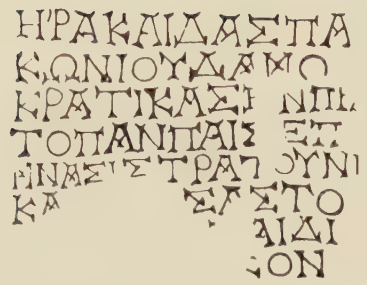
Ξενοκλῆς Ξενοκλέος
ἐπὶ Εὐετέος νικάσας
τὸ παιδιχὸν μώιαι
Ὀρθείαι
(socket καὶ ἐπὶ
for Ἱππάρ-
sickle.) χου
ὡσαύ-
τως.

Fig. 134.—Stele of Xenokles.

None of the persons mentioned can be identified elsewhere.

20. Stele of greyish marble with coarsely dressed surface (not limestone), with pediment and acroteria. H. ·40; br. ·28; back rough. Letters ·0175–·02. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 185, 56; *I.G.* v. 1, 270.



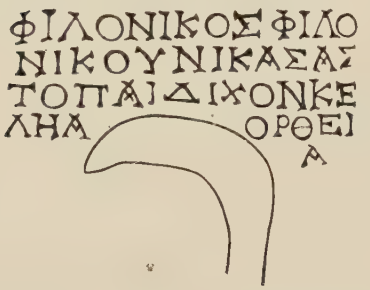
Ἡρακλίδας Πα-
κωνίου Δᾳμο-
κράτι κάσῃν πρᾳ-
τοπάνπαις ἐπ[ὶ]
Μνασιστράτου νι-
κά σᾳς τὸ
πᾳιδι-
κὸν
- - -

The original reading of the name as Ἡρακαίδας was due to mistaking a flaw on the stone for a cross-bar erroneously added by the engraver to a Λ. In l. 7 there is just a trace of the π, and l. 8 certainly began with κ, not χ. No doubt the dedication is lost from below.

The type of stele with a phiale in the pediment is closely similar to that of No. 13, and may well indicate that they are nearly contemporary, though the lettering shows no particular resemblance.

21. Stele of bluish marble with remains of pediment. H. ·43; br. ·29; th. ·04. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle below.

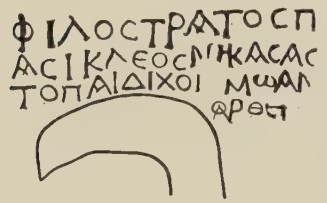
B.S.A. xii. p. 365, 13; *I.G.* v. 1, 271.



Φιλόνικος Φιλο-
νίκου νικάσας
τὸ παιδιχὸν κε-
λήᾳ Ὀρθεί-
(socket ᾳ.
for sickle)

22. Gable-topped stele, complete. H. ·36 (without pediment); br. ·25; th. ·04. Letters ·025, irregular and clumsy. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 188, 62; *I.G.* v. 1, 272.



Φιλόστρατος Π-
ασικλέος νικάσας
τὸ παιδιχὸν μῶαν
Ὀρθεί[ᾳ].

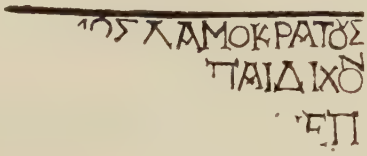
x 2

The engraver seems to have started l. 4 with A and changed it to O on realising his error.

This and the previous item are among the few undated dedications: in their style of writing they have something in common with each other, and with other texts probably of the late first century B.C.

23. Fragment of stele of greyish marble, with pediment and acroteria, complete above and on r. H. ·10; br. ·20; th. ·04. Letters *ca.* ·012.

B.S.A. xii. p. 370, 28; *I.G.* v. 1, 336.



- - μος Δαμοκράτους
[νικάσας τὸ] παιδιχὸν
[- - - - α]ν ἐπ-
[ὶ - - - - - -]

The lettering suggests a date not later than the middle of the first century of our era.

24. Fragment of bluish marble, complete on left only. H. ·11; br. ·12; th. ·06. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 363, 7; *I.G.* v. 1, 326.

Π - - - - - - - -
Πρατ[ο - - - - Ἀ-]
βολητ[ο - - - - ἐ-]
πὶ Δαμ - -
- - - -

It is certain that we may recognise the name [Ἀ]βόλητος in ll. 2, 3, but the bearer need not be identified with the victor in No. 11 and Eponymos in No. 12. Some such restoration as - - Πρατ[ονίκωι τοῦ Ἀ]βολήτ[ου κάσεν] would best account for the position of the names.

25. Stele of coarse greyish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·65; br. ·41; th. ·095. Letters *ca.* ·016. Rivets, without sockets, for two sickles.

B.S.A. xii. p. 376, 40; *I.G.* v. 1, 277.

Fig. 135.—Stele of Primos.

ου (*sic*)

a Ἐπὶ πατρονόμου Σ(ι)ωσινίκ-
Πρῖμος Νηρέος Μενε-
κλεῖ κάσεν νικάσας μῶαν
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέθηκεν.
b Ἐπὶ πατρονό(μο)υ Εὐ-
δάμου Πρῖμος Νη-
ρέος Μενεκλεῖ
κάσεν νικάσας
κελέαν ἀνέθηκε[ν]
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ.

If Μενεκλῆς, to whom the victor is κάσεν, is the Eponymos of the year 97 or 98 (v. 1, 667), this dedication must be contemporary with his boyhood, and can hardly be later than 75–80 A.D. The Εὔδαμος in *b* is, of course, distinct from the G. Julius Eudamos in v. 1, 63.

26. Gable-topped stele of bluish marble, broken through at lower right-hand corner. H. ·39; br. ·24; th. ·035. Letters ·015.

B.S.A. xii. p. 367, 16; *I.G.* v. 1, 274.

ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΧΑ
ΡΙΞΕΝΟΥΕΠΙΑΡ.
ΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.
ΝΕΙΚΑΣΑΣΤΟ
ΠΑΙΔΙΧΟΝΚΑΘ
ΘΗΡΑΤΟΡΙΝΑΡ
ΤΕΜΙΤ.ΟΡΘΕΙΑ

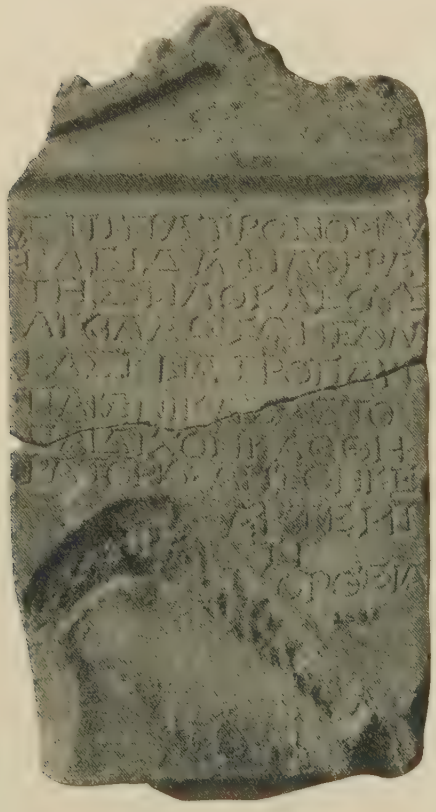
Λυσικράτης Χα-
ριξένου ἐπὶ Ἀρι-
στοκλέους
νεικάσας τὸ
παιδιχὸν καθ-
θηρατόριν Ἀρ-
τέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ.

Clear traces remain of the κ in l. 5 and of the final α in l. 7, shown by Kolbe as missing. The victor is probably the father of Γ. Ἰούλιος Χαρίξενος

Γ. Ἰουλίου Λυσικράτους υἱός in No. 30, in view of the absence of *praenomen* and *nomen* (Kolbe). The possibility that he was his son, not his father, as Tillyard and the writer believed, is still deserving of mention, as we know of an Aristokles as Eponymos whose date would suit this interpretation (*I.G.* v. 1, 37).

27. Stele of white marble with pediment and acroteria, broken across. H. ·46; br. ·25; back left rough. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 77, 70; *I.G.* v. 1, 278; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 116, xxxiii.



Ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
Εὐκλείδα Φιλοκρά-
της Φιλοκλέους
Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Νεόλα
κάσεν ἀτροπάν-
παις νικάσας τὸ
παιδιχὸν καθθη-
ρατορίῳ ἀνέθηκε
Ἀρτέμι-
τι
Ὀρθείᾳ.

Fig. 136.—Stele of Philokrates.

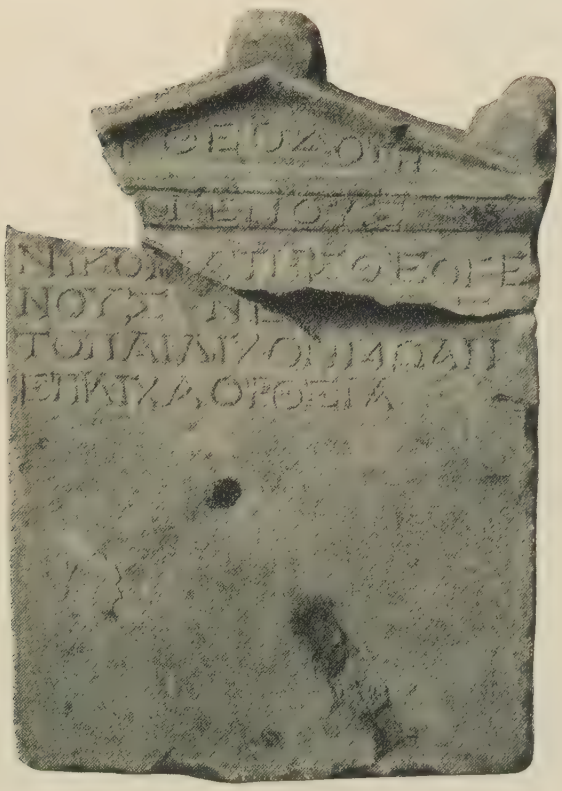
The inaccurate methods of the engraver, and his corrections, are commented on in the *Corpus*. The date must fall in the Flavian period, if not even earlier, for we now know something of the victor's career. He must be identical with M. Ἀνθέστιος Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους, a member of the γερουσία first in an unidentified year and again (τὸ β′) in the year of Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀγησίλαος (*B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 167 and 170, 1, C1 and E2 respectively). This shows that as he became a member of the Gerousia *ca.* 100 A.D., by which time he (and before him his father?) had attained Roman citizenship, we must put his

youthful victory at least thirty years earlier. The Ἀγησίλαος Νεόλα to whom he is κάσεν is clearly the Eponymos of his second year as member of the γερουσία, and this supplies the most convincing evidence for the contention that a boy was κάσεν to the βουαγός of his year (see above, p. 290).

His son's victory is recorded in No. 34 below, which is dated independently to the reign of Trajan, thus confirming the date suggested for the present victory.

28. Stele of grey marble with pediment and acroteria, broken through, and lacking the upper left-hand corner and a small portion in l. 4. H. ·50; br. ·35; th. ·09. Letters ·02. Socket below for sickle-handle, and a rivet-hole where the blade was attached.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 92, 94; *I.G.* v. 1, 297; (part) S.M. No. 1147.



Θεοδότη
[Θ]εογένους·
Νικοκράτης Θεογέ-
νους νε[ική]σας
τὸ παιδιχὸν μῶαν
ἐπὶ Λίχα Ὀρθείᾳ.

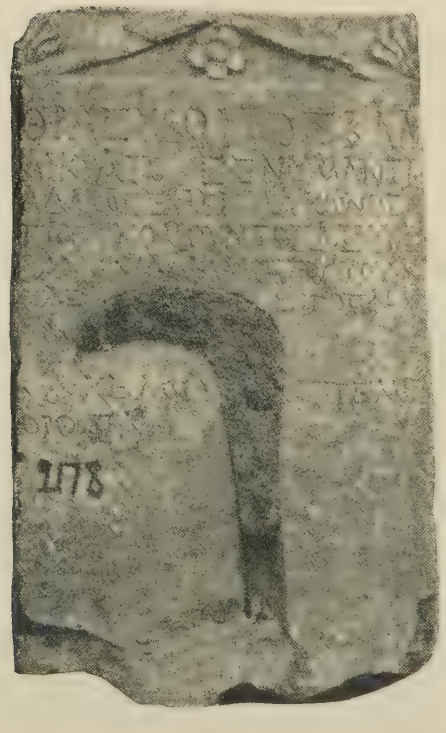
Fig. 137.—Stele Dedicated by the Sister (?) of a Victor.

Kolbe's restoration with [ἀνέθηκε ?] in l. 1 is not warranted, as there is no room for any letters before the name, which is perhaps that of the sister of the victor. There is no other example of such an association of names in the series.

The names give no clue to the date, but the lettering suggests the end of the first century of our era.

29. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria shown in relief. H. ·48; br. ·32; th. ·03. Letters ·02–·01. Iron sickle still in place in socket in lower half of stele.

B.S.A. xii. p. 371, 31, and p. 384 (fig.); *I.G.* v. 1, 280.



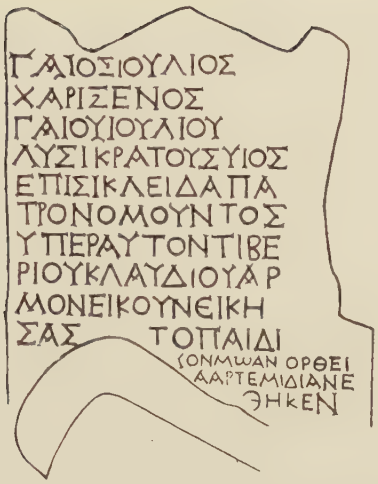
Θρασύβουλος Καλ-
λικράτους, Ἐνυμαντι-
άδᾳ κάσεν, ἐπὶ Λάκωνος,
πατρονομοῦντος δὲ ὑπὲ-
ρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνος τοῦ ὑοῦ, ν[ι-]
κάσας τὸ παιδι-
χὸν κελοίᾳ Ἀρτέμιτι
Ὀρθείᾳ.

Fig. 138.—Stele with Iron Sickle still in place.

Kolbe attributed this to the reign of Trajan, correcting my original suggestion that it belonged to the reign of Claudius. It cannot be far distant in date from No. 27, for two other persons who record their κάσεν-ship to Ἐνυμαντιάδας appear in the γερουσία in the year of G. Julius Philokleidas (*I.G.* v. 1, 97, and *B.S.A.* xxvii. p. 211, E 1*), namely, Ἱεροκλῆς ⟨ and Χαλεῖνος ⟨, and the years of Philokleidas and Agesilaos were separated by a very few years. It can scarcely fall later than the death of Vespasian and may be even earlier.

30. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·40; br. ·28; th. ·03. Letters ·02–·01. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xii. p. 358, 1; *I.G.* v. 1, 275.

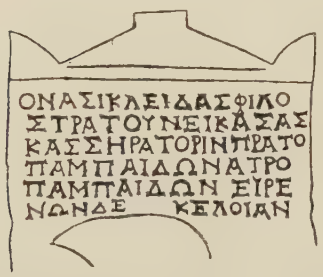


Γάϊος Ἰούλιος
Χαρίξενος
Γαΐου Ἰουλίου
Λυσικράτους υἱός,
ἐπὶ Σικλείδα, πα-
τρονομοῦντος
ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Τιβε-
ρίου Κλαυδίου Ἁρ-
μονείκου, νεική-
σας τὸ παιδι-
χὸν μῶαν Ὀρθεί-
ᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέ-
θηκεν.

The first letter of l. 11 is χ, not κ, as Kolbe shows it, and his Ω in μῶαν should be ω. The Eponymos is unknown, but as the victor is almost certainly the Eponymos of *ca.* 126 A.D., his victory may have been obtained about the year 100, or slightly earlier. Sikleidas cannot be dated on other evidence.

31. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria, broken below, and perhaps lacking on this account the dedicatory formula. H. ·25; br. ·24; th. ·05. Letters ·01–·012. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xii. p. 366, 15; xiii. p. 199; *I.G.* v. 1, 279; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 118, xxxv.



Ὀνασικλείδας Φιλο-
στράτου νεικάσας
κασσηρατόριν πρατο-
παμπαίδων, ἀτρο-
παμπαίδων, εἰρέ-
νων δὲ κελοῖαν
[Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ]
[ἀνέθηκε (?)].

For πρατοπαμπαίδων, ἀτροπαμπαίδων and εἰρένων see above, p. 287, n. 3; other victors in the first of these classes are found in Nos. 2, 20, 33, 35, 87, 88, and another ἀτροπάμπαις occurs in No. 27. Ὀνασικλείδας is well known, and can be dated with fair accuracy, for we have his *cursus* in *I.G.* v. 1, 36A, ll. 4 ff., his name as Ephor in the year of Lysippos Mnasonis f. in v. 1, 60, and two records of his acting as Eponymos (*B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9, and p. 166 f.; 1, B 9 and cf. p. 178 *ad fin.*). As the latter must date to *ca.* 140, many years after his ephorate, we can hardly put his victory much after the beginning of the second century.

32. Stele of unknown shape and dimensions. (Copied only by Cyriac of Ancona, *ca.* 1438, who describes it as ' Lacedaemoniae ad lapidem

prope colosseam Lycurgi statuam,' and since lost. See bibliography in *I.G.* v. 1, *ad loc.*)

B.S.A. xii. p. 357, *i*; *I.G.* v. 1, 282.

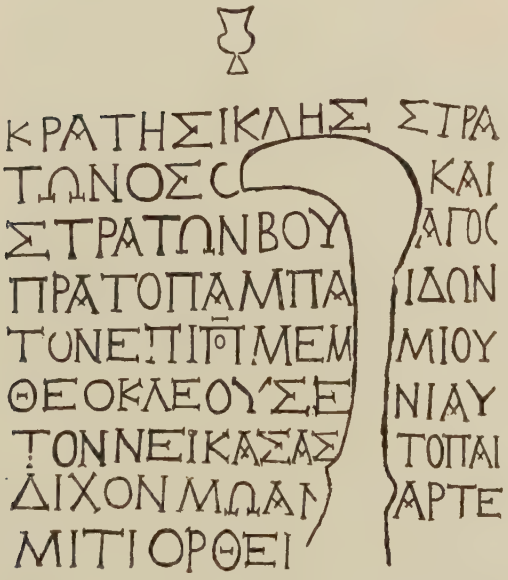
Δαμοκλείδας Χαλέα ἐπὶ Ἀλκίππου νεικάσας τὸ παιδικὸν κελή(ᾳ ?) Ἀ(ρτ)έμιτι Ὀρθε(ί)ᾳ.

Cyriac's version of l. 2 was copied as ΚΕΛΗΔΑ . ΤΡΕΜΙΤΙΟΡΘΕΡΑ ; Boeckh first recognised the names of the goddess (*C.I.G.* 1416).

Kolbe suggests that the victor may have been son of Χαλέας Δαμοκλείδα, whom he restores in v. 1, 72, l. 5 in a list of Ephors apparently belonging to the second century after Christ (though this is not absolutely certain); we may equally well suppose him to be father of this man, for Ἄλκιππος is not a known Eponymos in the second century, and may well have officiated in the first.

33. Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, with kantharos in pediment, broken into five pieces, but practically complete. Socket for sickle. H. ·65; br. ·41; th. ·048. Letters *ca.* ·03.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 79, 71; *I.G.* v. 1, 273.



Κρατησικλῆς Στράτωνος ὁ καὶ Στράτων βουαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων
5 τὸν ἐπὶ Πο(πλίου) Μεμμίου Θεοκλέους ἐνιαυτὸν νεικάσας τὸ παιδιχὸν μῶαν Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθεί[ᾳ].

The year of P. Memmius Theokles must have been at the beginning of the second century, and not, as I previously suggested, some fifty years later. Cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 31, and Kolbe's note to v. 1, 79. The victor's father was possibly the Eponymos found in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 172, 1, E 12.

34. Stele of *rosso antico* with pediment and acroteria, broken into three but practically complete. H. ·40; br. ·22; th. ·06. Letters ·012–·015. Socket for handle of sickle and two rivet-holes for blade.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 187, 60 (lower half); xiv. p. 100, 60*; *I.G.* v. 1, 281.

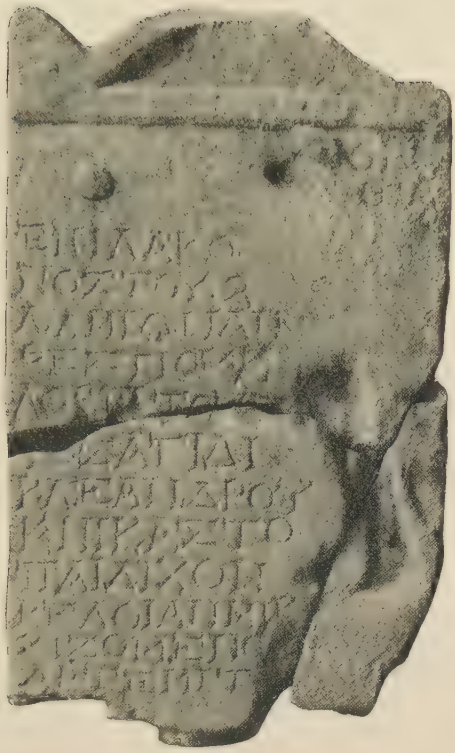


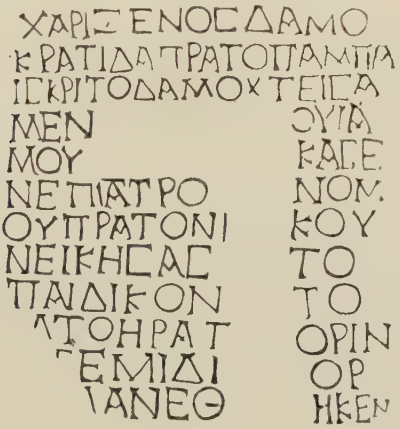
Fig. 139.—Stele of Damion.

'Ορ-
θία.
'Επὶ Λάκω-
νος τοῦ (Λάκωνος)
Δαμίων 'Αν-
θεστίου Φι-
λοκράτους
υἱὸς Αἰγιδι
Κλεάνδρου
κά(σεν) νικάσ(ας) τὸ
παιδιχὸν
κελοῖαν μι[ι-]
χιζόμενος
'Αρτέμιτ[ι]

Kolbe rightly points out that this must date from the reign of Trajan. The victor is in all probability κάσεν to the son of Γάϊος 'Ιούλιος Κλέανδρος, who is Eponymos in *I.G.* v. 1, 31 *a*, l. 4, and *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 5, which would date his dedication fairly close to the year of Kleandros. Apparently his father's victory is recorded in No. 27 above, *q.v.*

35. Stele of bluish marble, lacking lower left-hand corner. H. ·47; br. ·32; th. ·03. Letters ·02. Two rivet-holes for sickle in centre.

B.S.A. xii. p. 364, 10; *I.G.* v. 1, 298.



Χαρίξενος Δαμο-
κρατίδα πρατοπάμπα-
ις Κριτοδάμου Τεισα-
μενοῦ 'Ιά-
μου κάσε-
ν ἐπὶ πατρονόμ-
ου Πρατονίκου
νεικήσας τὸ
παιδικὸν τὸ
[κ]ατ(θ)ηρατόριν
['Αρ]τέμιδι 'Ορ-
[θεί]α ἀνέθηκεν.

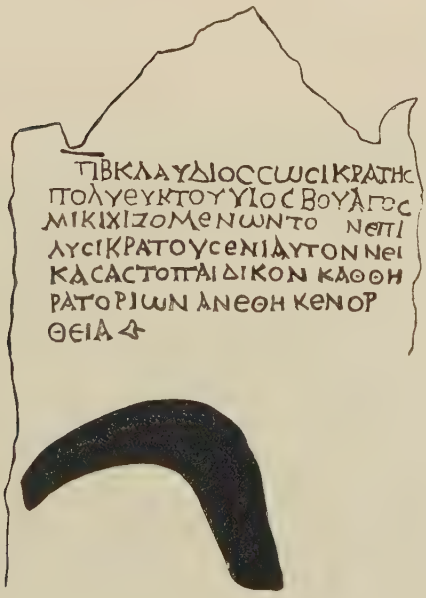
As a result of fuller cleaning of the letters a better squeeze was procured than that reproduced by Tillyard (*B.S.A.*, *l.c.*). The correct facsimile does not, however, add to our knowledge of the contents, apart from showing that the last letter of l. 11 was *rho* and that the *theta* must have come in l. 12. Kolbe has mistaken the lower rivet-mark shown by Tillyard for a superfluous θ.

The date of Pratonikos must be put earlier than I originally suggested (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 59), as a result of misunderstanding the previously known references to his patronomate, for he is now found to belong to the decade 110–120 on the evidence of *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9, and p. 178. The other inscriptions in which his name is found, *I.G.* v. 1, 40 and 42, must likewise be ascribed to this period.

The resemblance of the lettering to that of No. 29 is a further indication that these two texts are nearly contemporary.

36. Stele of white marble with roughly finished pediment and acroteria. H. ·51; br. ·27; th. ·05. Letters ·013. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 186, 58; *I.G.* v. 1, 283.

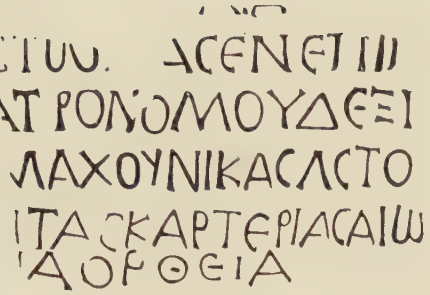


Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος Σωσικράτης
Πολυεύκτου υἱὸς βουαγὸς
μικιχιζομένων τὸν ἐπὶ
Λυσικράτους ἐνιαυτὸν νει-
κάσας τὸ παιδικὸν καθθη-
ρατόριων ἀνέθηκεν Ὀρ-
θείᾳ.

The victor is not known elsewhere; it is not certain whether the Eponymos is possibly father, or son, of G. Julius Charixenos, the victor in No. 31 above, *q.v.* Assuming the former alternative the text has been placed here, as belonging approximately to the beginning of the second century.

37. Three adjoining fragments forming the lower part of a stele of *rosso antico*. H. ·26; br. ·40; th. ·04. Letters ·025.

B.S.A. xii. p. 368, 20; xiv. p. 102, 20*; *I.G.* v. 1, 290.

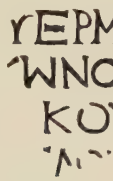


- - - ᾳ̣ι̣ Ἀ̣[λκά-]
ο̣τ̣ῳ̣ κ̣ά̣σεν ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ π̣-
ᾳ̣τ̣ρο̣ν̣όμου Δεξι-
μ̣άχου νικάσ(α)ς τὸ-
ν̣ τ̣ᾶ̣ς καρτερίᾳ̣ς ἀ(γ)ῶ-
ν̣α Ὀρθείᾳ̣.

The only specific dedication by a victor in the καρτερίας ἀγών. We know of one man who records κάσεν-ship to Ἄλκαστος, namely, Χάρης Χάρητος, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 8, and p. 185 f., but it would be a mere conjecture to restore his name here as victor. Δεξίμαχος is presumably Δ. ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης, *op. cit.*, 1, A 9, whose year falls in the reign of Trajan.

38. Fragment of a stele of grey marble, complete above and on r. H. ·16; br. ·13; th. ·04. Letters ·027.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 85, 77; *I.G.* v. 1, 284.



[Ἐπὶ πατρονόμο]υ̣ Ἑρμο-
[γένους τοῦ Γλύ]κ̣ωνος
[- - - - - - -]ί̣κου
[- - - - - - -]ε̣̣λ̣ο̣ι̣ . . (or υ̣)
- - - - - - - - -

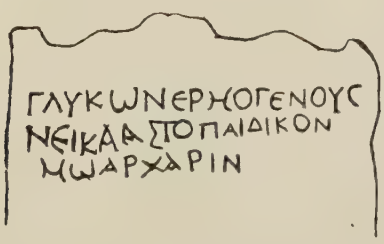
Before the κ in l. 3 are clear traces of *iota*.

Kolbe rejects my suggestion [Βρασίδας Ἀρμον]ίκου for l. 3, which gives us the exact number of letters required (17), on the ground that the family had by the date of this victory acquired the *nomen* Claudius, which we should not therefore expect to be omitted. This rule is not, however, rigidly adhered to. For l. 4, of which the last letter might have been I or Y, neither [νεικήσας κ]ε̣̣λ̣ο̣ῖ̣[αν] nor Kolbe's [Ἀριστοτ]ε̣̣λ̣ο̣υ̣[ς | συνέφηβος] is long enough.

The Eponymos is known from *I.G.* v. 1, 65, l. 23 and *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 165, 1, A 12, and p. 181, as belonging to the reign of Hadrian.

39. Stele of bluish marble with rough pediment and acroteria. H. ·43; br. ·30; th. ·04. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xii. p. 366, 14; *I.G.* v. 1, 329.

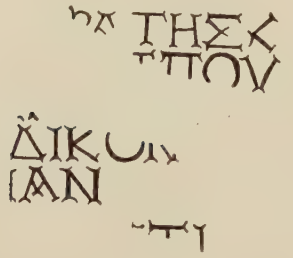


Γλύκων Ἑρμογένους
νεικάας τὸ παιδικὸν
μώαρ χάριν.

On account of the poor lettering Kolbe would date this later, but I still think it quite possible to attribute it to the son of Ἑρμογένης, who is Eponymos in the previous fragment. A modest dedication need not be a sign of late date. I follow him in regarding μώαρ as a genitive and not as a slip for μῶαν, though the formula is without parallel in this series.

40. Three fragments of a large stele of bluish marble, with remains of plain pediment. Br. originally *ca.* ·37; th. ·048. Letters ·025. (*a*) was found in 1906, (*b*) and (*c*) in 1908.

B.S.A. xii. p. 367, 19; xiv. pp. 102 *sq.*, 19*; *I.G.* v. 1, 317.

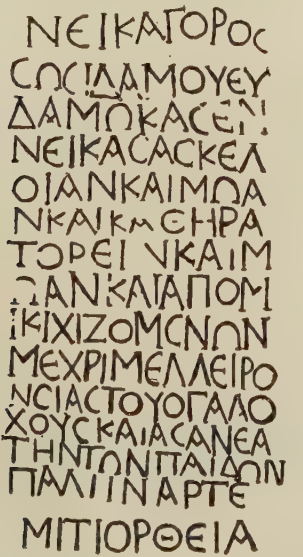


a and *b* [(?) Καλλικ]ράτης ([Καλλικ]ράτους)
[(?)ἐπὶ Λυσί]ππου
[νικήσ]ας
c [τὸ παι]δικὸν
5 [κελο]ῖαν
['Αρτέμ]ιτι
['Ορθεία].

Restoration admittedly uncertain, but if the victor is the same as the Καλλικράτης ⟨ who is known as a member of the γερουσία in *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 169, 1, C 10, in the year of Biadas (*ca.* 150), he might have been victor as a boy under one or other of the Λύσιπποι who belong to the reign of Hadrian.

41. Stele of yellowish-white marble, with pediment and acroteria, broken through. H. ·58; br. ·285; th. ·05. Letters ·015. Sockets for four sickles surround the text.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 82, 74; *I.G.* v. 1, 296; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 125, xxxix.



Νεικάγορος
Σωσιδάμου Εὐ-
δάμῳ κάσεν
νεικάσας κελ-
5 οῖαν καὶ μῶα-
ν καὶ καθηρα-
τόρειν καὶ μ-
ῶαν καὶ ἀπὸ μ-
ικιχιζομένων
10 μέχρι μελλειρο-
νείας τοὺ(ς) Γαϝό-
χους καὶ 'Ασάνεα
τὴν τῶν παίδων
πάλην 'Αρτέ-
15 μιτι 'Ορθείᾳ.

There is no safe clue to the date of this stele, which presents many points of interest, discussed in its original publication. I would attribute it to the early Hadrianic era on the assumption that Εὔδαμος, to whom the victor is κάσεν, is possibly the same man as G. Julius Eudamos, Eponymos in *I.G.* v. 1, 63, *ca.* 150 A.D., but the name is very common.

42. Fragment, complete above and on left only, from a stele of greyish marble. H. ·52; br. ·185; th. ·017. Socket for sickle below l. 4. Built into a doorway in Sparta at the house of Theophánes Pachygiánnis.

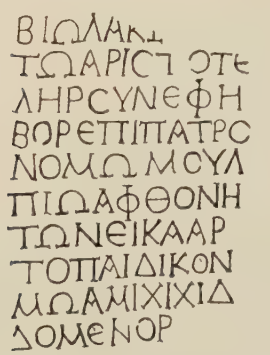
D.-M. *Ath. Mitt.* ii. (1877), p. 440, 24; *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 357 *sq.*; *I.G.* v. 1, 285.

Ἐπὶ Ἐρ[- - -]
γηρᾳ Π̣[όπλιος]
Μέμμ̣[ιος Δε-]
ξίμαχ[ος βοαγὸς]
[μι]κ̣ιχιδ̣[δομένων]
- - - - - -

The opening letters of l. 2 make restoration difficult, for though l. 1 points to Ἐρ[μογένους], no other Eponymos being known whose name begins with these two letters, they cannot be combined with this restoration. A possible solution of the difficulty, admittedly unsatisfactory, would be to read Ἐπὶ Ἐρ[μογένου] | ς Ἡρακ̣[λᾶς ⟨ Πο.] | Μεμμ̣[ίῳ Δε] | ξιμάχ[ῳ κάσεν] | [μι]κ̣ιχιδ̣[δόμενος - -], but this cannot claim to be more than a conjecture.

43. Stele of bluish marble broken above. H. ·33; br. ·24; th. ·04. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle on r.

B.S.A. xii. p. 365, 12; xiii. p. 199; *I.G.* v. 1, 286, and *add.* p. 303; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 120, xxxvi.

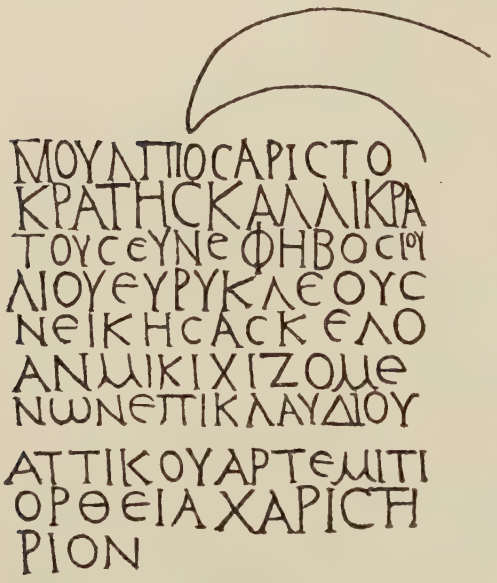


[- - - (?) Φλα]-
βίω Λάκ̣ω[νος]
τῶ Ἀριστ̣ο̣τέ̣-
ληρ συνέφη-
βορ ἐπὶ πατρο-
νόμω Μ(άρκω) Οὐλ-
πίω Ἀφθονή-
τω νεικάαρ
τὸ παιδικὸν
μώᾳ μιχιχιδ-
δ̣όμενορ.

The restoration of l. 1 seems correct, though no Φλάβιος Λάκων is known. Kolbe's correction, *add.* p. 303, will not stand, as the letter after the Λακ was certainly Ω not Ρ. There is no need to hesitate over dating this stele to the year of M. Ulpius Aphthonetos, who held office towards the end of Hadrian's reign.

44. Stele of *rosso antico*, apparently without pediment. H. ·42; br. ·30; th. ·05. Letters ·025. Socket for sickle on r.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 93, 95; *I.G.* v. 1, 287 and *add.* p. 303.

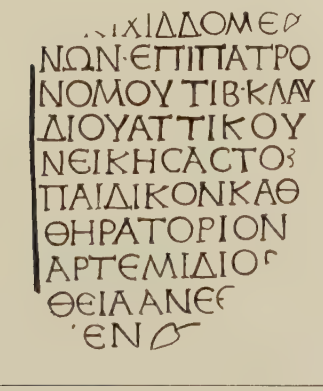


Μ(ᾶρκος) Οὔλπιος Ἀριστο-
κράτης Καλλικρά-
τους (σ)υνέφηβος Ἰου-
λίου Εὐρυκλέους
νεικήσας κελο[ῖ-]
αν μικιχιζομέ-
νων ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου
Ἀττικοῦ Ἀρτέμιτι
Ὀρθείᾳ χαριστή-
ριον.

The victor is unknown, and it appears that Julius Eurykles, to whom he is συνέφηβος, must have been a son or grandson, otherwise unknown, of G. Julius Eurykles Herklanos, for whom cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 380, etc. As Atticus was Eponymos in *ca.* 134 A.D., it is clear that Eurykles, a contemporary of the victor, must be of a younger generation than Eurykles Herklanos, who was already prominent under Trajan.[29]

45. Stele of bluish marble, broken above and below, and damaged on right. H. ·31; br. ·29; th. ·055. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle on r. (In the Sparta Museum, found prior to 1904.)

S.M.C. 783; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 357, *h*; *I.G.* v. 1, 288.



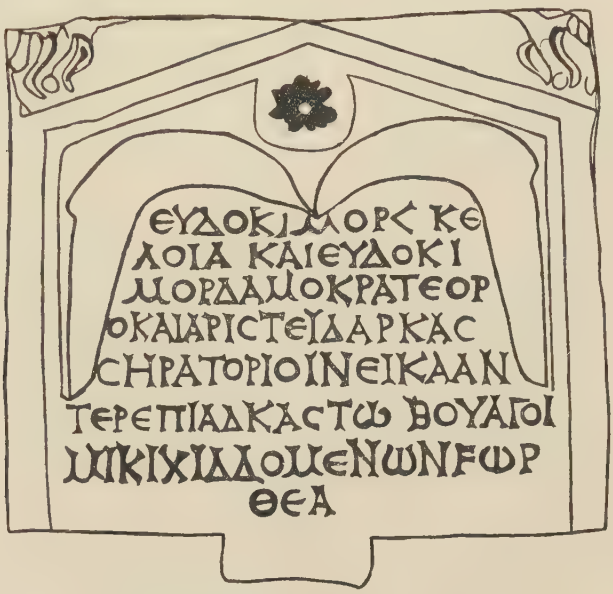
[Γά. Ἰούλιος Εὐρ-]
[υκλῆς βοαγὸς]
[μι]κιχιδδομέ-
νων ἐπὶ πατρο-
νόμου Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυ-
δίου Ἀττικοῦ
νεικήσας τὸ
παιδικὸν καθ-
θηρατόριον
Ἀρτέμιδι Ὀρ-
θείᾳ ἀνέθ[η-]
κεν.

[29] *I.G.* v. 1, 380, l. 6.

Belongs to the same year as No. 44; as the victor there is συνέφηβος to Ἰούλιος Εὐρυκλῆς, the restoration of the latter as βουαγὸς [μι]κ̣ι̣χ̣ιδδομένων here seems quite certain, and exactly fits the space.

46. Ornate stele of greyish marble with pediment and acroteria in relief, and sockets for two sickles at the upper corners of the text. H. ·45; br. ·49; th. ·09. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 372, 32; *I.G.* v. 1, 289; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 122, xxxviii.



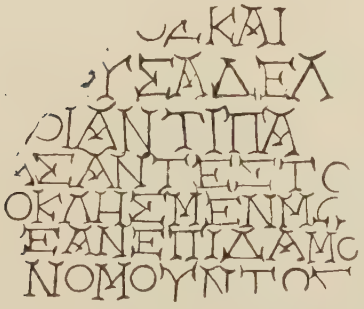
Εὐδόκιμορ (Εὐδοκίμω) κε-
λοίᾳ καὶ Εὐδόκι-
μορ Δαμοκράτεορ
ὁ καὶ Ἀριστείδαρ κασ-
σηρατόριοι νεικάαν-
τερ ἐπὶ Ἀ(λ)κάστω βουαγοὶ
μικιχιδδομένων Γωρ-
θέᾳ.

The Eponymos must be identical with, and not (as suggested in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 203[1]) grandson of, G. Pomponius Alkastos, whose career is well known (cf. *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 186). The date of his patronomate was *ca.* 140 A.D., and we find the second of the two victors acting as σπονδοφόρος in the year of Eudamidas, when his father was πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων, soon afterwards (*I.G.* v. 1, 63).

This is the only certain example of there being two βουαγοὶ μικιχιδδομένων in the same year; in No. 35 Charixenos is κάσεν to three βουαγοί, but this seems quite an exceptional formula. In No. 142 below, a βωμονείκης is συνέφηβος to two βουαγοί.

47. Fragment of stele of *rosso antico*, complete on right only, though no line seems to be lost from above. H. ·18; br. ·21; th. ·04. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 363, 8; *I.G.* v. 1, 291.

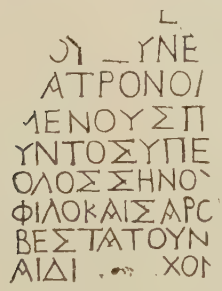


- - - - - ος καὶ
[- - οκλῆς - -]φυς ἀδελ-
[φοί, (?) συνέφηβ]ῳι Ἀντιπά-
[τρου τοῦ ⟨ (?) νεικ]άσαντες τὸ
[παιδιχὸν - -]οκλῆς μὲν μῶ-
[αν - - ος δὲ κελ]έαν ἐπὶ Δαμο-
[κλέους (?) πατρο]νομοῦντος

The restorations indicate that each line must have contained 18–22 letters; l. 3 has rather less than the rest as it does not reach to the edge of the stone. The suggestion [συνέφηβ]ῳι in l. 3 and the insertion of τοῦ ⟨ in l. 4 agree with the indicated length of line. The victors are not recognisable and the restoration of the name of Δαμοκλῆς as Eponymos is far from certain.

48. Stele of bluish marble complete on left only, from l. 3 onwards. H. ·25; br. ·17. Letters ·02. Traces of socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xii. p. 375, 38; *I.G.* v. 1, 295.



. . . . . ξ - - -
ῳ̣ῦ φυνέ̣[φηβος, ἐπὶ]
[π]ατρονόμ̣[ου Τιμο (?)-]
μένους, π̣ᾳ̣[τρονομο-]
ὕντος ὑπὲ̣[ρ αὐτὸν Λ. Οὐ-]
ολοσσηνοῦ [Δαμάρους]
φιλοκαίσαρ̣ο̣[ς καὶ εὐσε-]
βεστάτου ν[εικάσας τὸ π-]
αιδι χὸῳ - - -
- - - - - - - - -

The restoration of the Eponymos as [Τιμο]μένης is probably correct, for names of Eponymoi with this ending are very scarce. He is found also in v. 1, 109, l. 1, and restored, not quite conclusively, in v. 1, 44, l. 18. His date seems to have been about the middle of the second century. On this account I prefer to restore Δαμάρους in l. 6, as we now know from *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 3–5, that Λ. Οὐολοσσηνὸς Ἀριστοκράτης, whose name Kolbe prefers to restore here, flourished in the reign of Trajan. Δαμάρης must have been his son, and probably (*pace* Kolbe) [the νομοφύλαξ in v. 1, 68, l. 25. Εὐσεβέστατος is an unusual adjective to find at Sparta coupled with φιλόκαισαρ, but in any case preferable to Tillyard's suggestion [εὐλα]βέστατος.

49. Left-hand portion of a stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·25; br. ·16; th. ·04. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 362, 6; xiii. p. 199, 6*; *I.G.* v. 1, 276.

ΑΓΑΘΗ
ΕΠΙΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΡΟΥ<
ΒΟΑΓΟΣΝΙΚΗΣ.
ΜΙΚΙΧΙΖΟΜΕ
ΘΗΚΕΝΑΡΤ΄

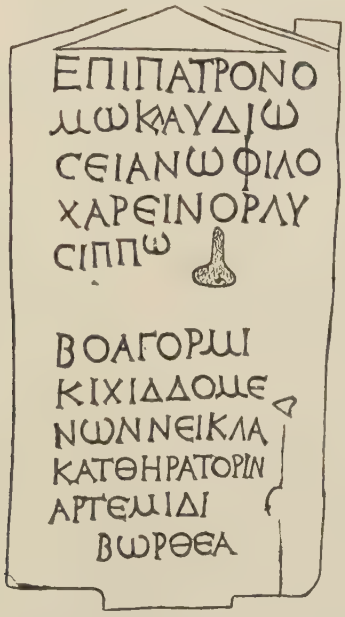
Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].
Ἐπὶ πατρονόμ[ου Καλλικρά-]
τους τοῦ Ῥούφ[ου . . . . . .]
βοαγὸς νικήσα[ς κελοῖαν (?)]
μικιχιζόμε[νος ἀνέ-]
θηκεν Ἀρτ[έμιδι Ὀρθείᾳ].

The presence of the heading Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ] was not realised until I further cleaned the stone (in 1928). [Κελοῖαν] in l. 4 is perhaps more likely than Kolbe's [μῶαν], but I have no explanation, except the possible presence of the sickle socket, for the exceptional brevity of l. 5.

I retain my original contention as to the date of Καλλικράτης Ῥούφου. We know him to have been νομοφύλαξ under Eudamidas (v. 1, 64, l. 11), whose year cannot have been before 145–150, and Kolbe's attempt to date him to the reign of Trajan rests only on indirect evidence. The further data supplied by *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 8, and discussed on p. 186, seem conclusive.

50. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·54; br. ·27; th. ·04. Letters ·018–·025. Rivets for attachment of sickle on r.

B.S.A. xii. p. 364, 11; *I.G.* v. 1, 292.



Ἐπὶ πατρονό-
μω Κλαυδίω
Σειανῶ Φιλο-
χαρεῖνορ Λυ-
σίππω
βοαγὸρ μι-
κιχιδδομέ-
νων νεικάα[ρ]
κατθηρατόριν
Ἀρτέμιδι
Βωρθέᾳ.

This was perhaps engraved by the same hand as No. 46. In l. 8 both *alphas* are clear, and the *rho* was never engraved. Kolbe explains fully and

correctly the evidence for the identification of the victor as the son of the Eponymos Lysippos son of Philochareinos. The date is *ca.* 150 A.D.

51. Ornate stele of whitish marble with pediment and acroteria in relief, framed by a groove, and with a wreath and palm incised below. H. ·655; br. ·51; th. ·055. Letters ·025. Socket for sickle on r.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 80, 73; *I.G.* v. 1, 293.

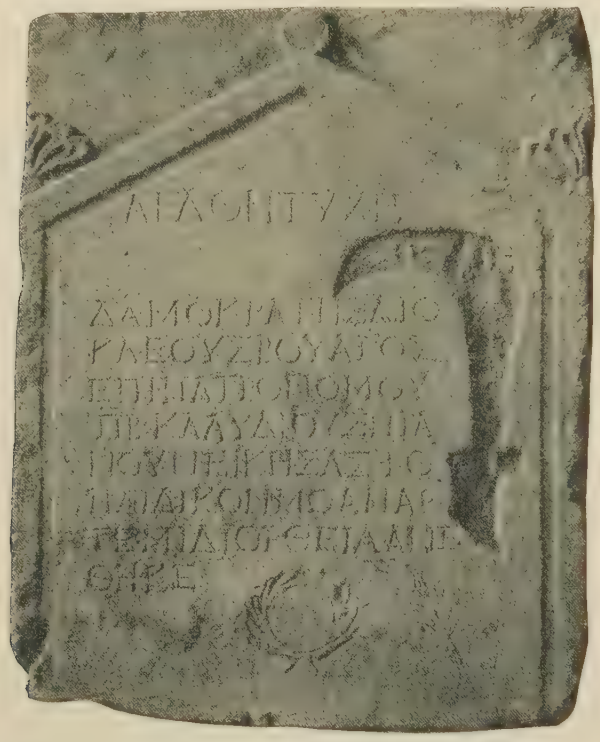


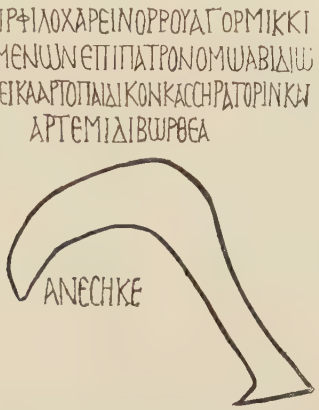
Fig. 140.—Stele of Damokrates.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
Δαμοκράτης Διο-
κλέους βουαγὸς
ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου Σηϊα-
νοῦ νεικήσας τὸ
παιδικὸν μῶαν Ἀρ-
τέμιδι Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέ-
θηκε.

This belongs to the same year as the previous stone, and the use of the strict κοινή furnishes an interesting contrast to the exaggerated Dorisms of the other. For an inscribed herm dedicated to the victor by his συνέφηβοι see *I.G.* v. 1, 493. The victor is otherwise unknown.

52. Stele of bluish marble with pediment and acroteria. H. ·43; br. ·32; th. ·05. Letters ·02–·025. Socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xv. p. 41, 96; *I.G.* v. 1, 294.

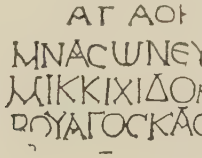


Γά(ϊορ) Ἰούλιρ Φιλοχαρεῖνορ βουαγὸρ μικκιχιδδομένων ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Ἀβιδίω
Βιάδα νεικάαρ τὸ παιδικὸν κασσηρατόριν καὶ
μῶαν Ἀρτέμιδι Βωρθέᾳ
ἀνέσηκε.

For the patronomate of G. Avidius Biadas cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 71 *b*, ll. 8–9 and 24, and *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 169 *sq.*, 1, C 9 + 10 and 11, and pp. 193 *sq.* Kolbe rejects my suggestion that the present victor is the same as Φιλοχαρεῖνορ Λυσίππω whose victory in the year of Sejanus is commemorated in No. 50, but his objection that the other boy does not record his Roman citizenship is not valid, for we see that Biadas himself in the two texts cited above (*B.S.A.*, *l.c.*) records it in one and not in the other. The objection that a boy could not be βοαγός μικιζομένων in two successive years is more serious, but I still think it possible that in some exceptional circumstances Φιλοχαρεῖνος was permitted to style himself accordingly and to compete in two successive contests; for it seems that Biadas held office in the year after Sejanus. (Cf. *B.S.A.*, *l.c.*, p. 193, where the curious fact is commented on that the lists of the γερουσία for their two years seem practically identical, *l.c.*, pp. 169 *sq.*, 1, C 9 + 10, almost duplicating *S.M.C.* 787.)

53. Stele of bluish marble complete above and on left, with pediment (broken off and refound). H. of inscribed portion ·14; br. ·17; th. ·05. Letters ·02. Traces of socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xv. p. 43, 98; *I.G.* v. 1, 322.

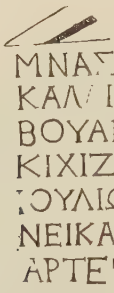


Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].
Μνάσων Εὐ - -
μικκιχιδομ[ένων]
βουαγὸς κασ[σηρατό-]
[ριν ν]ε[ικάσας(?) - -]

The victor is not identifiable.

54. Part of a gable-topped stele of whitish marble, complete on l. and below. H. ·26; br. ·12; th. ·045. Letters *ca.* ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 186, 59; *I.G.* v. 1, 319.



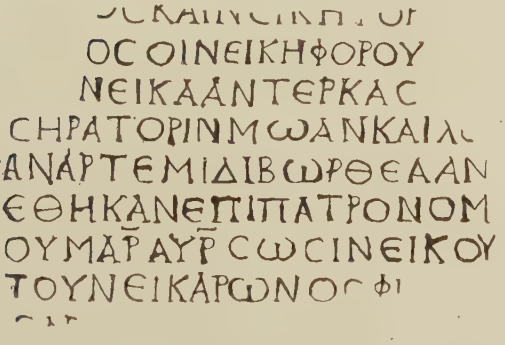
Μναϙ[- - - - - -]
Καλλικρ̣[άτους(?)]
βουαγὸ[ρ μι-]
κιχιϛο[μένων ἐπὶ]
'Ιουλίω[- - - -]
νεικάϙ[ρ - - -]
'Αρτέμ[ιτι Βωρθέᾳ].

The victor is not identifiable, but is possibly the Μνάσων to whom, with Λυσίμαχος, Φιλωνίδας and Φιλοκλῆς ⟨ are κάσεν, *I.G.* v. 1, 68, l. 26 *sq.*, 69, l. 25, 70, l. 3. In this case his victory will have to be dated quite early in the second century. For the Eponymos there is a large choice of possible names of Julii.

Nos. 53 and 54 are inserted here as in any case they can hardly be later than the middle of the second century of our era.

55. Stele of white marble, broken above and below. H. ·25; br. ·40; th. ·04. Letters *ca.* ·02. Remains of sockets for two sickles at the sides. (Found before 1868, and frequently published: for bibliography *v. I.G.* v. 1, *ad loc.*)

S.M.C. 221; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 356, *d*; *I.G.* v. 1, 301; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 127, xli.



- - - - - - -
ος καὶ Νεικηφόρ-
ος οἱ Νεικηφόρου
νεικάαντερ κασ-
σηρατόριν μῶαν καιλο[ῖ-]
αν 'Αρτέμιδι Βωρθέᾳ ἀν-
έθηκαν ἐπὶ πατρονόμ-
ου Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)
Σωσινείκου
τοῦ Νεικάρωνος φι[λοκαί-]
σαρ[ος καὶ φιλοπάτριδος].

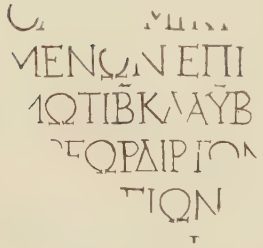
Kolbe indicates that there were originally three victors' names, but this must remain uncertain. In ll. 4–5 I follow him in reading καιλο[ῖ]|αν rather than καιλό|αν or καιλῷ|αν or καιλῇ|αν. Less remains visible of the last word of l. 8 than in the earlier copies.

I agree with Kolbe in identifying the father of the Eponymos with a well-known person, Νεικάρων Ζήλου, whose *cursus* is recorded in *B.S.A.* xxvi.

pp. 166 *sq.*, 1, B 9, and cf. pp. 186 *sqq.*; as his career extended from *ca.* 125–145, his son may have been Eponymos *ca.* 160–170 A.D.

56. Two adjoining fragments from a stele of white marble, broken on all sides. H. ·20; br. ·19; th. ·04. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 374, 36; *I.G.* v. 1, 302.

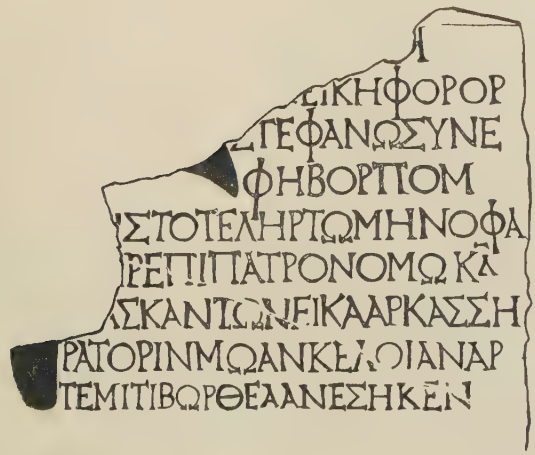


[- - - - - - - β-]
ọ̣ọ̣[γὸρ] μ̣ι̣κ̣κ̣[ιχιδδο-]
μ̣ένῳ ἐπὶ [πατρονό-]
μω Τιβ(ερίω) Κλ̣αυ(δίω) Β[ρασίδα ἀρχιε-]
ρ̣έ̣ωρ δὶρ τ̣ῷ̣ν [Σεβαστῶν καὶ]
[τῶν θ]ε̣ί̣ων [προγόνων αὐτῶν]
- - - - - τ̣ - - - - - - - .

Kolbe at first followed Tillyard in restoring in l. 3 *ad fin.* [ἰε̣-]|ρέωρ etc.; but the priests of the Emperor(s) at Sparta are always styled ἀρχιερεύς, which I restore accordingly. This enables us to write Σεβαστῶν for Σεββ. in l. 4, giving us 22 letters for l. 3 and 21 for l. 4. Kolbe makes the same corrections in the *addenda*, p. 303. The earlier lines are definitely shorter, perhaps owing to the socket for the sickle having been placed on the right of them. The Eponymos seems rightly identified with Τιβ. Κλαύ. Βρασίδας III in Kolbe's *stemma* on p. 131, though he may be father of, and not identical with, the Brasidas who appears in No. 68 below. His date may well have been *ca.* 180.

57. Stele of bluish marble with remains of pediment, complete below and on r., and broken through. H. ·375; br. ·37; th. ·05. Letters ·024. Remains of socket for sickle on left.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 185, 57; *I.G.* v. 1, 303.

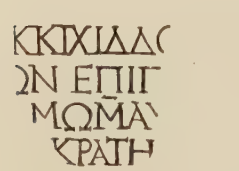


[Ἀγαθῇ τύχ]η̣.
[Ν]ε̣ι̣κηφόρορ
Σ̣τ̣εφάνω, συνέ-
φηβορ Πομ(πηΐ̣ω)
[Ἀρ]ιστοτέληρ τῶ Μηνοφά-
[νη]ρ, ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Κλ(αυδίω)
[Ἀβ]ą̣σκάντω νεικάαρ κασση-
ρατόριν μῶαν κελοΐαν Ἀρ-
τέμιτι Βωρθέą̣ ἀνέσηκεν.

The victor is not identifiable. Kolbe's *stemma* of the family of Μηνοφάνης indicates that this dedication must date from about the end of the second century. The Eponymos, Κλ. Ἀβάσκαντος, is not found elsewhere.

58. Fragment of a stele of greyish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·13; br. ·13; th. ·025. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 184, 55; *I.G.* v. 1, 300.

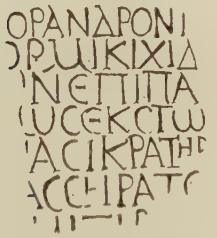


[- - - βοαγὸρ]
[μι]κκιχιδδ̣ο̣[μέ-]
[ν]ῳν ἐπὶ π̣[ατρο-]
[νό]μ̣ω Μ(άρκω) Αὐ̣[ρ](ηλίω)
[Πασι]ᾳ̣κράτη[ρ - - -]

I could not distinguish the traces, indicated in the original publication, of the O at the beginning of l. 3 and of the I at that of l. 4. The Eponymos whose name is a fairly safe restoration is not otherwise known, for he must be distinguished from Πασικράτης νεώτερος in *I.G.* v. 1, 40, with whom Kolbe would identify him; the latter, as we now see from *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 195, belongs to the first, and not to the third, quarter of the second century.

59. Fragmentary stele of white marble with black veins, broken on all sides, but perhaps no line lost above or below. H. ·20; br. ·12; th. ·038. Letters ·018.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 187, 61; *I.G.* v. 1, 306.

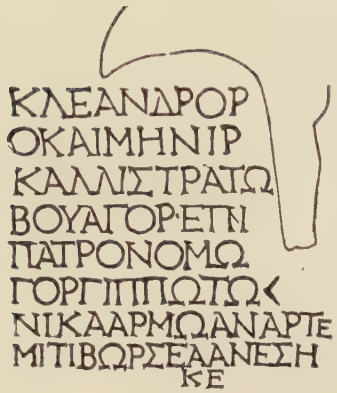


[- -]ε̣ορ Ἀνδρονί[κω]
[βοαγ]ὸρ μικιχιδ[δο-]
[μέν]ῳν ἐπὶ πα[τρο-]
[νόμ]ω Σέκστω [Πομπηΐ-]
[ω Ὀ]ν̣ασικράτη̣ρ̣ [νικά-]
[αρ κ]ᾳ̣σσῃρᾳτ̣ό̣[ριν]
[Ἀρτέ]μ̣ι̣τ̣ι̣ Β̣[ωρθείᾳ].

The victor cannot be identified, but his date falls late in the second century, as the Eponymos S. Pompeius Onasikrates is known from more than one inscription. Cf. Kolbe's note on *I.G.* v. 1, 89, and cf. 129.

60. Stele of bluish marble with pediment. H. ·45; br. ·27; th. ·08. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle on right.

B.S.A. xii. p. 368, 21; *I.G.* v. 1, 307; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 126, xl.

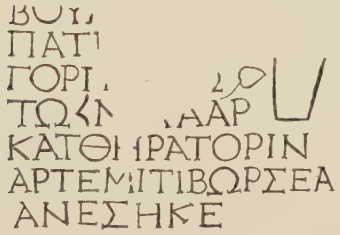


Κλέανδρορ
ὁ καὶ Μῆνιρ
Καλλιστράτω
βουαγὸρ ἐπὶ
πατρονόμω
Γοργίππω τῶ (Γοργίππω)
νικάαρ μῶαν Ἀρτέ-
μιτι Βωρσέᾳ ἀνέση-
κε.

For the date of Gorgippos see Kolbe's note on v. 1, 89 and the *stemma* of Κλέανδρος in his note on this text. The victor at a later date received Roman citizenship and served as Eponymos (No. 70 below).

61. Lower part of a stele of white marble, broken through. H. ·25; br. ·30; th. ·08. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle on r.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 77, 69; *I.G.* v. 1, 308.



βο̣υα[γὸρ ἐπὶ]
πατρ̣[ονόμω]
Γορχ̣ί[ππ]ῳ
τῶ (Γοργίππω) ν̣[ει]κ̣ά̣αρ
κατθῃρατόριν
Ἀρτέμιτι Βωρσέᾳ
ἀνέσηκε.

62. Stele of white marble with pediment and acroteria incised. Broken through, but complete except for the upper left-hand corner. H. ·47; br. ·29; th. ·03. Socket for sickle on r. (Found at Magoula in 1868. For bibliography see Kolbe *ad loc.*)

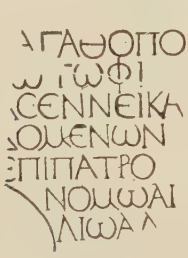
S.M.C. 219 + 501; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 355, *b*; *I.G.* v. 1, 309.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύ]χῃ.
Φίλητορ
Φιλήτω
ἐπὶ πατρο-
νόμω Γορ-
γίππω τῶ (Γοργίππω)
νεικάαρ κε(λ)ῦαν
Ἀρτέμιτι Βωρσέᾳ
ἀνέσηκε.

In l. 7 κελῦαν is written with A for Λ. For the date of the victory of Φίλητος< see No. 60 above. To him also is κάσεν the victor in No. 63 below.

63. Two adjoining fragments forming part of a stele of red marble (porphyry (?)) with ornate pediment and acroteria in relief; complete above and on r. H. ·305; br. ·15; th. ·05. Letters ·02. Socket for sickle below, on l. (The upper portion was found in 1907, the lower in 1928.)

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. Nos. 2502 + 2928; S.M. No. 1586 (upper portion).



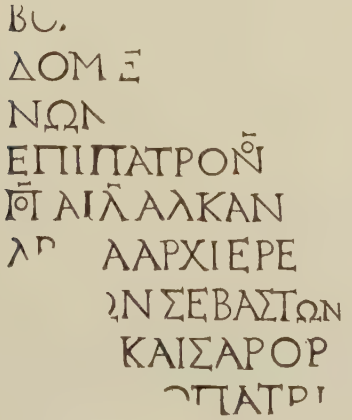
[Μᾶρ. Αὐρ.] Ἀγαθόπο-
[υς ⟨ Φιλήτ]ῳ τῷ Φι-
[λήτω(?) κ]άσεν νεικά-
[αρ μικιχιδ]ομένων
[κελοῖαν(?)] ἐπὶ πατρο-
νόμω Αἰ-
(socket) λίω Ἀλ-
[κανδρίδα]
- - - -

The victor belongs to a family already well known, for it is apparently his brother M. Αὐρ. Φίλητος who is honoured with a statue in v. 1, 565, and perhaps the victor himself, or more probably his son, appears in a list of σφαιρεῖς, v. 1, 684, l. 15, at a date soon after the beginning of the third century. Φίλητος, whose name I restore in ll. 2 and 3, is only a conjecture, but exactly fills the space; and as Ἀγαθόπους has a brother of this name, it is highly probable that he was in fact κάσεν to a kinsman. In this case Φίλητος ⟨ may be identified with the victor in No. 62, above.

The name of the Eponymos is a certain restoration, and we have apparently another victor of his year in No. 64.

64. Two adjoining fragments, forming part of a stele of white marble, complete on l. only. H. ·33; br. ·38; th. ·04. Letters ·02. Remains of socket for sickle on r. In l. 1 are remains of OPM not shown in the facsimile.

B.S.A. xii. p. 359, 2; xiv. p. 99, 2*; *I.G.* v. 1, 304.

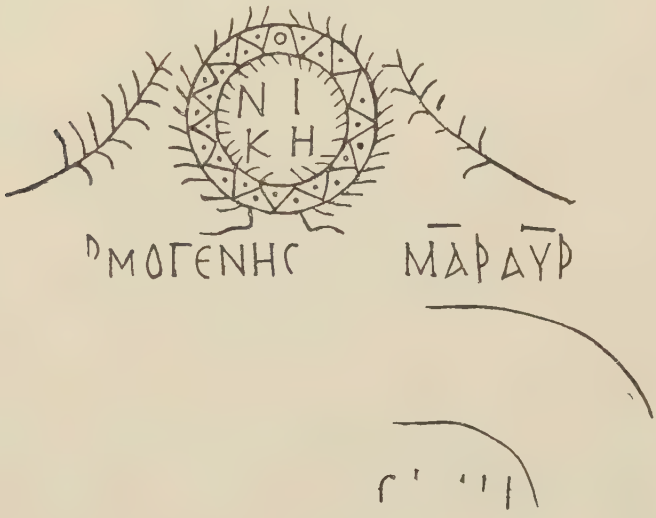


- - - - -
βο̣ρ̣[γ]ο̣ῤ μ̣[ικκιχιδ-]
δομέ̣-
νωῤ
ἐπὶ πατρονό(μω)]
Πο(πλίω) Αἰλ(ίω) Ἀλκαν-
δῤ[ίδ]α ἀρχιερέ-
[ορ τ]ῶν Σεβαστῶν
[φιλο]καίσαρορ
[καὶ φιλ]ο̣πάτρι-
[δορ - - -]

I am disposed to follow Kolbe in regarding the Eponymos as the father, not the son, of Πό. Αἴλιος Δαμοκρατίδας Ἀλκανδρίδα, whose tenure of the same post is recorded in No. 69 below. In the former case this dedication can hardly fall later than *ca.* 180, in the latter perhaps late in, or after, the reign of Caracalla. In addition to the inscriptions relating to the family discussed by Kolbe (note on v. 1, 554), *v. B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 211 *sq.*, Nos. 10 and 11.

65. Four fragments of a stele of bluish marble, with pediment: three of these join to form the upper portion, the fourth contains part of the last two lines. Dimensions of former: h. ·29; br. ·43; th. ·05. Letters ·017, with red paint in them. Ornate wreath flanked by two palms in pediment, and socket for sickle on r. of text.

B.S.A. xiv. pp. 75 *sq.*, 67; *I.G.* v. 1, 330.

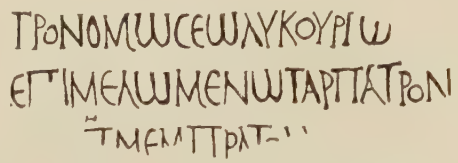


Νί-
κη.
[Ἑ]ρμογένης Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - ϛ . . . ι (?)
[νικάσας] κασ[σηρατόριν ἀνέ-]
[θηκεν] Ἀρτέμιδι [Βωρθέᾳ].

Date uncertain, as the victor is not identifiable. The lettering suggests a date not before the last quarter of the second century, and the presence of the colour in the letters may well mean that the stone had not stood for many years before being broken up for building material.

66. Fragment of a stele of bluish marble, complete (at one point) on r. only. H. ·09; br. ·26; th. ·08. Letters ·02. Traces of socket for sickle below.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 184, 53; xiv. p. 112; *I.G.* v. 1, 311.



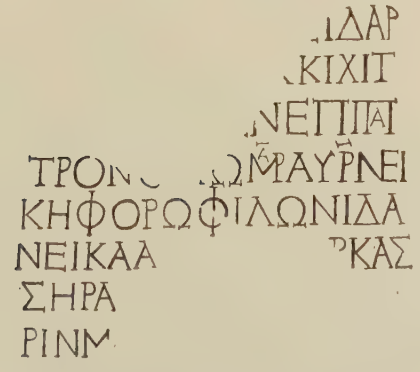
['Επὶ πα]τρονόμω σεῶ Λυκούργω
[τὸ δ'], ἐπιμελωμένω τᾶρ πατρον-
[ομίαρ] Π(οπλίω) Μεμ(μίω) Πρατολά[ω τῶ καὶ]
['Αριστοκλέους τῶ Δαμάρους - - - -].

Kolbe adds to the restoration of ll. 1, 2 [τὸ δ', ὑπὲρ | αὐτὸν], for which there is no room, and ends l. 2 with πατρον[ο]-, but the N is certainly the end of the line, as the edge of the stele is here preserved. In l. 2 the previously published copy erroneously read ἐπιμελουμένω for ἐπιμελωμένω.

For the patronomate of the deified Lycurgus see *B.S.A.* xiv. *l.c.* We must add to the evidence the inscriptions from the theatre, *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 168, 1, C 5 and p. 200, 2 α. For P. Memmius Pratolaos who acted on his behalf, cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 541, 542, 543, 544 (all statue-bases in his honour), 547, 592, and *stemma* on p. 117; and cf. pp. 359, 360 below, where *I.G.* v. 1, 542 and 544 are republished (Nos. 145, 146).

67. Two adjoining fragments forming part of a stele of bluish marble, complete at sides only. H. ·32; br. ·32; th. ·075. Letters ·025. Socket for sickle below. (The right-hand portion was found in 1906, the left-hand in 1908.)

B.S.A. xii. p. 379, 45; xiv. p. 99, 45*; *I.G.* v. 1, 310.



- - - εἶδαρ (or [Βρα]σίδαρ?)
[βοαγὸρ μι]κκιχιτ-
[ομέν]ων ἐπὶ πα-
τρονόμω Μάρ(κω) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Νει-
κηφόρω Φιλωνίδα
νεικάαρ κασ-
σηρα[τό-]
ριν μ[ῶαν]
κα[ὶ κελῆαν]
- - - - - - - -

The facsimile does not show l. 9, of which there are traces on the squeeze.

Exact date uncertain, but closely contemporary with the previous inscription, as the Eponymos is a colleague of P. Memmius Pratolaos in v. 1, 544 (= No. 145, below).

68. Stele of greyish marble with plain pediment. H. ·71; br. ·33. Letters ·025. Socket for sickle at upper left-hand corner. (Built into the wall of a private house in Sparta, over the entrance to the inner yard; copied by A. M. W. in 1908.)

B.S.A. xiv. p. 89, 85; *I.G.* v. 1, 312.

ἈΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ.
ΠΟΠΛΗΡ ΜΕΜΜ(ΙΟΡ)
ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΡ
ΔΑΜΑΡΟΥ(Σ) ΒΟΑΓΟΡ
ΜΙΚΚΙΧΙΔΟΜΕ-
ΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΤΡΟ-
ΝΟΜΩ ΘΕΩ ΛΥ-
Κ[Ο]ΥΡΓΩ ΤΟ ΙΑ',
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΜΕΝΩ ΤΑΡ
ΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΡ ΤΙ(ΒΕΡΙΩ) ΚΛΑ(ΥΔΙΩ)
ΒΡΑΣΙΔΑ ΤΩ ΒΡΑΣΙΔΑ
ΝΕΙΚΑΑΡ ΚΑΣΣΗΡΑΤΟΡΙΝ
ΜΩΑΝ ΚΕΛΟΙΑΝ ΑΡΤΕ-
ΜΙΔΙ ΩΡΘΕΑ ΑΝΕΣΗ-
ΚΕΝ.

The victor is apparently younger brother of P. Memmius Pratolaos who acted as ἐπιμελητής of the fourth patronomate of Lycurgus, in No. 66 above, *q.v.*; it is just possible, however, that he might be his grandson, as we know that Pratolaos also had a son named Damares (v. 1, 547). This explanation would get over the difficulty of believing that there were two brothers so widely separated in age that the younger was a victor at the Orthia sanctuary at least seven years after his elder brother had held the responsible office of ἐπιμελητὴς πατρονομίας as well as, apparently, that of πατρονόμος ἐπώνυμος (as implied by v. 1, 544).

The ἐπιμελητής on this occasion is perhaps not Τιβ. Κλ. Βρασίδας III, but a son, Βρασίδας IV, otherwise unknown. For the patronomate of Lycurgus see above under No. 66.

69. Stele of reddish marble with incised pediment in which are carved a palm-branch, and the socket for the sickle. H. ·55; br. ·42; th. ·045. Letters in ll. 1–3, *ca.* ·03, the rest ·02. (Found built into the Church of the Εὐαγγελίστρια before 1872 and frequently published.)

S.M.C. 220; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 356, *c*; *I.G.* v. 1, 305; Bourguet, *op. cit.*, p. 130, xliv.

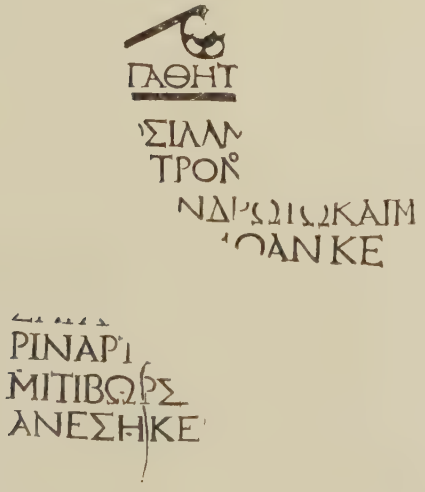
Ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ.
Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ζεύξιππον ὁ κ[αὶ]
Κλέανδρον Φιλομούσω, ἱε-
ρεὺν Λευκιππίδων καὶ Τινδαρι-
δᾶν, βουαγὸν μικκιχιδδομέ-
νων, ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Πο(πλίω) Αἰλίω
Δαμοκρατίδα τῷ Ἀλκανδρίδα ἀρ-
χιερέον τῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῶν
[θ]είων προγόνων ὠτῷ φιλο-
[καί]σαρον καὶ φιλοπάτριδον αἰω-
[νίω] ἀγορανόμω πλειστονε[ίκω]
[παραδ]όξω καὶ ἀρίστω Ἑλλά[νων]
[νεικά]αρ κασσηρατόριν, [μῶαν, κε-]
[λοῖαν(?) Ἀρτ]έμιδι Βωρθέᾳ ἀν-
[έθη]κεν.

I follow Kolbe in restoring [μῶαν κε|λοῖαν] in ll. 14–15 (he writes κελέαν, but κελοῖαν is the more likely spelling at this period); Tod, as also Preger and Meister, restores [μῶαν] only, but there seems room for the name of the third contest also.

The victor is unknown, but the Eponymos is well known, cf. No. 64 above. His date is perhaps little—if at all—before 200 A.D. Kolbe puts him in the reign of Commodus; Tod, following Foucart, in that of M. Aurelius or Commodus.

70. Four fragments of a stele of whitish marble with remains of pediment: *a* and *b* join and belong to the upper portion; *c* and *d* also join and belong to the bottom, but there is a gap between them and *a* and *b*. H. over all ·38; br. ·33; th. ·04. Letters ·015–·012. Probably a socket for sickle was cut in the lower right-hand corner, now lost.

B.S.A. xii. p. 369, 24 (*a* only); xiv. p. 96, 24* (all); *I.G.* v. 1, 313.



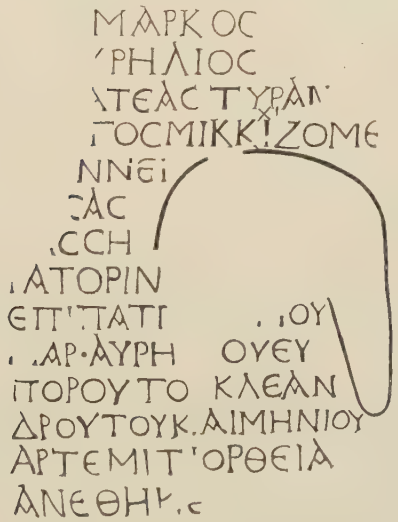
[Ἀ]γαθῇ τ[ύχῃ].
. . . σιλλμ - - -
[ἐπὶ πα]τρονό(μω) [Μάρκω Αὐρη-]
[λίω Κλεά]νδρῳ τῷ καὶ Μ-
[ηνίω νικάαρ] μῶαν κε-
[λοῖαν κασ-]
σηρα[τό-]
ριν Ἀρτ[έ-]
μιτι Βωρσέ[α]
ἀνέσηκε.

Further study of the stone shows that the reading originally given for l. 2 is not satisfactory. Apparently three letters are lost; then comes ΟΣΙΛΛ followed by Ν which must have been Μ, not Ν. Σιλᾶν[ός] is therefore impossible, but I have no suggestion for the name to replace it. We must, I think, conclude that the engraver has made a mistake, which defies certain detection. Kolbe is wrong in not showing a line as lost between l. 5 and that beginning ϙηρᾳ, as a result of following my erroneous transcript in *B.S.A.* xiv. *l.c.*; the lines are now, I believe, correctly spaced.

For the Eponymos Μ. Αὐρ. Κλέανδρος ὁ καὶ Μήνιος see above, No. 60, where he is victor in the year of Γόργιππος (. The date can hardly be before 200, and Kolbe may well be right in putting it after 212 A.D. The son of Κλέανδρος appears as Eponymos in the next inscription.

71. Stele of bluish marble, put together from five fragments, with plain pediment and no acroteria. H. ·45 (without pediment); br. ·33; th. ·03 above, increasing to *ca.* ·048 below. Letters ·02. Remains of socket for sickle on r. (Four fragments found in 1906, the fifth, from the lower right-hand corner, in 1908.)

B.S.A. xii. pp. 367 *sqq.*, Nos. 18, 23, 29, 30; xiii. p. 200; xiv. p. 97, 18*; *I.G.* v. 1, 314; S.M. Nos. 1533 (lower part), 1543 (upper part).



Μᾶρκος
[Α]ὐρήλιος
[Πρ]ᾳτέας Τυράν[νου]
[βοα]γὸς μικκιχιʒομέ-
[νω]ν νει-
[κά]ϙας
[κ]ᾳσση-
ρατόριν
ἐπὶ πατρ[ονό]μου
Μ̣άρ(κου) Αὐρη[λί]ου Εὐ-
πόρου το[ῦ] Κλεάν-
δρου τοῦ καὶ Μηνίου
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ
ἀνέθηϙε.

The victor is unknown. It is interesting to see that in this, the latest inscription of the series, a return is made to the use of the κοινή.

§ III. *Fragments of Inscriptions relating to the* ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΣ ΑΓΩΝ.

The arrangement of the fragments which follow (Nos. 72–135) is based on their contents, thus :—

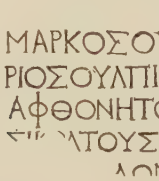
Nos. 72–83 : *Names of Victors.*

Nos. 84–104 : *Names of Eponymoi, lacking the Victors' Names.*

Nos. 105–118 : *Names of Contests and Dedications.*
Nos. 119–128 : *Fragments headed* Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ *only.*
Nos. 129–135 : *Small and unplaced fragments.*

72. Large fragment of a gable topped stele of reddish marble, broken on r. and below. H. ·25; br. ·22; th. ·03. Letters ·014–·018. Socket for sickle on r. (Found before 1879.)

S.M.C. 410; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 356, *e*; *I.G.* v. 1, 323.



Μᾶρκος Οὐαλέ-
ριος Οὐλπιανὸς
Ἀφθόνητος Σω-
σικράτους βουαγ-
[ὸς μικιδ]δομέν[ων]
- - - - - - - -

I prefer to follow Tod's reading, *S.M.C.* 410, as against Kolbe's βουαγ[ὸς | μικιχιδ]δομέν[ων], as there seems no room to complete the ος of βουαγός in l. 4. The victor must be related to M. Ulpius Aphthonetos (cf. No. 43 above), and subsequently having been adopted by someone with the *nomen* Valerius, changed Ulpius to Ulpianus (Kolbe).

73. Fragment of a stele of bluish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·18; br. ·09; th. ·02. Letters ·015.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 198, 65; *I.G.* v. 1, 325; S.M. No. 1615.

[Σ]έκστο[ς Πομπήϊος]
[Μ]ηνοφ[άνης ⟨ (?) βοαγ-]
[ὸ]ρ μικ[ιχιδδομέ-]
[ν]ων ἐπ[ὶ - - - - - - -]

Perhaps the father of S. Pompeius Aristoteles, the βουαγός in No. 57; I insert ⟨ to indicate the father's name, for which there seems space, though it is a mere conjecture.

74. Fragment of a small plain stele of greyish marble with incised pediment, complete above and on l. H. ·15; br. ·075; th. ·015. Letters ·012–·015. Line 1 is engraved in the pediment.

B.S.A. xii. p. 378, 43; *I.G.* v. 1, 324.

Ἀγα[θῇ τύχῃ].
Σέκ(στος) Π[ομπήϊος Δα-]
μαίνε[τος Θεοξένου(?)]
βοαγὸ[ς μικιχιζομέ-]
νων - - - - - - - -

75. Fragment from the upper right-hand corner of a stele of greyish marble with a palmette in relief at the angle. H. ·20; br. ·19; th. *ca.* ·03. Letters ·017.

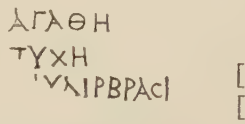
B.S.A. xii. p. 374, 37; *I.G.* v. 1, 331.

[Ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ.
- - - - - Ἀρχιάδαρ
- - - - ḍα βοαγὸρ
[μικιχιδδομένων]
- - - - - -

There are traces of Δ (or Λ?) before the A at the beginning of l. 3, though they are not shown on the facsimile. The victor is not recognisable.

76. Similar fragment, with plain pediment, complete above and on r. H. ·20; br. ·30; th. ·04. Letters ·015.

B.S.A. xv. p. 43, 99; *I.G.* v. 1, 332.



Ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ.
[Τι. Κλ]αύδιρ Βρασί-
[δαρ - - - - - - - -]

77. Fragment of bluish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·075; br. ·115; th. ·05. Letters ·02.

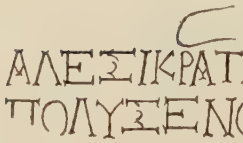
B.S.A. xii. p. 373, 33; *I.G.* v. 1, 333.

- - - - ι Αὐρήλι-
[ος Χαρμ]οσυν[ὸς]
- - - - - τ (or ε or σ) - -.

The first letter in l. 1 is certainly *iota* on the stone, and not Μ as Kolbe concludes. I do not share his hesitation over [Χαρμ]οσυν[ός] as it is a known Spartan name, (*I.G.* v. 1, 144) and no alternative name readily occurs to one. In l. 3 nothing is certain except a horizontal stroke under the Ο in the previous line; the Γ shown following it is imaginary.

78. Fragment from the upper portion of a stele of greyish marble, without pediment; complete above and on l., with socket for sickle on r. H. ·25; br. ·21; th. *ca.* ·05. Letters *ca.* ·023.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 91, 91; *I.G.* v. 1, 327.



Ἀλεξικράτη[ς]
Πολυξένου
- - - - -

79. Fragment of gable-topped stele of *rosso antico* with ornate moulding of bead-and-reel and ovolo beneath the pediment, complete above and on l. Traces of socket for sickle on r. H. (over all) ·12; br. ·19. Letters ·017.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 77, 68; *I.G.* v. 1, 328.

Φίλιππος.

Faint traces of a letter after the *sigma*, but not enough to recognise it by.

80. Small fragment from a stele of white marble, broken on all sides, with remains of socket for sickle on l., stained with iron rust. H. ·09; br. ·09; th. ·05. Letters *ca.* ·024.

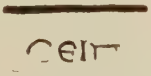
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2498; S.M. No. 1637.

Ξεν[ο - - -]
καὶ ι - - - -
.οι - - - -

Apparently a dedication by two brothers, as in Nos. 47, 55 and 105(?).

81. Small fragment from the upper left-hand corner of a gable-topped stele of greyish marble. H. ·09; br. ·09; th. ·062. Letters *ca.* ·01.

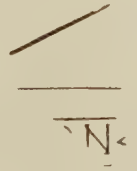
B.S.A. xiv. p. 91, 92; *I.G.* v. 1, 354; S.M. No. 1610.



Ξείπ[ομπος - -].

82. Small fragment, complete above only, from the top of a gable-topped stele of greyish marble. H. ·14; br. ·09; th. ·03. Letter ·022.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2186; S.M. No. 1605.



- - ων(- -
- - - - -

Probably five letters are lost before the *omega*.

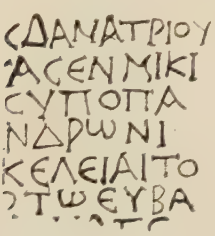
83. Two adjoining fragments from the left-hand side of a large stele of white marble, with socket for sickle on left, and incised frame-line. H. ·14; br. (max.) ·132; th. ·035. Letters ·02.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. —; S.M. No. 1654.

Μ.[Αὐρ.(?) - -]

84. Fragment from right-hand side of a stele of *rosso antico*, without pediment; a wreath is carved in relief above the middle of l. 1. Broken on l. and below. H. ·16; br. ·105; th. ·04. Letters ·01–·017.

B.S.A. xii. p. 370, 26; *I.G.* v. 1, 334.



- - - - ς Δαματρίου
- - - - κάσεν μικι-
[χιζόμενο]ς ὑπὸ Πα-
[- - - -]άνδρω νι-
[κάσας] κελείαι τὸ
[παιδιχὸν(?) τ]ὸ τῷ εὐβάλ-
[κει καὶ τῷ] κ[υ]ν[αχέ]ται
- - - - - - -

Exact restoration seems impossible, but the position of the wreath shows that nearly half the width of the stele is preserved. Kolbe's restoration, which is in any case misleading, as he was unaware that the stone was complete on the right, postulates too long a line, and it seems certain that we must read in ll. 2, 3 μικι|[χιζόμενο]ς ὑπὸ Πα|- - and not μικι[χιζομένων βοαγὸ]ς ὑπὸ πα|[τρονόμον], etc.[30]

I cannot account for the [τ]ὸ before τῷ εὐβάλ[κει], though we know this contest from Nos. 16 and 18 above, and here, as there, it is coupled with the κυναγέτας. The date need not be late, as the lettering, though irregular, is not unlike that of No. 12.

85. Fragment from left-hand side of stele of bluish marble. H. ·22; br. ·10; th. ·03. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xii. p. 369, 22; *I.G.* v. 1, 320.

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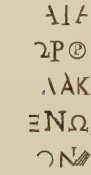
[30] As has been shown above (p. 290) a βουαγός cannot be κάσεν to another boy.

```
- - - - - -
. ạρ ’Αλ̣[- - βουαγὸρ μι-]
κιχιδ̣[δομένων ἐπὶ]
πατρ[ονόμω Πο. Μεμμ. (?) Γεν-]
ναίῳ [νεικάαρ κασσηρα-]
τόρ[ιν καὶ μῶαν ’Αρτέμι-]
τι Βῳ[ρσέᾳ ἀνέθηκεν].
```

The number of letters in l. 2 can only be fifteen, but l. 4 seems to require seventeen at least. Thus the restoration of the name of Γενναῖος as Eponymos fits very well; the only bearer of this name, Πό. Μέμμιος Γενναῖος, appears as Ephor in v. 1, 71*a*, l. 15, but is not known to have been an Eponymos. The man here concerned may belong to a later generation. The last symbol in l. 1 has an oblique stroke, so any restoration such as -[μ]αράτ̣[ω] or -[μ]αραί[ω] is ruled out. Moreover, the first letter of this line must have been a narrow one, *iota*, or possibly *rho*.

86. Small fragment of greyish marble, broken on all sides. H. *ca.* ·07; br. *ca.* ·04. Letters *ca.* ·01. (Now lost (?).)

Unpublished: B.S.Inv. 2567 (‘Artemis Orthia. May 20th, 1907. In old avlaki at entrance of it into arena.’—A. J. B. Wace.); S.M. No. 1610.



```
- - - ᾳια - - -
- - ωρθε̣(?)αρ - -
- - λα καὶ̣ - -
- - ε̣νωῳ - - -
- - ρῳ - - -
```

This seems beyond hope of restoration. If l. 2 should by chance be the remains of [Β]ωρθέ’ ’Αρ[τέμιδι] the dedication comes unusually early in the formula. Lines 4–5 may perhaps be restored [μικιχιδδομ]ένωῳ [νικάαρ | τὸ παιδιχ]όῳ, but this is far from certain.

87. Lower left-hand corner of a stele of bluish marble. H. ·17; br. ·115; th. ·04. Letters ·016.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 89, 84; *I.G.* v. 1, 341.

```
[- - ἐπὶ - - - - -]
[τ]ῷ ⟨ γ̣εικά̣[αρ πρα-]
τ̣οπαμπα[ίδων]
κελοίᾳ ἀγ̣[έθηκεν]
’Αρτέμιτ̣ι [Βωρ-]
θέᾳ.
```

88. Fragment from the bottom of a stele of greyish marble, complete below only. H. ·22; br. ·17; th. *ca.* ·05. Letters ·03.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 88, 83; *I.G.* v. 1, 340.

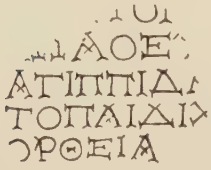
- - - - -
[βοαγ]ὸς [πρατο-]
[παμ]παίδ[ων]
[νικ]ήσας τὸ
[πα]ιδιχὸν
μῶαν.

The ι in l. 4 and μ in l. 5, not shown in the facsimile, are visible on the squeeze.

It looks as if the formula of dedication had been left out altogether.

89. Similar fragment. H. ·14; br. ·17; th. ·095. Letters ·016.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 87, 81; *I.G.* v. 1, 337.



[- - (?) ἐπὶ πα]τρῳν[όμου - - -]
- - - μῴᾳ ὁ Εὐ - - - -
[- - ἐπὶ] Ἀγιππίδᾳ [νικήσας]
- - - τὸ παιδιχ[ὸν - - -]
[ἀνέθηκεν(?)] Ὀρθείᾳ.

Restoration not clear. Kolbe's conjecture in l. 2 Θευ - - is not supported by the stone, on which Ο is clear. If the letters ευ after it belong not to a proper name but to some case of εὐ[βάλκης], as in No. 84, there may have been a somewhat similar phrase here, in spite of the absence of the τῷ.

The lettering is not unlike that of Nos. 14 and 17, and may justify our dating this to the first century of our era—or to the preceding one.

90. Large fragment from the left-hand side of a gable-topped stele, with acroterion, of greyish marble; broken into four pieces. Socket for sickle below. H. ·43; br. ·18; th. ·025. Letters ·037.

B.S.A. xii. p. 375, 39; *I.G.* v. 1, 321.

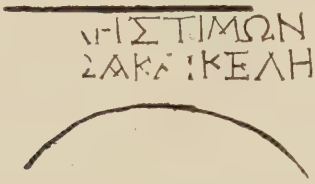
Ἐπὶ [πατρονόμου . .]
δάμ[ου(?) - - - - -]
δας (- δα) Ο (or Θ) [- - νικήσας]
τὸ πᾳ[ιδιχὸν κασση-]
ρα (sickle-socket) [τόριν - -]

L. 4 shows us that there may have been about 15 letters per line, and makes it probable that we should restore πατρονόμου in l. 1 and regard the δαμ- in l. 2 as the second, not the first, syllable of the name of the Eponymos. Kolbe's [νεικάσας] in l. 3 is excluded, as the remains of ο or θ after the patronymic

sign ⟨ are quite clear. Could it be simply the article, in spite of thus giving us a shorter line than we expect? To restore Ọ (or Ⱁ)[- - κάσεν] makes it excessively long.

91. Upper part of stele of *rosso antico* with plain moulding above and socket for sickle below. Surface much weathered. H. ·17; br. ·21; th. ·035. Letters ·015.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 87, 80; *I.G.* v. 1, 338.

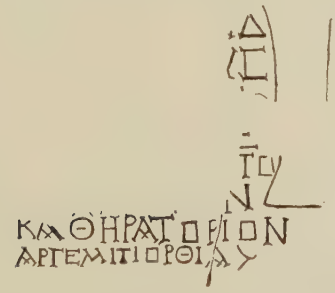


[- - κ]ḷῆς Τίμων[ος]
[νικήσας (?) μ]ώ̣α̣ καὶ κελήα̣
(socket for sickle)
- - - - - -

No doubt the dedication and presumably the date were shown below the socket. The lettering is not bad, and resembles that of No. 16. The use of the dative case for the contests confirms this impression of an early date. The first letter preserved was in all probability λ, certainly not ι or τ; and the *eta* in κελήα̣ is quite certain.

92. Three fragments of a stele of *rosso antico*, of which the two largest (*a*, *b*) join and form the lower portion, which is complete below and on both sides; the third (*c*) is from higher up on the right-hand side. The curve of the socket for the sickle indicates its approximate position. The two fragments together measure: h. ·14; br. ·26; th. ·032; the smaller is ·08 × ·10. Letters of very uneven sizes, ·01–·024.

(*a*) only: *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 91, 89; *I.G.* v. 1, 351; S.M. Nos. 1583 + 1597.



- - - - ṿδ̣
- - - - ṿς
- - - - ı̣ọ
- - - - - ę.
5 - - [νικήσας] τὸ
[π]α̣[ιδιχὸ]ν
κ̣α̣θηρατόριον (*sic*)
Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθίᾳ̣.

93. Small fragment of whitish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·12; br. ·09; th. ·03. Letters ·02.

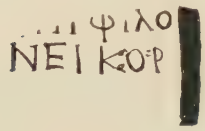
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2514; S.M. No. 1600.

- - τισαι - -
- - ικω - - -
- - ηκρα̣ - - -

Quite hopeless, unless l. 1 should be read as [ἐ]πὶ Σατ[ύρου] *vel sim.* I have even less light to shed on l. 3.

94. Two small fragments which join, from the lower part of a stele of greyish marble, with a broad vertical groove dividing the inscribed surface. H. ·066; br. ·17; th. ·025. Letters *ca.* ·009–·015, with traces of red paint.

(*a*) *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 92, 93; *I.G.* v. 1, 629.
(*b*) Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2190; S.M. No. 1598 (both together).



ἐπὶ Φιλο- | [. . . . . κασ-]
νείκορ | σηρᾳ[τόριν].

Perhaps from a stele clumsily imitating the arrangement of No. 2 above.

95. Small fragment of bluish stone (not marble?) broken on all sides, with socket for sickle below. H. ·11; br. ·08; th. ·035. Letters ·02. (Found in trial-pit south of the Acropolis, 1907.)

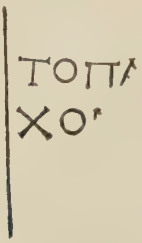
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2559; S. M. No. 1090.

- - -
[νικάσα]ς τὸ [παι-]
[διχὸν κε]λοῖα[ν - -]

For other stelai and fragments belonging to this series, which have been found elsewhere than at the Orthia site, see above, p. 285.

96. Small fragment of bluish marble complete on left only, with traces of socket for sickle above, and an incised frame-line on l. H. ·15; br. ·12. Letters ·011–·018, with incised guide-lines.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2565; S.M. No. 1551.



τὸ πᾳ[ιδι-]
χὸν [μῶαν(?)]

Perhaps the dedication was engraved above the socket, and the contests (only?) recorded below it, as in No. 2.

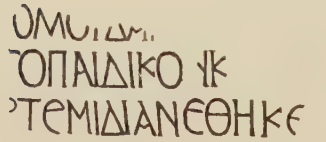
97. Small fragment of thin slab of white marble with incised guide-lines. H. ·07; br. ·045; th. *ca.* ·018. Letters ·021.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2410.

[- - κε]λ̣οῖ[αν-(?)]

98. Fragment of greyish marble stele, broken through; complete below, and traces of socket for sickle above. H. ·17; br. ·24; th. ·06. Letters *ca.* ·025.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 88, 82.; *I.G.* v. 1, 318.

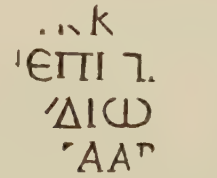


- - - - - - - - -
[ἐπὶ πατρον]όμο̣υ Δ̣α̣μ̣ - -
[νικάσας] τ̣ὸ παιδικὸ̣ν κ - - (*vacat*)
[Ὀρθεί̣α̣ Ἀ]ρ̣τέμιδι ἀνέθηκε.

The curious omission of the name of the contest, except for the initial letter, has already been noted, in the original publication.

99. Small fragment of greyish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·092; br. ·07; th. ·023. Letters ·014.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2324; S.M. No. 1599.



[βοαγὸρ μ]ι̣κ̣[ιχι-]
[ζομένω]ν ἐπὶ π̣α̣-
[τρονόμω Κλα]υ̣δίω . .
[- - - - - νει]κ̣άαρ [τὸ]
[παιδικὸν - - - - - - - -]

The exact position is uncertain, but the lines must have contained 12–16 letters. The missing *nomen* of the Eponymos must have been about nine letters long.

100. Small fragment of bluish marble, complete on left only. H. ·11; br. ·09; th. ·05. Letters *ca.* ·02.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2496; S.M. No. 1635.

- - - - - -
ν̣ο̣ . - - - -
στια[- - - συν-]
έφη̣[βορ (?) - - -]
δὲ κ - - - - -
5 ἐπὶ Χ̣ - - - -.

Restoration hopeless, though possibly in l. 2 we have the remains of the name [Αὐγου]στια[νός], as in v. 1, 144; and in l. 4 conceivably Δέκ[μου], as in v. 1. 85, and not δὲ κ[ελοῖαν *vel sim.*].

101. Small fragment of greyish marble, complete on left only, with incised frame-line. H. ·012; br. ·095. Letters ·018.

B.S.A. xii. p. 379, 46; *I.G.* v. 1, 339.

ν [- - - ἐπὶ - -]
τοῦ Θε̣[οξένου (?) - - ἀ-]
ριστοπ[ολιτευτοῦ - -]
Ὀρθεί̣α̣ ἀ[νέθηκε].

The restoration of the name in l. 2 is merely conjectural, as the son of no Spartan with a name so formed is known to have had the distinction of ἀριστοπολιτεία.

102. Fragment from the upper left-hand corner of a small stele of greyish marble, with incised pediment. H. ·096; br. ·085; Letters ·014 (l. 1); ·009 (ll. 2, 3). L. 1 is outside the pediment, the remainder within it.

B.S.A. xii. p. 369, 25; *I.G.* v. 1, 355.

Ἀγαθ̣[ῇ τύχῃ.]
[1 or 2 lines lost]
σ - - - - (?) [ἐπὶ Ἀφθο-]
νήτω γ[ικάαρ - - - - - - -]

The original width of the stone may have been as much as ·26, and the spacing of the lines suggests that one, or even two, shorter lines may be lost from the apex of the pediment. The last letter surviving after -νήτω seems to have been N (or M ?), not I. For Ἀφθόνητος cf. No. 43.

103. Small fragment of greyish marble, with incised frame-line, complete on r. H. ·09; br. ·11; th. ·02. Letters ·015.

B.S.A. xv. p. 42, 97; *I.G.* v. 1, 335.

[- - - - - - - - ν]ε̣ίκου
[ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεββ. φιλοκ]αίσαρος
[καὶ φιλοπάτριδος ἀριστ]οπολιτευ̣[οῦ]
- - - - - - - - - - -

A possible restoration, suggested in my original publication, for l. 1 would be [ἐπὶ Τιβ. Κλ. Βρασίδα τοῦ Ἀρμον]ε̣ίκου, as we know him as high-priest of the Emperors (No. 56 above) and again as Eponymos (*B.S.A.* xxvii. p. 225, 1, F 1). He is not, however, hitherto known as having received the title ἀριστοπολιτευτής (cf. *B.S.A.* xxvii. p. 243).

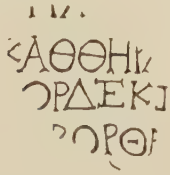
104. Small fragment of white marble, broken on all sides, with remains of socket for sickle on l. H. ·066; br. ·055; th. ·025. Letters ·02. No traces of letters above l. 1.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2309; S.M. No. 1623.

'Επ̣[ὶ πατρονό-]
μ̣ῳ (or μ̣ο̣[υ - - -])

105. Small fragment of *rosso antico*, broken on all sides. H. ·095; br. ·09; th. ·04. Letters ·013–·018. (In house of Matallas at Aphesoú.)

B.S.A. xii. p. 377, 41; *I.G.* v. 1, 344.



[νικάσαντες τὸ] π̣α̣[ιδιχὸν -]
[- - - - μὲν] κ̣αθθηρ̣α̣[τόριν]
- - - - - - - - ο̣ρ δὲ κ̣ε̣[λοῖαν]
[ἀνέθηκαν 'Αρτέμιτι] Β̣ο̣ρθ̣α̣[ίᾳ -]

Apparently a dedication by two victors, to account for the -ο̣ρ δὲ κ̣ε̣[λοῖαν] in l. 3. There is no clue to the exact division of the lines. Date uncertain, but probably not before Hadrian.

106. Fragment from the lower left-hand corner of a stele of greyish marble, apparently complete below and on left. H. ·20; br. ·12; th. ·05. Letters *ca.* ·02.

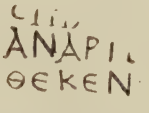
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2164; S.M. No. 1550.

. . . . κ̣ . . . . . .
'Αρ̣τ̣έμ̣[ιτι 'Ορ-]
θείᾳ.

The first line may have ended either with [παιδι]κ̣[ὸν μῶαν] or with - - κ̣[ελέαν].

107. Small fragment of greyish marble, complete below. H. ·10; br. ·13; th. ·02. Letters *ca.* ·01. No letters are lost on the left.

B.S.A. xii. p. 370, 27; *I.G.* v. 1, 342.



[- - - νικάσας - - κασ-]
σ̣η̣ρ̣α̣[τόριν καὶ κελοῖ-]
αν 'Αρ̣τ̣έ̣[μιτι 'Ορθείᾳ ἀνέ-]
θεκεν.

The traces in l. 1 are best accounted for thus, and the ascertained length of l. 2 justifies the restoration [κελοῖ]|αν. For the ε for η in the verb we have no other example in this series, but it may merely be due to the engraver's carelessness.

108. Fragment from near the bottom of a stele of white marble. H. ·15; br. ·08; th. ·038. Letters ·026.

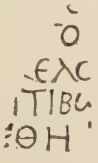
B.S.A. xiv. p. 90, 86; *I.G.* v. 1, 350.

[- κασ]τηρ[ατόριν]
[καὶ μῶα]ν Ἀρτ[έμιδι]
[Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέθη]κε.

The style of the lettering is very like that of Nos. 8, 56 and 64, and points to a date probably after 150 A.D.

109. Fragment from near the bottom of a stele of bluish marble. H. ·13; br. ·07; th. ·03. Letters ·02.

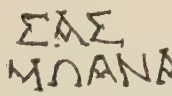
B.S.A. xii. p. 373, 34; *I.G.* v. 1, 343.



- - - ε - -
[νικάσας] τὸ [παιδι-]
[χὸν] κελο[ῖαν Ἀρ-]
[τέμ]ιτι Βω[ρθέᾳ]
[ἀν]έθηκ[εν].

110. Lower half of stele with traces of socket for sickle on r. H. ·22; br. ·33. Letters *ca.* ·017.

B.S.A. xii. p. 378, 42; *I.G.* v. 1, 345.

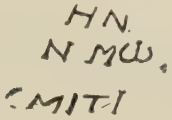


[- - - - - νικά-]
σας [τὸ παιδιχὸν]
μῶαν Ἀρ[τέμιτι Ὀρθείᾳ].

Poor lettering, but perhaps not later than first century A.D.

111. Small fragment, broken on all sides, from near the foot of a stele of grey marble. H. ·08; br. ·07; th. ·03. Letters ·01, of very poor quality.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 184, 54; *I.G.* v. 1, 347.

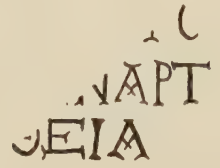


- - ην - - -
[τὸ παιδιχὸ]ν μῶα[ν ἀνέ-]
[θηκεν Ἀρτ]έμιτι [Ὀρθείᾳ (?)].

In spite of the vacant space in the last line it is probable that Ὀρθείᾳ, *vel sim.* was inserted.

112. Fragment of a thin stele of grey marble, with socket for sickle on r. H. ·25; br. ·26; th. ·03. Letters ·03.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 184, 51; *I.G.* v. 1, 346.

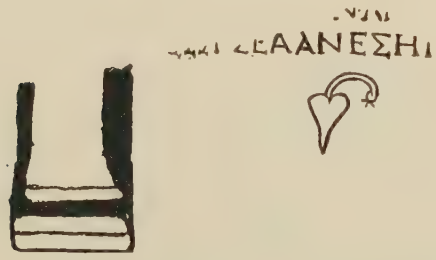


- - τ̣ο̣
- - - - . ν̣ Ἀρτ-
[έμιτι Ὀρ]θ̣είᾳ.

Nothing can be restored with certainty except the last two words. Kolbe's τ̣ὸ̣ [παιδιχὸν] [καθθηρατόρ]ι̣ν, etc., is quite likely, but I am not sure if the first letter of l. 2 was in fact *iota*. The lettering is very like that of Nos. 40 and 78.

113. Lower left-hand corner of stele of white marble with pilaster and base on l., and leaf below. H. ·16; br. ·25. Letters ·009.

B.S.A. xii. p. 363, 9; *I.G.* v. 1, 349.



- - - - - ν̣ Ἀρ̣[τέμιτι]
Β̣ωρ̣ρ̣έ̣ᾳ ἀνέσηκ̣[εν].

114. Fragment of bluish marble, complete below, but broken through; remains of socket for sickle on l. H. ·11; br. ·185; th. ·015. Letters ·013.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 90, 87; *I.G.* v. 1, 353.

[- - - - - - - Ἀρ-]
τ̣έμιτι Β̣[ωρθέᾳ ἀν-]
έθη[κεν].

Uncertain traces of letters in l. 1 perhaps from [κα]ρ̣[σηρ]α̣τ̣[όριν]. Probably not earlier than A.D. 150.

115. Fragment from near the bottom of a stele of grey marble, complete below; socket for sickle on r. H. ·20; br. ·14; th. ·045. Letters ·013–·02.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 91, 90; *I.G.* v. 1, 352.

[- - - ἀ]νέθηκε Ἀ[ρ-]
[τέμιτι Ὀ]ρθείᾳ.

116. Small fragment of white marble, apparently complete on r. H. ·12; br. ·12; th. ·04. Letters ·02.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2488; S.M. No. 1616.

['Αρτέμιτι Β]ωρ-
[θέᾳ ἀν]ἐθηκ[ε].

Perhaps from the hand of the same engraver as No. 115; at any rate about contemporary with it.

117. Small fragment of white marble with veins of mica, complete below only. H. ·06; br. ·10; th. ·04. Letters ·015.

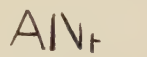
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2643; S.M. No. 1618.

[- - (?) κελ]ἐᾳ 'Ἀρ[τέμ-]
[ιτι Β]ωρθήᾳ.

L. 1 is far from certain.

118. Fragment from the lower left-hand corner of a large stele of greyish marble, apparently with remains of socket for sickle on l. H. ·17; br. ·13; th. ·096. Letters *ca.* ·027.

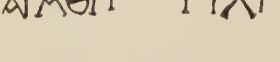
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2557; S.M. No. 1625.



- - - -
ἀνέ[θηκε].

119. Fragment from upper part of gable-topped stele of grey marble, without ornament. H. ·16; br. ·15; th. ·04. Letters ·015, irregular.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 184, 52; *I.G.* v. 1, 356 (*b*).



'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ.

120. Similar fragment, with pediment incised. H. ·11; br. ·25; th. ·03. Letters ·02. (Found in drain, at depth 196·42 m., 1909.)

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2670; S.M. No. 1545.

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ.

121. Similar fragment: flat-topped, with pediment and acroterion incised. H. ·11; br. ·17; th. ·04. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xiii. p. 183, 49; *I.G.* v. 1, 356 (*a*).

'Αγαθ[ῇ]|τύχ[ῃ].

122. Similar fragment: gable-topped, with pediment incised. H. ·16; br. ·08; th. ·04. Letters ·025.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 91, 88; *I.G.* v. 1, 356 (*c*).

Ἀ[γα]|θῇ | τύχ[ῃ].

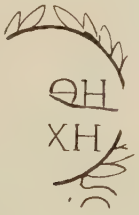
123. Similar fragment, broken through: gable-topped, with pediment and architrave incised. Inscribed on architrave. H. ·10; br. ·10; th. ·05. Letters ·015.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2181 + 2184; S.M. No. 1639 + 1640.

[Ἀγ]αθῇ τύχ[ῃ].

124. Similar fragment, broken through: gable-topped, with inscription in two lines in centre of an ornate wreath. H. ·18; br. ·07. Letters ·02, well cut. No. 131 may be part of the same stele.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2584; S.M. No. 1621.



[Ἀγα]θῇ | [τύ]χῃ.

- - - ◌ - -

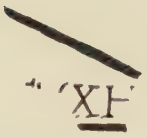
125. Similar fragment, with pediment incised. H. ·09; br. ·09; th. ·02. Letters ·02. (Found in the garden of G. Skandalakos, in the west of modern Sparta, January 1909; but probably, by its appearance, from the same series.)

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2663; S.M. No. 1089.

[Ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ.

126. Similar fragment, with pediment incised, but complete above. H. ·07; br. ·075. Letters ·016.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2515; S.M. No. 1606.



['Αγαθῇ] τύχῃ.

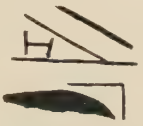
127. Similar fragment, flat-topped, with incised pediment. H. ·085; br. ·06. Letters ·02.

Unpublished. Not in B.S. Inventory nor in that of S.M., but certainly from the series.

'Α[γαθῇ] τ[ύχῃ].

128. Fragment from upper right-hand corner of gable-topped stele, with acroterion. Pediment incised and a frame round the body of the inscription (which is lost); cutting for sickle. H. ·105; br. ·105; th. ·05. Letters ·018.

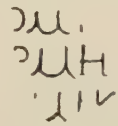
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2325; S.M. No. 1626.



['Αγαθῇ τύχ]ῃ.

129. Small fragment of white marble broken on all sides, though perhaps no line is lost from above l. 1. H. ·085; br. ·066; th. ·025, back rough. Letters ·013–·015.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2326.



- - ομι - - - - -
- - ρμη - - - - -
- - μικ[ιζόμενος (?)]
- - - - - - - -

130. Similar fragment. H. ·08; br. ·08. Letters, in l. 1, ·026; in l. 2 ·023.

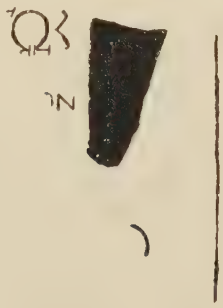
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2195. [Not refound.]

- - ανδ - -
- - Βρα (?) - -

Apparently the remains of names. The squeeze seems to show faint traces of at least one apex of a letter from the line above the letters ανδ.

131. Fragment from the r. edge of a stele of white marble, with the lower end of socket for sickle. H. ·16; br. ·11; th. ·03. Letters, in l. 1, ·02; in l. 2, *ca.* ·01.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2503; S.M. No. 1607.

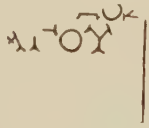


- - τῶ⟨
e.g. [νικάσας τὸ παιδιχ]ὸν
- - - - - -
(2 lines lost (?))
- - - - - ọ (or ω)

Probably not earlier than A.D. 150; perhaps from the same stele as No. 124.

132. Fragment from the lower right-hand corner of a stele of *rosso antico*. H. ·16; br. ·12; th. ·05. Letters ·025.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2512; S.M. No. 1604.



- - - - ẹọς
[- - τοῦ βο]ạγ̣οῦ.

I see no other way of accounting for the last four letters, and the mention of βοαγός suggests the possibility that the stele was erected on behalf of the victor by the βοαγός of his year. This is unparalleled, however, among the dedications from the παιδικὸς ἀγών.

133. Similar fragment, of white marble. H. ·15; br. ·195; th. ·073. Letters ·018.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2328; S.M. No. 1596.

- - - - - -
e.g. [-ἐπὶ Κ]ạλλι-
[κράτους Ὀρθεία̣].

134. Fragment from the upper right-hand corner of a stele with elaborately-cut palmette adorning the acroterion. H. ·17; br. ·12. Letter *ca.* ·018.

Unpublished (No inventory numbers).

- - - - - - - ρ

ᑭ

Faint traces of the preceding letter, perhaps ε, π, or τ.

135. Fragment from the left-hand edge of a stele of *rosso antico*, apparently with socket for sickle on r. H. ·26; br. ·08; th. ·04. Letter ·03.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2560; S.M. No. 1656.

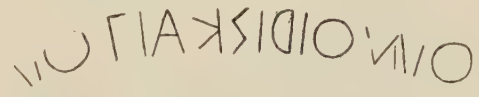
If this is rightly ascribed to the series, this letter has 'overflowed' from the rest of the text on to the margin between the socket and the edge of the stone.

Part 1. B. Inscriptions not relating to the ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΣ ΑΓΩΝ. (Nos. 136–168.)

Nos. 136–140. *Archaic.*

136. Two adjoining fragments from the rim of a marble περιρραντήριον, probably more than a metre in diameter. L. *ca.* ·36; br. of rim ·045. Letters ·03–·036, well cut.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 111, 8; *I.G.* v. 1, 362.



[- - σπένδεν] οἴνοι δὶς καὶ τῷι Ἀ[πέλλονι (?) - -]

The additional stroke in the N must be accidental. The restorations are due to Kolbe and Hiller.

137. Fragment of similar vessel, rather less in diameter, of fine white (island (?)) marble.

L. ·27; br. of rim ·034. Letters ·022–·026.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2659; S.M. No. 1129.

[- - ἀν]έθεκε - -

138. Small fragment of similar vessel, of similar marble to the last. L. ·175; br. of rim ·035.

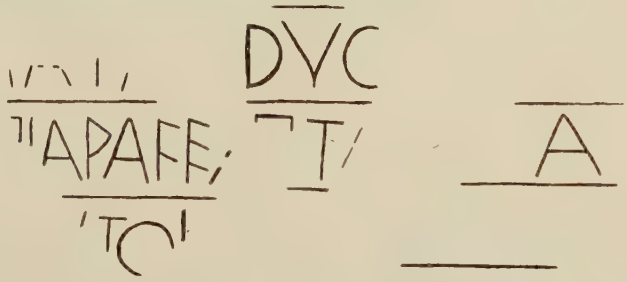
Letters *ca.* ·02, retrograde.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2644; S.M. No. 1132.

[- - ἀνέθε]κε - -

139 (*a*, *b*, *c*). Three fragments, broken on all sides, which seem to belong to the same stele. Bluish-grey stone of uncertain origin. Dimensions: (*a*) h. ·18; br. ·16; (*b*) h. ·165; br. ·13; (*c*) h. ·26; br. ·12. Thickness of each *ca.* ·05, the original surface at the back probably not preserved on any piece. Letters *ca.* ·046–·05; the lines are separated by incised lines at different intervals: width of space on (*a*) ·074; on (*b*) ·074 and ·068; on (*c*) ·063, ·064, ·068. There is no join, and no indication of certain combination between any two pieces.

Unpublished: (*a*) B.S. Inv. No. 2516; S.M. No. 1644; (*b*) B.S. Inv. No. 2230; S.M. No. 1645A; (*c*) B.S. Inv. No. 2931; S.M. No. 1645B.

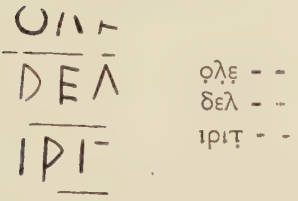


(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
		(blank)
- - - . ᾳ̣ρ̣ᾳ̣ - - - - -	- - δύ̣ο̣ - - -	- - -
- - - π̣ι̣ᾳ̣ραFελ̣ - - -	- [hε]π̣τᾰ̣ - -	α
- - - ν̣ (or υ̣) τ̣ο̣ι̣ (or κ̣) -		- - -
		(blank)

There are no certain traces of letters above or below the A in (*c*). The contents are irrecoverable apart from δύ̣ο̣ and [hε]π̣τᾰ̣, possibly, in (*b*); and perhaps in line 1 or 2 (or both?) of (*a*) we may restore [τέττ]αρα. There is a large choice of possibilities in (*a*) l. 3, according as the first letter was ν or υ. The date is probably the second half of the sixth century, to judge by the lettering.

140. Fragment of a stele of whitish marble complete on l. only. H. ·16; br. ·105; th. ·03–·04. Width of space between lines (1) ·053; (2) ·055. Letters ·03–·035. The edge is rounded and the thickness increases towards the centre.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2283; S.M. No. 1646.



ọλẹ - -
δελ - -
ιριṭ - -

Quite hopeless. The lettering suggests that this may be somewhat later than No. 139, with which it cannot in any case be combined, as the material is different.

141. Marble bench to hold three persons, with pediment above the back of each of the three seats. Most of the left-hand seat is broken away. Each back-panel was inscribed. Total length at present 1·155; h. of back ·45; breadth of middle panel ·335; of that on r. ·36. Letters *ca.* ·02, larger in r. panel.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 103, 1; *I.G.* v. 1, 254.

Fig. 141.—Marble Seat dedicated by Soixiadas. First Century, B.C.

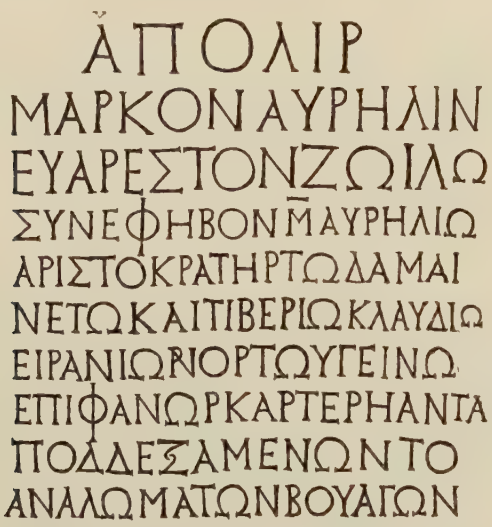
(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
- - ạτίδα	Σοιξιάδας Ἀρικράτεος	ἀṿέθηκεν
- - ς	γεροντεύσας τρίς,	Ὀρθεῖαι.
- - - υς	καὶ πρέσβυς γενόμε-	
	νος δὶς κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆ̃ς	
	ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος	
	καὶ Τιμοστράτου,	

Σοιξιάδας appears to be identical with the man of the same name who is found in *I.G.* v. 1, 133, l. 2, as Eponymos, and possibly the father of Στράτιος Σοιξιάδα in v. 1, 212, l. 34. Both inscriptions belong to the first century B.C., and we may date this bench accordingly. (Cf. pp. 36, 294 *sq.*)

Statue-Bases : (*a*), of Βωμονῖκαι.

142 (**Pl. CCI,** *a*). Columnar statue-base of bluish marble with mouldings at top and bottom, and cuttings above for the feet of the statue and for a votive stele between them. H. 1·10; diam. at top ·60. Letters, in l. 1, ·04; in ll. 2–3, ·03; in ll. 4–10, ·02. (Found built into the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre on the south side. 1910.)

B.S.A. xvi. p. 54, 1; *I.G.* v. 1, 653, *a*, and *add.* p. 304.

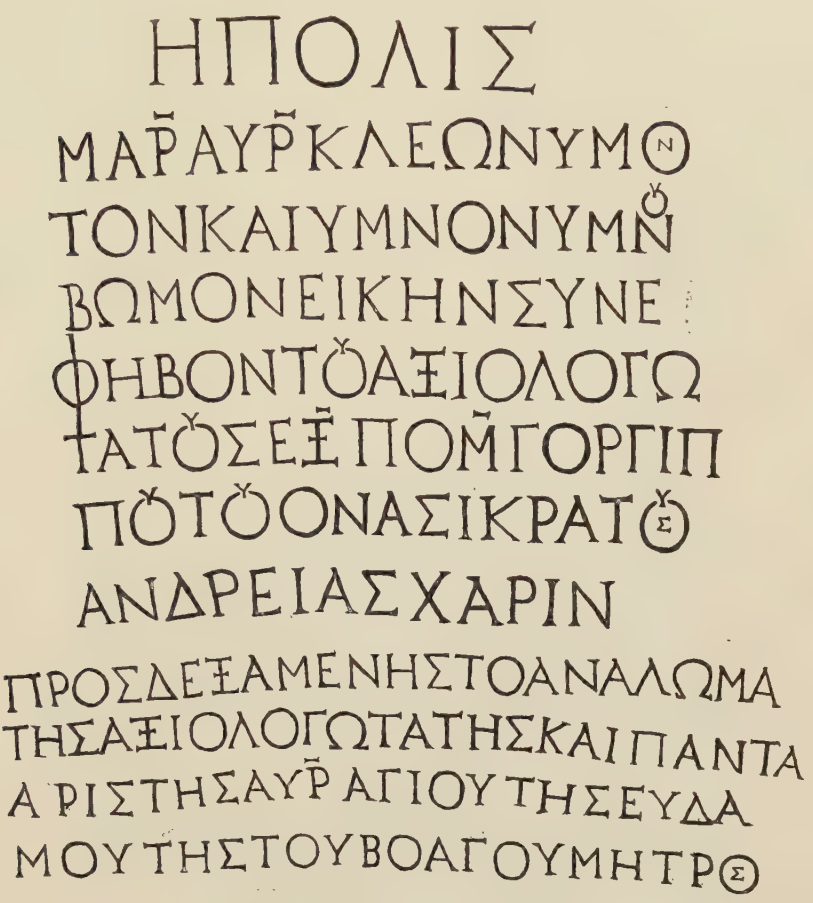


Ἁ πόλιρ
Μᾶρκον Αὐρῆλιν
Εὐάρεστον Ζωΐλω,
συνέφηβον Μ(άρκω) Αὐρηλίω
Ἀριστοκράτηρ τῶ Δαμαι-
νέτω καὶ Τιβερίω Κλαυδίω
Εἰρανίωνορ τῶ Ὑγείνω,
ἐπιφανῶρ καρτερήαντα,
ποδδεξαμένων τὸ
ἀνάλωμα τῶν βουαγῶν.

M. Aur. Aristokrates, to whom the βωμονίκης is συνέφηβος, is known from *I.G.* v. 1, 529 and 530, and styles himself (*inter alia*) ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων μδ′. His boyhood can hardly be dated earlier than the end of the second century.

143 (**Pl. CCI,** *b*). Similar base, but larger and without mouldings. H. 1·45; diam. ·58. Letters, in l. 1, ·05; in ll. 2–8, ·03; in ll. 9–12, ·025. Various cuttings on the top indicate that the base may have been re-used.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 55, 2; *I.G.* v. 1, 653 *b*, and *add.* p. 304.



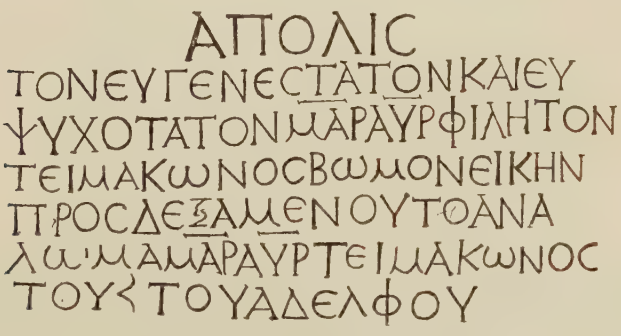
Ἡ πόλις
Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κλεώνυμον
τὸν καὶ Ὕμνον Ὕμνου
βωμονείκην, συνέ-
φηβον τοῦ ἀξιολογω-
τάτου Σέξ(του) Πομ(πηΐου) Γοργίπ-
που τοῦ Ὀνασικράτους,
ἀνδρείας χάριν,
προσδεξαμένης τὸ ἀνάλωμα
τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης καὶ πάντα
ἀρίστης Αὐρ(ηλίας) Ἁγίου τῆς Εὐδά-
μου τῆς τοῦ βουαγοῦ μητρός.

The same man received another statue as βωμονίκης, from the city likewise, but at its own expense, of which the base is known (Ross, *Rhein. Mus.*

1853, p. 127, 17, etc. =*I.G.* v. 1, 653, now lost); as there is no indication that it was erected at the sanctuary of Orthia, I do not republish it here. For the family to which belonged S. Pompeius Gorgippos to whom the victor was συνέφηβος, see *B.S.A.* xvi. *ad loc.*; I am not convinced of the correctness of the *stemma* as modified by Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, *add.* p. 304, though it does not affect the date for the present inscription, which cannot be much before the year 200 A.D. For the evidence from this text for the meaning of συνέφηβος, see above, p. 291.

144. Similar statue-base without mouldings, inscribed near the top. H. 1·60; diam. ·58. Letters, in l. 1, ·032; the rest *ca.* ·024. (Found in 1928 near the point where, in 1910, Nos. 142 and 143 were extracted.)

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2927.



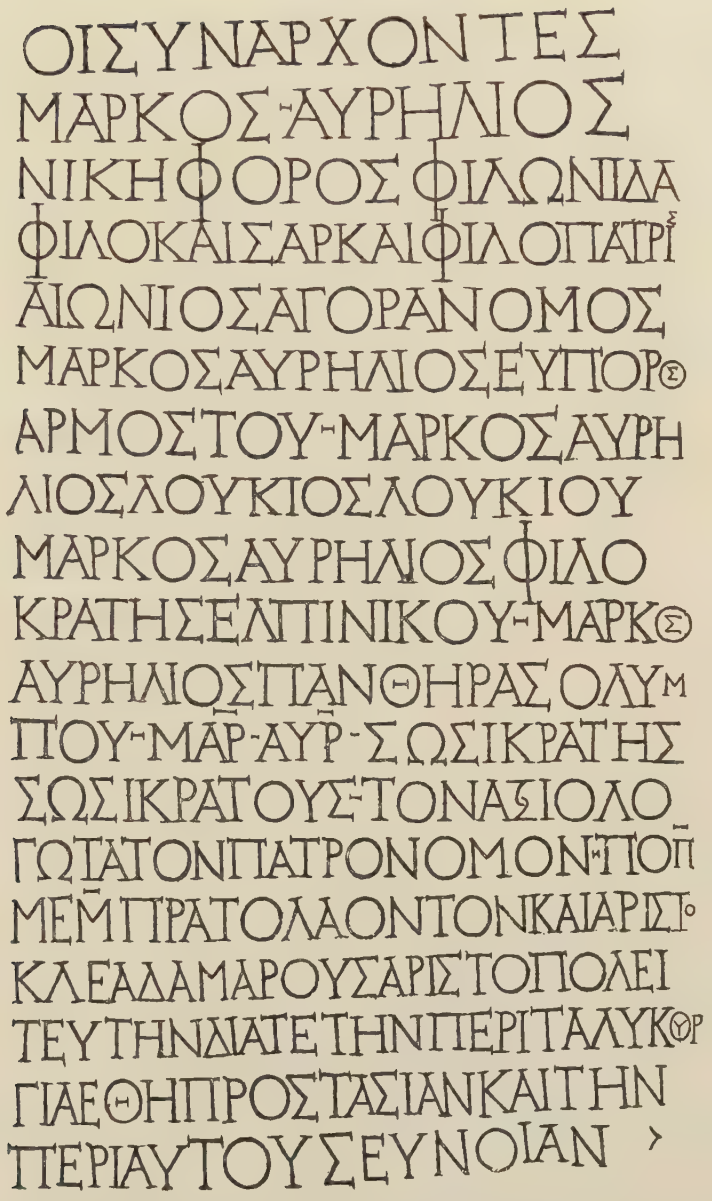
Ἡ πόλις
τὸν εὐγενέστατον καὶ εὐ-
ψυχότατον Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Φίλητον
Τειμάκωνος, βωμονείκην,
προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνά-
λωμα Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Τειμάκωνος
τοῦ (Τειμάκωνος) τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

The βωμονίκης is son of M. Aur. Timakon, son of Xenokles, known from *I.G.* v. 1, 541, l. 5 f., and 545; in the former he is one of a board which honours P. Memmius Pratolaos, the subject of the two following inscriptions. His son may accordingly have won the 'contest of the whips' at a date close to that indicated by these references.

(*b*) *Other Statue-Bases* (Nos. 145–149).

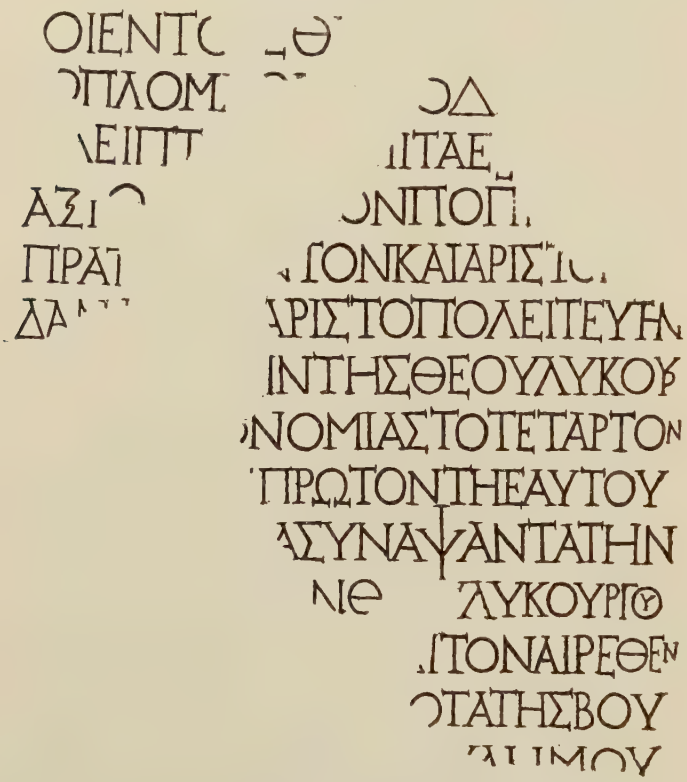
145. Rectangular statue-base of bluish Laconian marble, with mouldings above and below. H. 1·85; br. ·565; th. ·50. Letters ·03–·042 rather irregularly aligned.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 109, 6; *I.G.* v. 1, 544.



Οἱ συνάρχοντες | Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος | Νικηφόρος Φιλωνίδα | φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις, ||αἰώνιος ἀγορανόμος, | Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Εὔπορος | Ἁρμόστου, Μᾶρκος Αὐρή | λιος Λούκιος Λουκίου, | Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Φιλο ||κράτης Ἐλπινίκου, Μᾶρκος | Αὐρήλιος Πανθήρας Ὀλύμ | που, Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σωσικράτης | Σωσικράτους, τὸν ἀξιολο | γώτατον πατρονόμον Πόπ(λιον) || Μέμ(μιον) Πρατόλαον τὸν καὶ Ἀριστο | κλέα Δαμάρους ἀριστοπολει | τευτὴν διά τε τὴν περὶ τὰ Λυκούρ | για ἔθη προστασίαν καὶ τὴν | περὶ αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν.

146. Five fragments of a similar statue-base showing signs of having been deliberately broken up. Letters ·027; nothing lost from above l. 1. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 106, 5; *I.G.* v. 1, 542; S.M. Nos. 1650 + 1651 (part only).



Οἱ ἐν τῳ[ῖ]ς θ̣ε̣[ματικοῖς ἀγῶσιν]
ὁ̣πλομά̣[χ]ο̣ι̣ - - ο̣δ[- - καὶ οἱ]
[ἀ]λεῖπτ̣[αι καὶ οἱ ἐ]π̣ὶ τὰ ἔ[θη τὸν]
ἀξιο̣[λογώτατ]ο̣ν Πόπ(λιον) [Μέμμιον]
Πρατ̣[όλαο]ν̣ τὸν καὶ Ἀριστο̣κ̣[λέα]
Δα̣μά̣[ρους] ἀριστοπολειτευτήν̣,
[ἐπιμελητ]ὴν τῆς θεοῦ Λυκούρ-
[γου πατρ]ο̣νομίας τὸ τέταρτον,
[καὶ μόνον καὶ] πρῶτον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
[πατρονομί]α̣ συνάψαντα τὴν
[ἐπιμέλιαν τὴ]ν̣ θ̣[εο]ῦ̣ Λυκούργου
[τὸ δ′ πατρονομίας κ]α̣ὶ τὸν αἱρεθέν-
[τα ὑπό τε τῆς λαμπρ]ο̣τάτης βου-
[λῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτο]υ̣ δ̣ή̣μ̣ο̣υ̣

- - - - - - - - -

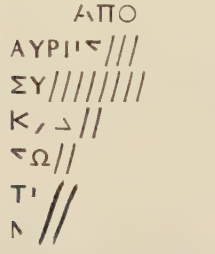
I gladly adopt the following improvements as given in Kolbe's version: l. 2, *ad fin.* καὶ οἱ]; l. 3, *ad fin.* ἐ]π̣ὶ τὰ ἔ[θη τὸν]; l. 12, *init.* τὸ δ′, on

the analogy of v. 1. 541, l. 14. The gap in l. 2 remains uncompleted, and I dare say that, as in v. 1, 541, there was some additional phrase after δήμου at the end of the inscription, though not necessarily here again an allusion to the ἐπανορθωτής (= *corrector civitatium Achaiae*) as in the other text.

For the career and relationships of P. Memmius Pratolaos qui et Aristokles, Damaris f., see the index to *I.G.* v. 1, and cf. the notes on Nos. 66 and 68 above.

147. Five fragments of a statue-base of limestone, three of which are inscribed. Owing to damage by burning as well as breakage little can be made of the contents. H. of inscribed pieces, which are practically complete on left, ·44; br. ·32; th. at least ·19. Letters ·02.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 111, 7; *I.G.* v. 1, 62?.



ʿΑ πό[λις]
Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἡρ̣[υχον (?) ʿΗ-]
συ[χ - - - - - - - - -]
κ · δ̣ - - - - - - -
ϛω - - - - - - -
τ · - - - - - - -
μ̣ (or ν̣) - - - - - -

Restoration is quite impossible, though Kolbe tries [ʿΗ]σύ[χιον βουαγὸν μι] | κιδ[δομένων] in lines 2–4. The second letter in l. 4 is far from certain and did not suggest *iota* to me on revising the stone. And in any case for the city to dedicate a statue to a βοαγός of the μικιδδόμενοι (unless a βωμονίκης) seems rather improbable.

148. Two fragments of whitish marble, apparently from the same statue-base: (*a*) is complete above, with a clamp-hole near the left-hand end, though l. 1 is damaged; (*b*) is complete on r. only, where it has a drafted edge. Both are broken at the back. Dimensions: (*a*) h. ·05; br. ·25; (*b*) h. ·17; br. ·17. Letters ·03.

Unpublished: (*a*) B.S. Inv. No. 2578; (*b*) B.S. Inv. No. 2523; S.M. No. 1613.

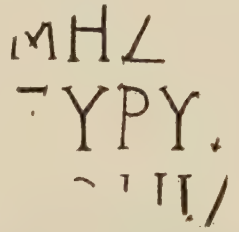
(*a*) [ʿΑ πό]λ̣ις
- - - ε̣α̣τ̣η̣ (?) - -

(*b*) - - - - - - στω
- - - - - - εύσα-
[ντα φιλοτείμ]ως (?) καὶ
[πρέσβυν γενόμ]ε̣νον
- - - - - - - - . ϙ . .
- - - - - - - - -

L. 2 of (*b*) offers a choice of participles, *e.g.* [γεροντ]εύσα[ντα] or [στρατ]ευσά[μενον], among others, so no exact restoration is possible; the date is almost as uncertain as the subject-matter, but the apicated letters of slender type are an indication that it is not likely to be later than the reign of Trajan.

149. Fragment, broken on all sides, from a statue-base of greyish marble. H. ·17; br. ·13; broken at back. Letters ·048.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2191; S.M. No. 1622.



- - μηδ̣ - - -
- - Ε̣ὐρυδ̣ - -
- - θη̣ι̣α̣ - -

The second letter in the last line must have been H, not N, but I doubt the correctness of restoring [Ὀρ]θήι̣α seeing that this is apparently a statue-base, not a dedication.

Miscellaneous Fragments mostly of the Imperial Period (Nos. 150–168).

150. Part of a marble plinth, incomplete on l. and broken at back. H. ·09 (complete); br. ·30; th. ·08. Letters ·022–·027. Remains of a cut mortice behind show it to have been attached to another block.

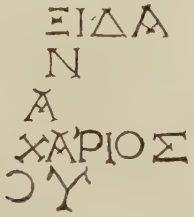
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2277 ('Found May 22, 1906, . . . on Roman floor at level of square marble plinths; standing upright.'—R.C.B.); S.M. No. 1034. I failed to re-find this stone.

ΞΠΡΑ̣ΤΟΜΗΛΙΔ̣ [Τιβ. Κλαύδιο (?)]ς̣ Πρατομηλίδαρ
ΝΤΟΝΥΙΟΝ [Εὐδόκιμο (?)]ν̣ τὸν υἱόν.

I restore the Roman names of the father and the name of the son in the light of *B.S.A.* xxvi. pp. 170 *sq.*, 1, E 3, l. 6 (cf. p. 191); though they fit the space well, it remains a conjecture.

151. Part of a stele of greyish marble, complete on r. only; the horizontal break above suggests that probably there was a pediment. H. ·16; br. ·10; th. ·05, smooth at back. Letters *ca.* ·015.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2625; S.M. No. 1568.



- - - - - ε̣ίδα
- - - - - ν
- - - - - α
[- - Δαμο]χάριος
5 - - - - - ου.

In spite of the style of the lettering and the probable existence of a pediment I hesitate to attribute this to the παιδικὸς ἀγών series, as it looks like a mere list of names without any of the familiar formulae. The name Δαμόχαρις occurs in more than one list dated to the first century B.C. (*I.G.* v. 1, 48, 146, 209), and the lettering here would fit that date.

152. Small fragment of a stele of greyish marble, complete above only, with remains of pediment. H. ·115 (without pediment); br. ·16; th. ·07. Letters ·017, apparently of the third century B.C.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 57, 3; *I.G.* v. 1, 1504; S.M. No. 1647.

[(?) Ἔφορ]ο̣ι ἐπ̣[ὶ - -].

This is perhaps after all the correct restoration (due to Kolbe), though the remains of the first letter certainly suggest B or P rather than O.

152 *bis*. Upper left-hand corner of a large block. The inscribed surface is only roughly dressed. H. ·11; br. ·07; th. ·09. Letters *ca.* ·023.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 57, 4; B.S. Inv. No. 2718; S.M. No. 1643.

Ο̣Υ - -

The second letter is Υ not Ρ.

153. Small fragment, broken all round, of grey marble. H. ·125; br. ·125; th. ·05. Letters ·03.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 57, 5; *I.G.* v. 1, 1512; S.M. No. 1641.

[- - - Νικ]η̣φόρο̣ - - -
- - - - - ν̣θιῳ - - -
- - - - - - - φ̣ - - - -

154. Small fragment of a statue-base (?) complete on r. only; broken through. H. ·13; br. ·07; th. ·04 (incomplete). Letters ·03, not before the Antonine era.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2647; S.M. No. 1595.

- - - - κ̣ίδας
- - - - αλοι
- - - - - - ν.

155. Small fragment of a block of white marble with drafted edge, complete on this side only. Dimensions ·12 × ·06 × ·025. Letters ranging from ·007–·025, faintly scratched, of Hellenistic date.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2187; S.M. No. 1620.

Κλεώνυ[μος (?)].

Apparently a mason's name engraved on the edge of a building block, in an unskilled attempt to write κιονηδόν. This may be actually from the superstructure of the Hellenistic temple.

156. Small fragment of a plate or *phiale* of white marble, *ca.* ·20 in diameter. Dimensions ·095 × ·065. Letters *ca.* ·014.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2522; S.M. No. 1609.

- - κις ἐ[ποίησε (?)].

157. Part of a small altar of greyish marble, complete on r. and below. H. ·43; br. 20; th. ·10. Letters ·03.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 105, 2; *I.G.* v. 1, 410; S.M. No. 1224.

[Ζᾶ]νι Ἐλευ-
[θε]ρίοι Ἀν-
[των]ξίνοι
[σωτ]ῆρι.

For the large number of similar altars from Sparta see *I.G.* v. 1, 407 *sqq.*; *B.S.A.* xxvi. p. 239, 30.

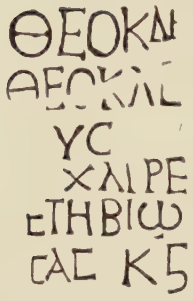
158. Fragment of a small grave-stele of *rosso antico* with plain moulding above, broken on all other sides. H. ·17; br. ·10; th. ·042. Letters ·01 (probably of third century B.C.).

B.S.A. xiv. p. 105, 4; *I.G.* v. 1, 710; S.M. No. 1031.

- - - - πος
[ἐμ πολ]ἐμω[ι].

159. Small stele of greyish marble, broken into four pieces. The right-hand half has a rough relief showing a bearded man standing facing, wearing chiton and short boots; the left-hand half is inscribed. (The fragment with his head has since been lost.) H. ·24; br. ·27; th. ·05. Letters *ca.* ·025–·0375.

B.S.A. xiv. p. 105, 3; *I.G.* v. 1, 748; S.M. No. 1659.



Θεοκλῆ
Θε̣ο̣κλέ̣-
[ο]υς
χ(α)ῖρε
ἔτη βιώ-
σας κς′.

probably not earlier—and perhaps considerably later—than A.D. 150.

160. Fragment of greyish marble, complete above only. H. ·075; br. ·12; th. ·10. Letters ·02.

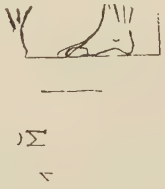
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2491; S.M. No. 1079.

Perhaps - - ο̣μι χ̣α̣[ῖρε - -]

Unclassified Fragments (Nos. 161–168).

161. Fragment of a stele, with the legs of a figure standing to left above the remains of the inscription. Greyish marble. H. *ca.* ·20; br. *ca.* ·17. Letters ·011.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. M. 3924; S. M. No. 1186.



- - ο̣ς
- - - ς̣.

Probably a lot is lost on the left.

162. Fragment of a relief of white marble, broken on all sides. H. ·12; br. ·12. Letter ·014. Below the inscription are the heads of two (standing ?) male figures facing to the front, and a snake rears its head over that of the figure on the left.

Unpublished: apparently from the Orthia sanctuary, but not traceable in any record.

- - ο.

Perhaps from a Dioscuri-relief, in view of the subject. Cf. Wace, *S.M.C.*, *Introd.* p. 113, § 10.

163. Fragment of soft yellow limestone (?), broken on all sides. H. ·12; br. ·11; th. ·06. Letters ·03.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2504; S.M. No. 1084.

- - ιμῳ - -
- - ῳμι - -

In l. 1 the first letter must be *iota*, which rules out definitely the restoration [-παιδικὸ]γ μῷ[αν]; in any case the material renders it unlikely to belong to the παιδικὸς ἀγών series.

164. Fragment of grey marble. H. ·20; br. ·20. Letters ·027.

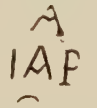
Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2490; S.M. No. 1071. (Not refound.)

- - ῳϙ - -
- - ἐπ - -
- - ιῳ - -
- - ν · - -

Quite uncertain.

165. Small fragment with surface damaged, broken on all sides. H. ·07; br. ·036. Letters ·018.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2506; S.M. No. 1077.



- - α - -
- - ιαρ - -
- - ῳ - -

Hopeless.

166. Small fragment from left-hand edge of rough-dressed marble slab. H. ·12; br. ·035; over ·065 thick. Letters ·027.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2411.

167. Small fragment of greyish marble. Letters ·03.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2509. (Not refound.)

168. Small fragment of white marble, complete above only. H. ·08; br. ·06; th. ·04. Letter at least ·045.

Unpublished: B.S. Inv. No. 2182.

τ̣.

Part 2.

Inscriptions on Minor Votive Objects.

As the inscriptions which fall under this heading were fully published in the *Annual* a few years ago, with facsimiles of almost every item, it will suffice to deal with them in a summary manner in these pages.

Attention may be drawn to one addition, namely, a piece from the rim of a large vase, with an archaic dedication, from which only seven letters remain (No. 169, 28 *bis*), and to the corrected reading of the inscription on the bronze die (No. 169, 24). A few of the names have been discussed by Bechtel, as will be noted below, namely, those on Nos. 169, 3, 7, 9, 11, 26. Otherwise there is little to add to the texts as given in the original publication, and there is no need to repeat the comments there made.

In order to simplify reference the order and numbering are retained from the previous account, and, following good precedent, these numbers are treated as subdivisions of one unit, No. 169, which enables us to avoid confusion due to two parallel sets of numbers.

A. *On Carvings in Limestone* (Chapter VI above).

169, 1. Relief of a horse standing to left; hind legs missing.

B.S.A. xii. p. 353, 1 (= p. 334, Fig. 1); xxiv. p. 89, 1; *I.G.* v. 1, 252; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 64; S.M. No. 1496. Pl. **LXVII,** 28 and p. 191.

Ἐπανίδας τᾶι Παρ̣[θέν|οι (?) μ' ἀν]έθ(ε)κε Fορθᾳ̣[ίαι].

169, 2. Upper right-hand corner of a relief with horse's head to r.

B.S.A. xii. p. 353, 2 (= p. 335, Fig. 2); xxiv. p. 90, 2; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 65; S.M. No. 1494. Pl. **LXVII,** 32 and p. 191.

Fᾳ̣[ρθ]|ᾳ̣ί[αι].

169, 3. Relief with horse walking to l., complete.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 90, 3; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 66; Bechtel, in *Festschrift für J. Wackernagel* (Göttingen, 1923), pp. 154 *sq.*, No. 1. Pl. **LXVI,** 23 and p. 190.

Θιοκορμίδας τᾶ Fο(ρ)θείαι ἀνέθεκεν.

169, 4. Upper left-hand corner of relief, with horse's head to l.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 92, 4; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 67. Pl. **LXVII,** 33 and p. 191.

[- - ἀνέθ]εκε Fροθασία[ι].

169, 5. Torso of horse carved in the round; lacks head, forelegs and hindquarters.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 92 *sq.*, 5; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 68. *V.* p. 190, No. 18.

Γᾳ̣ρέας ἐποίε.

Hondius, *S.E.G.*, *loc. cit.*, says '*Litt. saec. v.*', which implies an impossibly late date for this item in view of the dating of the rest of the carvings in this material.

169, 6. Small fragment of relief, complete below only, with one leg of a horse (or of a throne ?).

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 93, 6; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 12, 69; S.M. No. 1495. Pl. **LXVIII,** 35 and p. 191.

- - ουος|καὶ - - (Hondius).
Βουο - - καὶ - - - (A.M.W.).
- - βο ὑο - - καὶ - - (Hiller).

169, 7. Small relief, complete below and on r. (and on l. ?), with lion couchant to l. Retrograde inscription.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 94, 7; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 70; Bechtel, *op. cit.*, No. 2. Pl. **LXX,** 54 and p. 193.

Τροῦθος.

169, 8. Relief with boar moving to l., complete. Retrograde inscription.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 94, 8; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 71. Pl. **LXX,** 48 and p. 192.

Τροῦθ(ος).

169, 9. Relief with lion (?) to r., complete above (only ?). Retrograde inscription.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 95, 9; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 72; Bechtel, *op. cit.*, No. 3. Pl. **LXIX,** 43 and p. 192.

Χισιμίδας.

Bechtel suggests as possible the derivation from χῖσαι (aor. inf.), meaning to 'gape.'

169, 10. Fragment of relief, of doubtful subject, complete above only.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 96, 10; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 73. Not reproduced.

Κόπρις.

169, 11. Fragment of a slab, complete above only, with incised representation of an eagle (?) standing to *r.*, with a wreath in its beak.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 97, 11; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 74; Bechtel, *op. cit.*, No. 4. Pl. **LXXI,** 59 and p. 193.

Σοιχις (?).

Perhaps rather for Σώιχις, a *nomen hypocoristicum* for Σωχάρης, *vel sim.*, than to be read retrograde as Σίχιος (= Θεόχιος). It is unlikely to be a genitive, and there seems no possibility that it could be, as originally suggested, for Σοῖξις.[31]

169, 12. Fragment of a relief, perhaps representing a ship with sail set, upside down; complete above only. Retrograde inscription.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 97 *sq.*, 12; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 75. Pl. **LXXIV,** 69 and p. 195.

Π⟨π⟩ραξῖνος.

[31] The suggested parallel for Ψ = ξ on the Arkesilas vase (*B.S.A.* xxiv. *l.c.*, note 2, and p. 117, note 1), must be withdrawn, as it is clearly erroneous.

169, 13. Fragment of a slab, complete on l. only, on which is incised a drawing of a woman's head to r. Retrograde inscription.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 98, 13; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 76. Pl. **LXXI,** 56 and p. 193.

[Π]ραξῖνος.

169, 14. Fragment of a raised flat band from the border of a relief, complete above and on l.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 99, 14; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 77. Pl. **LXXIV,** 73 and p. 195.

Χ̣άρτυλο[ς].

169, 15. Small slab with relief representing a nude man, with beard, clasping the r. hand of a woman clad in Doric chiton; rake-like object between them.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 99 *sq.*, 15; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 78. Pl. **LXIV,** 12 and p. 189.

['Αν]τίδας (or possibly [Βυ]τίδας ?).

169, 16–19. Four small fragments, broken on all sides, with unintelligible remains of inscriptions.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 100 *sq.*, 16–19; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 79 (*a–d*); S.M. No. 1489 (19 only). For 17 *v.* Pl. **LXXIV,** 72 and p. 195.

16. διδυς (?) - - . 17. - - ọσιε - - . 18. - - ια (?).
- - -ọ- - - -

19. - - ξαṃι - - or perhaps ιṃαξ - - (retrograde).
- - αρ - - (retrograde).

169, 20. Relief, broken below, representing the façade of a distyle temple (?). Inscription incised in the pediment.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 101, 20; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 79 (*e*).

α (?) β.

169, 21. Fragment, complete on r. only, of relief with draped woman standing to left. Inscription on r. edge, retrograde.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 101, 21; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 79 (*f*).

- - υδι.

169, 22. Small female statuette, inscribed on breast and back.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 102, 22; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 13, 80.

(on breast) 'Ạρτε̣ọ - - .
(on back) ἐπαριεṃ - - .

B. *On Bronze Objects.*

169, 23. Die with six sides. L. ·095; diam. ·018. (Pl. **LXXXIX,** *b*.)

B.S.A. xiii. pp. 115 *sq.* and Fig. 5 *d*; xxiv. p. 102, 23; *I.G.* v. 1, 252*a* Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. p. 353; S.M. No. 2147. *V.* p. 201 above.

Τᾶι Fροθαίαι.

169, 24. Similar die, but longer and larger in diameter. L. ·11; diam. ·045.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 102, 24; xxviii. p. 103, No. 26, and Fig. 5 (more correctly); *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 81 (from incorrect version); S.M. No. 2147. *V.* p. 202 above.

'Ελευθίας.
ο θ .

The last four letters only appeared after further cleaning, as did the ΟΦ on the adjoining face, which remain unintelligible.

C. *On Ivory and Bone Objects.*

169, 25. Relief representing a warship, on the side of which the inscription is incised, retrograde. *V.* p. 214 above, and Pls. **CIX, CX.**

B.S.A. xiii. pp. 100 *sqq.*, and Pl. IV.; xxiv. p. 103, 25; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. p. 352; *I.G.* v. 1, 252 b.

Fορ(θ)αία.

Presumably the dative, not the nominative, of the goddess's name, in spite of the omission of the final *iota*, for which we may compare τᾶ in No. 169 3, above.

169, 26. Fragment of a flute, with one orifice. *V.* p. 236 above, and Pls. **CLXI, CLXII.**

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 103, 26; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 82; Bechtel, *op. cit.*, No. 4.

'Αχραδαῖος (or 'Αχράδατος).

One version or other must be correct, in spite of the second letter being χ and not ψ. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, suggests that the name is in either case derived from 'Αχραδίδας, shortened by haplography to 'Αχράδας.

169. 27. Fragment of a flute, broken at both ends, with two orifices.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 104, 27; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 83; *v.* p. 236 above.

Τᾶι Fορθα[ίαι (?)].

This seems more probable than Fορθᾷ, and the text may very well have continued after the interruption caused by the presence of the orifice.

D. *On Pottery.*

With a few exceptions, which will be noted as they occur, the votive dedications, etc., found on vase-fragments are inscribed in paint, at any rate down to the fourth century. Those on pieces recognised as Hellenistic ware are, on the other hand, incised. A large proportion of the inscriptions are so fragmentary that they can be dismissed very briefly.[32]

169, 28. On a fragmentary platter with beaded edge.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 28; xxiv. p. 104, 28; *I.G.* v. 1, 1588; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 84.

[- - ἀνέθε]κε τᾶι Fορθᾰσίαι.

169, 28 (*bis*). On the rim of a large bowl, *ca.* ·72 m. in diameter, adorned with torus-mouldings, in black glaze; incised. Incomplete.

Unpublished. Cf. p. 78 and Fig. 56.

[- - ᾰ̣]ṿέθεκε τ[ᾶι Fορθασίαι (?)].

The marks between the ν and the first ε seem merely to be alternative attempts to incise firmly the third stroke of the *nu*.

169, 29. On a small fragment from the interior of a black-glazed cup.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 106, 29; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 85.

[(?) Τροῦ]θος.

169, 30. On a black-glazed platter, with white beaded rim, put together out of some twenty fragments; nearly complete, though part of l. 2 is lost.

B.S.A. xvi. p. 28; xxiv. p. 106, 30; *I.G.* v. 1, 1587; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 86.

Fριθίσα |ἀ[νέ]θικε| hιρόν.

169, 32, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55. Fourteen small fragments nearly all from shallow cups of Laconian V and VI style. None contains more than four letters, and some one only, and that incomplete. Eight contain recognisable remains of the name Fορθία (or Fορθεία), and two of the word ἀνέθεκε. The remaining five are of uncertain purport.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 107 *sqq.* and Fig. 1, same Nos.; *S.E.G.* ii. pp. 14 *sq.*, 88, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111.

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[32] Some of the inscriptions on Nos. 169, 28–60, are shown in Fig. 86, p. 111. 28 = 1; 29 = 2; 30 = 3; 32 = 4; 34 = 5; 35 = 6; 37 = 8; 38 = 7; 39 = 9; 40 = 10; 48 = 11; 50 = 12; 51 = 13; 53 = 14; 59 = 15; 60 = 16.

169, 31, 33, 34, 36, 40, 49. Six fragments from various types of vase, containing probably remains of the first syllable of Φορθία.

B.S.A., xxiv. pp. 107 *sqq.*, same Nos.; *S.E.G.* ii. pp. 14 *sq.*, 87, 89, 90, 92, 96, 105.

169, 35. On a fragment of a cup of black-glazed ware.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 107, 35; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 14, 91.

- - - ἀνέτ[εκε - -].

169, 48. On a small fragment broken on all sides; white paint.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 108, 48; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 104.

[- - ἀνέθε]κε τ[ᾶι Φορθείαι (?)].

169, 51. On a similar fragment; pink paint.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 108, 51; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 107.

- - ἀνέθε[κε - -].

169, 41, 42, 56, 57. Four small incised fragments.

B.S.A. xxiv. pp. 108 *sq.*, 41, 42, 56, 57; *S.E.G.* ii. pp. 14 *sq.*, 97, 98, 112, 113.

41. F(?). 42. - - ρι|- -. 56. Φο[ρθείαι (?)]. 57. ἀν[έθεκε (?)].

169, 58 (*a*, *b*, *c*). Three small fragments, one of which is the centre of a small black-glazed kylix, with the same inscription, incised.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 109, 58; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 114.

Τρα. (Perhaps for Τράχαλος, or some similar name.)

169, 59. Fragment from the rim of a black-glazed bowl of Hellenistic date, broken through. Incised.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 109, 59; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 115.

- - κληία Ἐ[λευσίαι (?)].

169, 60. Similar fragment. Incised.

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 110, 60; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 116.

- . αυκληία - - ·

The most likely-looking restoration, [Θρ]αυκληία, seems ruled out, as the letter before the α seems not to have been ρ.

169, 61. Black-glazed bowl of Hellenistic date, with flat rim, on which the inscription is incised neatly (Fig. 142).

B.S.A. xvi. p. 39, and note 1; xxiv. p. 110, 61, and Fig. 2; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 117.

[Χ]ιλωνὶς τᾶι Βωρθείαι.

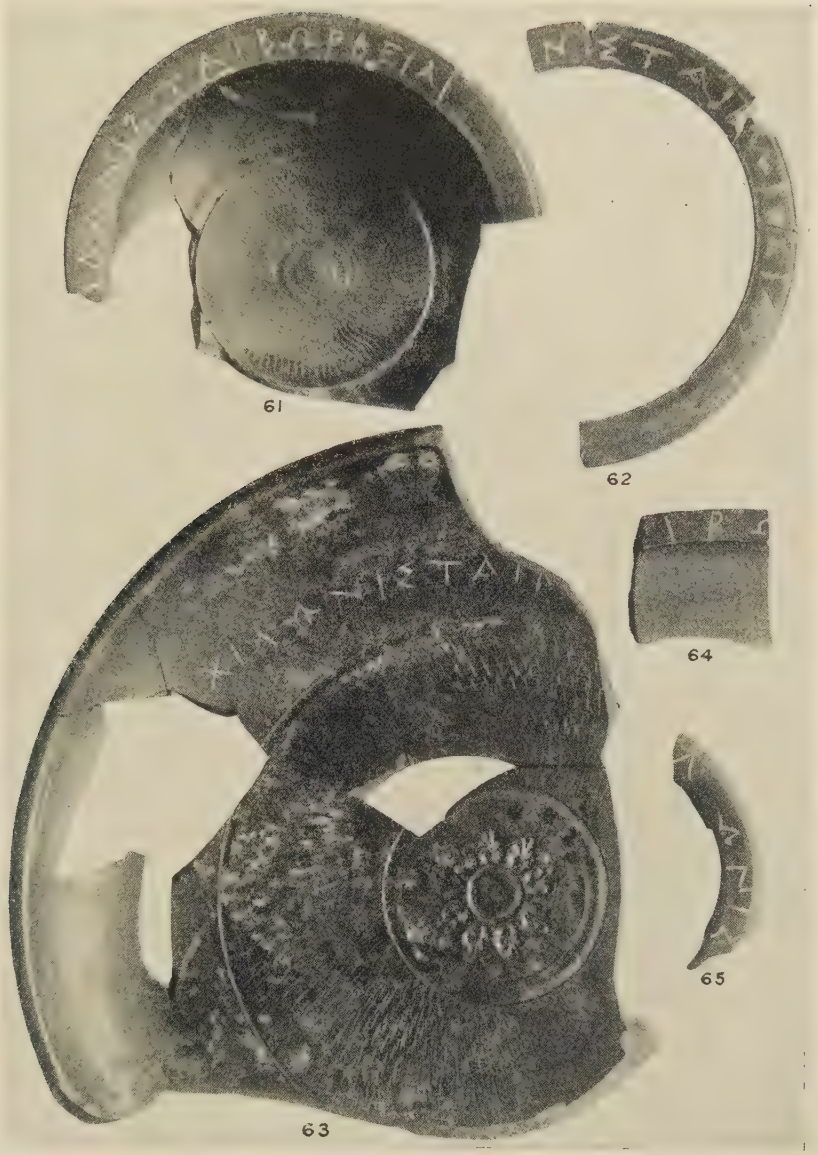

Fig. 142.—Incised Dedications on Hellenistic Bowls. (Scale 1 : 2.)

169, 62. Half of the rim of a similar bowl, made up of four fragments (Fig. 142).

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 110, 62; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 118.

[Χιλω]νὶς τᾶι Βωρθείαι.

169, 63. Large portion of a black-glazed platter, in the interior of which is incised, by the same hand, the same inscription as on the two previous items (Fig. 142).

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 110, 63; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 119.

Χιλωνὶς τᾶι Β[ωρθείαι].

169, 64. Small fragment from the rim of a bowl, similar to Nos. 169, 59 and 60 (Fig. 142).

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 110, 64; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 15, 120.

[- - τᾶ]ι Βω[ρθείαι].

This might possibly belong to No. 169, 60, but is of a slightly different pattern from those dedicated by Chilonis.

169, 65. Small fragment from the rim of a similar bowl, but with a somewhat convex surface (Fig. 142).

B.S.A. xxiv. p. 110, 65; *S.E.G.* ii. p. 16, 121.

[Χι]λωνὶς [τᾶι Βωρθείαι].

For the suggestion that the dedicatrix, Chilonis, may have been daughter of one of the later kings of Sparta, Cleomenes II, Leotychidas, or Leonidas II, see *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 112.

For the dates assigned to these votive inscriptions nothing need be added here to the review of the evidence published by the writer in *B.S.A.* xxiv. pp. 112 *sqq*. It is, however, desirable to call attention to the later date suggested by Droop, in connexion with the pottery from the Acropolis, for the termination of the period Laconian VI.[33] This would have the effect of enabling us to bring down to a later date than 350 B.C. some of the painted inscriptions on sherds belonging to that period. It seems doubtful, nevertheless, whether we can claim an appreciably later date than the middle of the fourth century B.C. for those in which the *digamma* is still found.

A. M. Woodward.

[33] *B.S.A.* xxviii. pp. 47 *sq*.

TABLES OF CONCORDANCE.

I. Showing the concordance between the numbering of the Sparta Museum and the present publication.

(*Note.*—All numbers up to 783 are those both of the Museum Inventory and of the Catalogue (by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace, Oxford, 1906); the higher numbers are those of the Inventory alone.)

S.M. Inv. and Cat.	This Publication.
218	7
219 + 501	62
220	69
221	55
410	72
783	45
S.M. Inv.	
1031	158
1034	150
1071	164
1077	165
1079	160
1084	163
1089	125
1090	95
1129	137
1132	138
1147	28 (part)
1186	161
1224	157
1482	169, 15
1483	169, 12
1484	169, 13
1485	169, 17
1486	169, 18
1487	169, 14
1488	169, 10
1489	169, 19
1490	169, 9
1491	169, 8
1492	169, 5
1493	169, 3
1494	169, 2
1495	169, 6
1496	169, 1
1497	169, 4
1498	169, 11
1499	169, 7
1500	169, 16
1501	169, 26
1502	169, 27
1505	2
1506	37
1507	21
1508	70
1509	25
1510	4
1511	30
1512	29
1513	35
1514	19
1515	50
1516	57
1517	12
1518	8
1519	27
1520	36
1521	60
1522	64
1523	20
1524	39
1525	46
1526	51
1527	41
1528	28
1529	22
1530	43
1531	11
1532	44
1533	71 (lower part)
1534	98
1535	90
1536	34
1537	33
1538	65
1539	88
1540	78
1541	1
1542	52
1543	71 (upper part)
1544 + 1653	53
1545	120
1546	76
1547	31
1548	14
1549	13
1550	106
1551	96
1552	18
1553	10
1554	56
1555	61
1556	17
1557	26
1558	48
1559	59
1560	40
1561	16
1562	49
1563	74
1564	89
1566	113
1567	9
1568	151
1569	3
1570	112
1571	75
1572	58
1573	23
1574	66
1575	6
1576	67
1577	85
1578	115
1579	91
1580	47
1581	101
1582	84
1583 + 1597	92
1584	54
1585	54
1586	63 (part)

S.M. Inv.	This Publication.	S.M. Inv.	This Publication.	S.M. Inv.	This Publication.
1587	107	1606	126	1629	136
1588	87	1607	131	1635	100
1589	24	1609	156	1636	109
1590	102	1610	81	1637	80
1591	114	1613	148 (part)	1639, 1640	123
1592	111	1614	119	1641	153
1593	15	1615	73	1643	152 *bis*
1594	38	1616	116	1644, 1645A, B.	139
1595	154	1617	103	1646	140
1596	133	1618	117	1647	152
1597 + 1583	92	1619	121	1650, 1651	146 (part)
1598	94	1620	155	1653 + 1544	53
1599	99	1621	124	1654	83
1600	93	1622	149	1656	135
1601	5	1623	104	1659	159
1602	77	1624	122	2147	169, 23 and 24
1603	108	1625	118		
1604	132	1626	128		
1605	82	1627	81		

II. Showing the concordance between the numbering of *I.G.* v. 1 and the present publication.

I.G. v. 1.	This Publication.	*I.G.* v. 1.	This Publication.	*I.G.* v. 1.	This Publication.
252	169, 1	273	33	297	28
252*a*	169, 23	274	26	298	35
252*b*	169, 25	275	30	299	14
253*	(not from Orthia site)	276	49	300	58
		277	25	301	55
254	141	278	27	302	56
255	1	279	31	303	57
256	2	280	29	304	64
257	7	281	34	305	69
258	8	282	32	306	59
259	6	283	36	307	60
260	11	284	38	308	61
261	12	285	42	309	62
262	13	286	43	310	67
263	17	287	44	311	66
264	4	288	45	312	68
265	10	289	46	313	70
266	15	290	37	314	71
267	16	291	47	315	3
268	18	292	50	316	9
269	19	293	51	317	40
270	20	294	52	318	98
271	21	295	48	319	54
272	22	296	41	320	85

* This was found near the great altar by the Eurotas (*B.S.A.* xii. pp. 295 *sqq.*, 440).

I.G. v. 1.	This Publication.	*I.G.* v. 1.	This Publication.	*I.G.* v. 1.	This Publication.
321	90	339	101	356*b*	119
322	53	340	88	356*c*	122
323	72	341	87	362	136
324	74	342	107	410	157
325	73	343	109	542	146
326	24	344	105	544	145
327	78	345	110	622	147
328	79	346	112	629	(part) 94
329	39	347	111	653*a*	142
330	65	348*	—	653*b*	143
331	75	349	113	710	158
332	76	350	108	748	159
333	77	351	92	1504	152
334	84	352	115	1512	153
335	103	353	114	1587	169, 30
336	23	354	81	(p. xxiv)	
337	89	355	102	1588	169, 28
338	91	356*a*	121	(ibid.)	

* *I.G.* v. 1, 348, is omitted as it does not appear to belong to the series. It looks more like a fragment of a metrical epitaph.

A. M. W.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to the classes of objects which form the subjects of the previous chapters, there were other finds, no one class of which is sufficiently important to form a chapter by itself, although several of them, notably the engraved stones and the gold and silver jewellery, are of considerable interest. These have been grouped together in the sections of this chapter, which are therefore as follows :—

1. Engraved stones (**CCIV, CCVI**; Figs. 144, 146).
2. Gold and silver jewellery (**CCII–CCIV**).
3. Objects in vitreous paste. (**CCV–CCVII,** Figs. 143–145).
4. Amber.
5. Glass beads.
6. Various fragments of sculpture (Figs. 147, 148).
7. Iron spits and coins.

1. *Engraved Stones.*

Of these about twenty were found. They fall into three classes: A. Mycenaean of the usual Late Mainland types; B. Scarabaeoids of the Geometric period; C. Miscellaneous imported stones.

A. *Mycenaean.*

All these relics of an earlier period were found in the pre-sand deposits, and so reached the Orthia site previous to about the year 600 B.C. They are of importance as showing that the Spartan engravers had access to work of their bronze-age predecessors.

1. Fig. 144, *e*. A plain lozenge-shaped stone of mottled red carnelian.

2. Fig. 144, *f*. An elegantly shaped lentoid carnelian, drilled in the usual way along the thickened diameter. On one face is an intaglio of an ibex. Found inside the Later Temple.

3. Fig. 146. A lozenge-shaped carnelian, drilled, and on one side a design of a double axe, cut in disconnected strokes.

4. Plain amygdaloid carnelian.

5. **CCIV, B, 2.** Amygdaloid carnelian; on one side is a sketchy intaglio of a tree and a deer.

6. Plain red steatite lentoid.

7. Plain agate lentoid.

8. **CCIV, C, 1.** Hemispherical seal-stone of hard red steatite. On the flat face is a labyrinth pattern divided into four quarters.

9. **CCIV, B, 1.** Steatite bead-seal, square with curved back. On the flat face is an intaglio of a dog; on the curved back a chequer pattern.

10. **CCIV, C, 2.** Glass lentoid, with on one side an intaglio of a bull.

B. *Scarabaeoid gems.*

These were all found well down in the deposits of Geometric pottery and

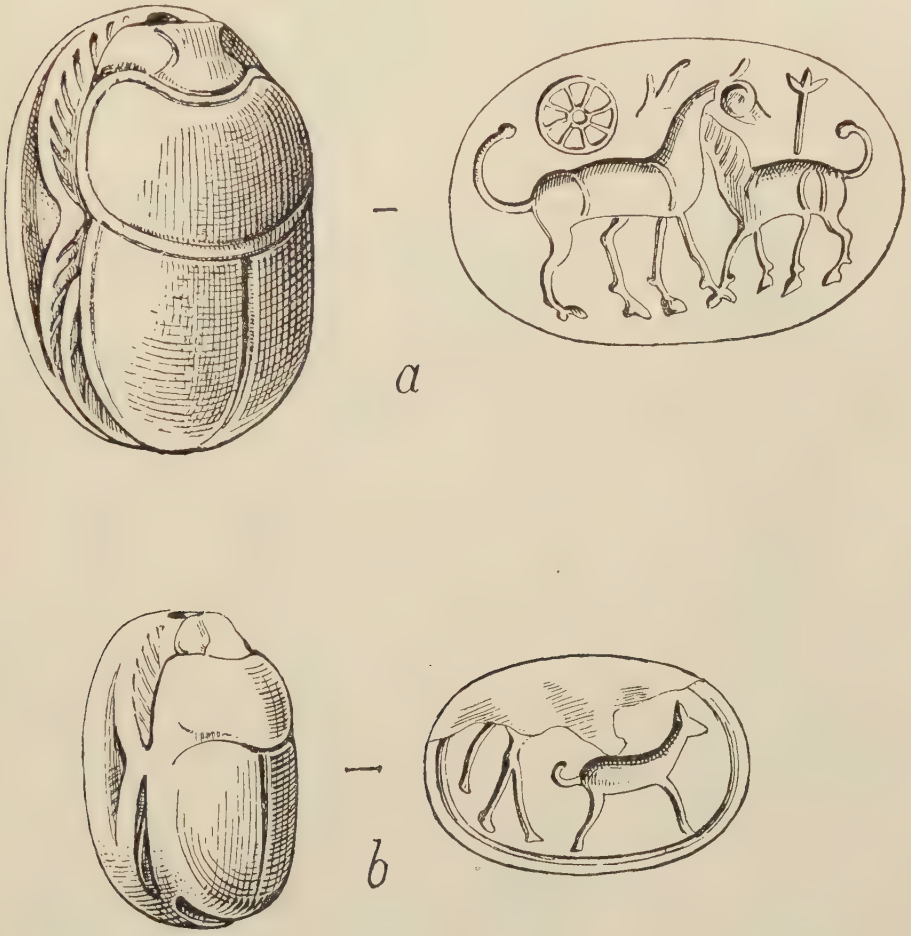

Fig. 143.—Scarabs in Vitreous Paste. (Scale 3 : 2.)

are therefore to be dated to the eighth century. Their shape is shown by the drawings on Fig. 144, *a*, *b*, *c*. In detail they are :—

1. Fig. 144, *a*. Dark red opaque stone (? haematite) with a deer and perhaps birds below and in front of him, and a curious ornament above his back.

2. Fig. 144, *b*. A similar stone, showing a bird with outstretched wings and the same ornament on each side of his head.

3. Fig. 144, *c*. A green stone, showing a standing deer.

4, 5, 6. Three more such scarabaeoids, but smaller and much less well preserved.

All these stones are of rather soft material and cut in the same crude linear style, which is extremely different and much more elementary than the expert rounded manner of the much earlier Mycenaean gems; especially such a stone as that with the ibex on Fig. 144, *f*.

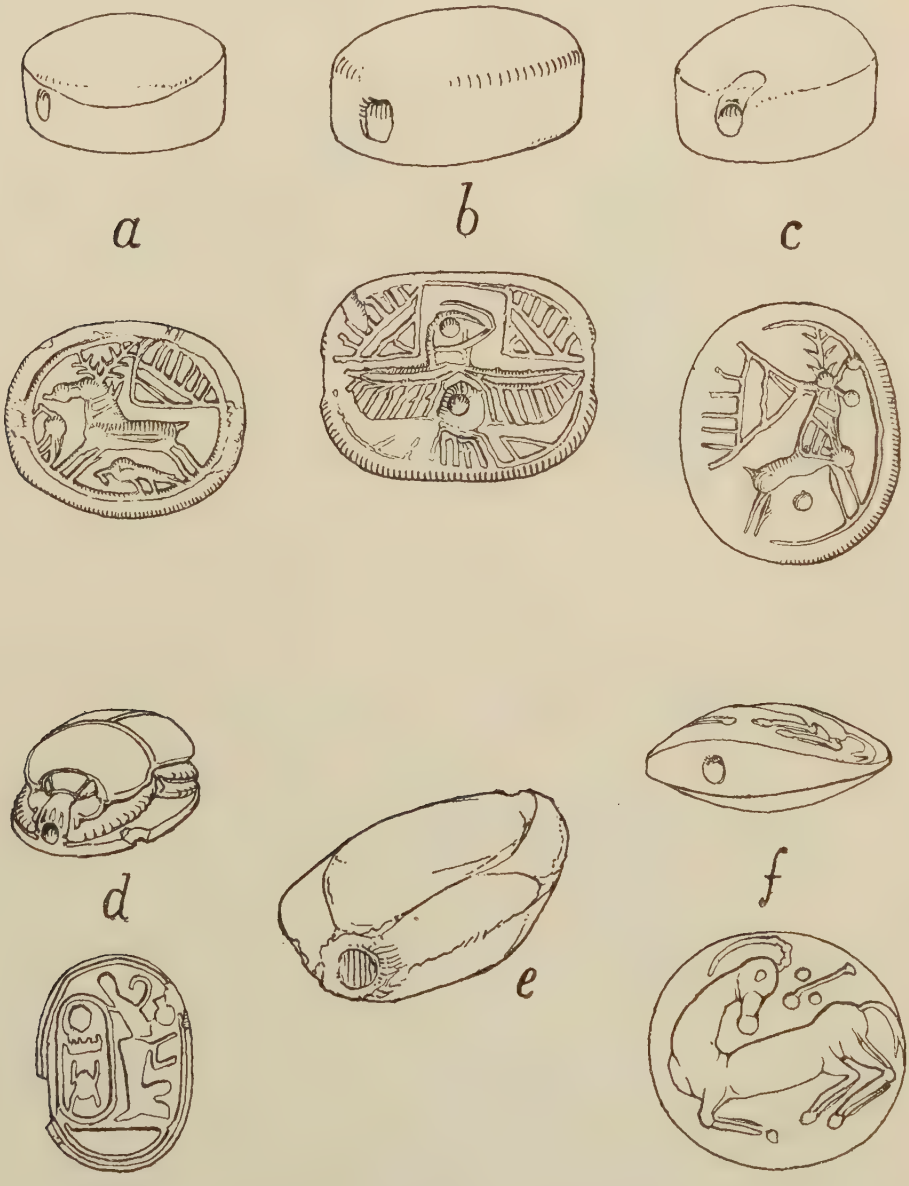

FIG. 144.—*a*, *b*, *c*, SCARABAEOID GEMS. *d*, SCARAB IN VITREOUS PASTE. *e*, *f*, MYCENAEAN CARNELIAN GEMS. (Scale 2 : 1.)

C. *Miscellaneous.*

1. **CCIV, D.** Black stone, which shows signs of having been worn smooth. Above is an animal with curiously long legs and for a head a mere stump.

The lower surface has a pattern of spirals, and at one end zigzags. The deposit in which it was found contained Laconian I and II pottery, and so belongs to the end of the seventh century. The object itself seems to be a Hittite importation.

2. **CCVI, 15.** Blue glass conical seal, showing two animals one above the other, drawn from an impression. The object is Syrian, and hardly datable: it was found with Geometric sherds.

4. **CCVI, 16.** Blue glass seal, pierced longitudinally. The design is a sphinx, and below two figures adoring on each side of an oval. It is a Phoenician imitation of Egyptian work, and being found with Geometric pottery only must be one of the very latest of such objects or else has worked

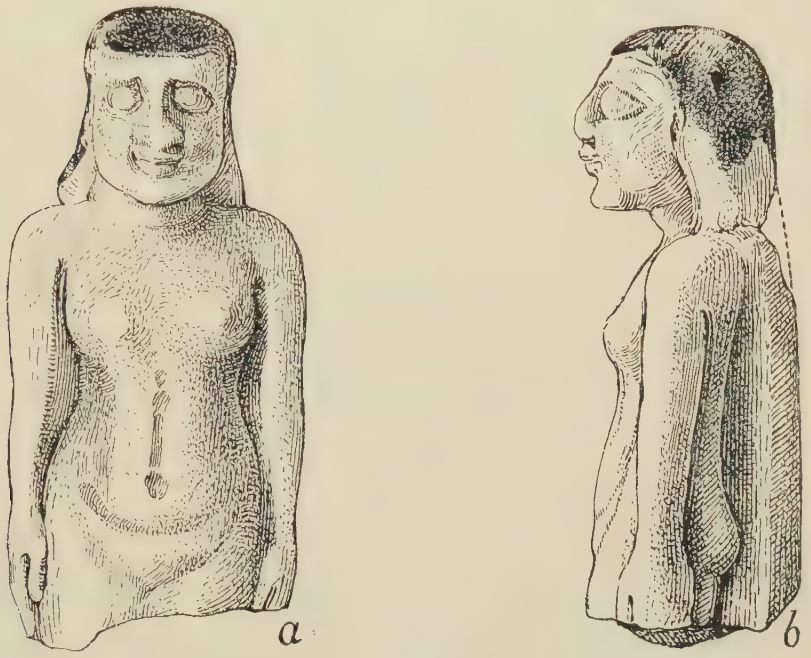

Fig. 145.—Female Figure in Vitreous Paste. (Scale 3 : 2.)

down to lower than its true position, as its own date, Dr. H. R. Hall assures me, is not earlier than the seventh century.

2. *Gold and Silver Jewellery.*

Not a few pieces of jewellery in gold and silver were found in the deposits below the sand, some of them objects of great beauty. In general they are all to be put down to the seventh century; only one piece, the fibula on **CCIV, A, 1,** which was found late in the Geometric deposit, is definitely earlier, and it must belong, with the similar bronze fibulae, to the eighth century. But apart from this for the period before the seventh century we have no actual jewellery, but only a quantity of scraps of gold leaf, clearly detached from objects which have themselves perished. Gold was therefore used, as on the

lead seal on p. 259, for plating and gilding other objects, very likely often in conjunction with ivory and amber, but it was only in the seventh century that actual gold jewellery appears among the votives, and with this came a similar use of silver. In connexion with this it should be noted that in the lead figurines all the jewellery types are found in ' Lead 0 ' to ' Lead II,' and these three classes of figurines belong to and fill up the seventh century. The custom of dedicating actual jewellery, and the use for this purpose of lead substitutes, though it seems a corruption, may quite well belong to the same period, and the date of these lead ' jewels ' may be taken as additional evidence that the jewellery dedications, even when the find-point is not clearly known, are likely to date to the seventh century. But it must not be forgotten that jewellery is apt to be worn for some time before being dedicated, and therefore the level at which such an object is found represents not so much the date of its being made, as of the dedication of an article which may have been very far from new. In this point real jewellery is quite unlike the cheap terracotta and lead figurines, which we may safely assume were made for immediate dedication. The list of these objects should be compared all through with the account of the lead

Fig. 146.—Double-axe Gem. (Scale 3 : 2.)

jewellery types and the references for their distribution given in Chap. IX on the lead figurines.

The list of objects which here follows begins with the earliest piece mentioned above; this is followed by five pieces (2–6) found with Proto-Corinthian sherds, generally mixed with Geometric or with Laconian I or with both; they may therefore be put down to about the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries. Of the next pieces, 7–23. the level is not in all cases known, but for the reasons above given they may with fair certainty all be put down to the seventh century, early rather than late. When the level is known, it was always with Laconian I pottery that they were found. The series is finished by eight pieces (Nos. 24–31), all of which were found in connexion with Laconian II pottery; this places them, or at least the year of their dedication, in the later years of the seventh century. The list follows :—

1. **CCIV, A, 1.** Silver bow-fibula with a double spring and the bow beaten out into a hollow boat-shaped plate. It is like many " Geometric " fibulae, except that these generally have a rectangular plate by the catch. The association of this with Geometric pottery puts it into the eighth century, the period of most of the very numerous bronze fibulae.

The next pieces (2–6) *belong to about the year* 700 B.C.

2. **CCII, 1.** This is a group consisting of a pair of pins and their connecting chain. The pins, now broken, but originally each about ·085 m. in length, are silver gilt, with ornately modelled heads of the type of the seventh-century bronze pins on **LXXXVI.** With them were found pieces, in all about ·40 m., of fine gold chain; the shape of the links is shown in an enlarged drawing on the Plate between the chain and the point of one of the pins. The piece of the chain on the Plate is interrupted by a clasp in the form of two loops of gold wire strung through three tubular beads, from the centre one of which hangs a small socket, probably for the attachment of a pendant. As they were found together, the chain and pins probably formed a single unit, and we may take them to be a pair of pins used on the shoulders of a chiton and joined, like a pair of Scotch shawl-pins, by a chain, which in use passed across the breast of the dress. Such pins and chains appear on several of the terracotta figurines, *e.g.* on **XXXIV, 1–8,** and are very common on figurines from the Argive Heraion. For these pairs of pins compare the fact that among the lead figurines the pins are generally found in pairs.

3. **CCII, 2.** A small gold double axe: in the socket there were remains of the bone handle. This was one of three examples.

4. **CCII, 5.** A silver pendant shaped like a bud. One also was found in gold and two others in silver, one with a tubular means of attachment. A similar bud-pendant in gold from the Menelaion is published in *B.S.A.*, xv. Pl. VIII, 9. See also the lead figurines, p. 257.

5. **CCIII, 11.** A pendant in vitreous paste and silver with a decoration of attached rosettes. Above it is the tube for suspension.

6. Plain gold ring, circular in section; inner diameter ·017–·019 m. This example dates to about the year 800 B.C. There were also found fifteen plain gold wire rings, all smaller than finger size; eight plain silver rings, one with a short piece of silver attached at a tangent and one silver ring with a paste scarab inset, like the lead scarab rings fairly common in among the figurines of Lead I and II. The dates of these rings are unfortunately not known, but it is almost certain that they begin early and last through the seventh century.

Pieces (7–23) *of early or middle seventh-century date.*

7. **CCIII, 14.** Fragments of a wreath of gold and silver work. On twisted silver wire are strung tubular gold beads, and between the beads pairs of leaves and berries. There were also found from similar wreaths about twelve silver berries and about twenty silver-gilt leaves. This was definitely with Laconian I pottery.

8. **CCII, 6.** A silver pin of the type characteristic of the seventh century; comparable to the bronze pins on **LXXXVI.** This pin has a plain gilt knob in the centre of the disc which forms the head, and both sides of the disc are adorned with a finely-drawn rosette. In order to show both these rosettes the pin is drawn twice on the Plate. Length ·15 m. There were also found fourteen similar pins or pin-heads of less ornate make, but all of the same type and period.

9. **CCIII, 1.** Small pendant of bud type, made of an amethyst set in gold.

10. **CCIII, 9.** Gold tubular object, probably to attach a pendant to a necklace. For similar objects in lead, *v.* p. 257.

11. **CCIII, 2.** Gold pendant made of a crescent-shaped piece of thin plate, with a tag bent over to form a suspension-loop.

12. **CCIII, 8.** Two long tubular gold beads, with knobs at the ends.

13. **CCIII, 12, 13.** Four large and seven smaller gold tubular beads.

14. **CCIII, 4.** Two complete and a fragment: gilt rings with ribbing round the outer circumference. For a similar ring at the Menelaion *v. B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VIII, 7.

15. **CCIII, 10.** Silver rosette, plated with gold.

16. **CCII, 4.** Silver double axe with handle, pierced at the lower end.

17. Three small silver balls; they are hollow and made in two parts.

18. Silver disc, with moulded concentric rings: diam. ·055 m.

19. What appears to be a silver end to a sheath, much crushed. Another was found with a gold knob below.

20. Two small circular silver mirrors. One has a bevelled edge: diam. ·036 m. Examples in lead occur in Lead I and II; *v.* pp. 258, 265.

21. Fragment of gilt plate, complete above and stamped with A.

22. **CCIII, 7.** Silver pendant, formed of a siren: much corroded.

23. Small spiral sea-shell, gilt.

Pieces (24–31) *of the latter part of the seventh century.*

24. **CCIV, A, 3.** Silver pinhead: length ·035 m.

25. **CCIII, 6.** Silver oval-shaped loop-pendant, with suspension-tube. The circle is interrupted by an oval bezel in which are the remains of a piece of amber.

26. **CCII, 7.** A similar loop-pendant, but with no remains of the bezel that was presumably originally held between the points.

27. **CCII, 3.** Three tubular gold filagree beads.

28. **CCIV, A, 2.** Ribbed silver pommel. Another smaller example was found.

29. Two silver-gilt *phialai*. One is about ·05 m. in diameter.

30. Small silver duck in relief; hollow.

31. **CCIII, 3.** Silver rectangular amulet with wire loop above. The representation on it is of a draped female figure on a throne with left hand raised, wearing crown and veil. On each side of her stands a bird. Hera and her peacocks may be suggested.

3. *Objects in Vitreous Paste.*

A certain number of objects made of vitreous paste were found. The surface glazes have for the most part disappeared, leaving only the yellowish-white body below. They are either importations from Phoenicia, or such imitations of Egyptian work as are found in Rhodes and Naukratis. They fall under three heads; scarabs, figures in the round, and vases.

Scarabs. **CCV**; Fig. 143, Fig. 144, *d.* Between thirty and forty of these scarabs in vitreous paste were found. They were originally covered with blue

glaze, but of this almost all traces have disappeared and only a very friable body has been left; with the result that the design can in many cases hardly be deciphered. The drawings show what can be recovered, and there is no reason to suppose that the other examples would have added much to the repertory of designs. They were nearly always associated with Geometric pottery, but that they must not be put early in the Geometric period is shown by the fact that with some of them, *e.g.* **CCV, 11, 12,** sherds of Laconian I also were found, and this points to the beginning of the seventh century. But these were exceptions, and the scarabs were as a whole earlier than the great mass of ivories and plainly belong to the eighth century. External evidence agrees with this and would put them to the eighth and early seventh century: the two scarabs on Fig. 143 date to the XXVIth (Saite) dynasty. All are imitations of earlier Egyptian designs: for example, the scarab on Fig. 144, *d* is a ninth or eighth century imitation of a scarab of Thothmes III.

Figures in the round. Fig. 145 and **CCVI, 4, 5, 13.** In Fig. 145 we have a female figure in the round, from which except for the dark hair all the surface colour has perished. It seems to be a Naucratite or Rhodian imitation of Egyptian work of the eighth or perhaps seventh century; Poulsen[1] prefers to regard it as Phoenician: its oriental provenance in any case is clear. Besides this figure there were the remains of three other human figures: one perhaps a small Horus, another a head with beard and *polos* head-dress, and a third a headless torso broken at the waist; height about ·04 m. Several animals were found: a finely-carved ram in the round (**CCVI, 13**), which is a seventh-century Naucratite imitation of Egyptian work; the head of a bird (**CCVI, 4**); a bull's head; a small figure of a boar; a pendant in the form of a hedgehog; and a piece of a straight-sided box (?) with a finely-drawn horse's head (**CCVI, 5**).

Vases. **CCVI, 14; CCVII.** These are rather later than the scarabs, and belong to the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries. Thus 1, 2 and 3 were found with Laconian I and Proto-Corinthian pottery; 4 was with Laconian I and Geometric sherds; one of the fragments under 5, of the base of a vase, was in the black earth which formed the dais in the cella of the Early Temple, though this context is not very informative. The provenance of the other two fragments is unknown. These objects are Rhodian or Naucratite imitations of Egyptian work, and apart from this Spartan evidence would be given the same date, 700 B.C. and later. In detail they are:—

1. **CCVII, 1.** A pot of depressed spherical form, like an aryballos without a handle. On the shoulder below the flat lip is a geometrical pattern; on the middle of the body a frieze of ducks single or in pairs back to back, and between them lotus flowers. Below the vase the lid has been drawn, and below this a part of the opposite side of the vase, which was much broken and incomplete.

2. **CCVII, 2.** A fragment of a similar vase with, on the central frieze, a bull and a large leaf.

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[1] *Der Orient u.s.w.*, p. 63.

3. **CCVII, 3.** Another such fragment, showing an antelope and a leaf motive.

4. **CCVI, 14.** A lid, almost certainly from such a pot.

5. Besides these there are fragments of at least three more pots, but with geometrical patterns only.

4. *Amber.*

A fair amount of amber was found, some forty or fifty studs and beads, for the most part with Geometric pottery; after the appearance of Laconian pottery, that is by the beginning of the seventh century, it becomes rare. It was found in the form of small, generally disc-shaped beads, pierced along a diameter, or used to decorate objects of bone and ivory with inlaid discs or studs. Examples of this are on the large ivory spectacle fibula on **CXXXII, 4,** and it is probable that several other of these fibulae were adorned in the same way. A late example on which these amber discs were probably inlaid, is the ivory relief of a ship on **CIX.** It appears too on the comb on **CXXVI, 3.** A further use of amber is on the bows of the fibulae shown on **LXXXII,** where the bow is made up of alternate pieces of bone and amber. Of carved amber we found a small figure of a couchant sheep, exactly like the numerous ivory figures of sheep shown on **CXLVIII,** the remains of an intaglio, and three pierced but plain bead-seals. Some of these and similar objects were perhaps pendants.

5. *Glass Beads.*

These were of two kinds: A, small spherical beads; B, beads of three-cornered form; that is, with three protuberances, in each of which the opaque black glass of the body of the bead alternates with layers of white paste.[2] As to date, both kinds are common in the Geometric deposit, but whilst Class A is found as late as Laconian I, and so goes down into the seventh century, the beads of Class B are rare in any deposits after those entirely Geometric, and so hardly go later than the year 700 B.C. An unusual and pretty bead is shown on **CCVI, 9.** It is made of dull green paste, with rosettes of black and white with red centres.

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6. *Sculpture.*

Apart from the rather crude reliefs in soft limestone which form a class by themselves (Chapter VI, **Pls. LXIII–LXXIV**), the examples of sculpture found at the Orthia sanctuary were very fragmentary and disappointing. The following list gives a brief description of the more important pieces.[3]

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[2] Such beads are figured in *Olympia*, iv, p. 207, No. 1333. For an example from the Menelaion at Sparta, see *B.S.A.* xv. Pl. VIII, 24.

[3] I have to thank Mr. Woodward and Mr. Emrys Lloyd for their kind assistance in taking notes and measurements in the Sparta Museum.

Archaic Period.

1. Fragment of lion's mane. H. ·26 m.; w. ·25 m. **Pl. V.** Poros, painted in yellow, red and blue-green. Found in front of the later temple (see p. 21).

2. Fragment of lion's mane. H. ·09 m.; w. ·09 m. Poros, probably once painted like No. 1. Found in front of the later temple.

These fragments are so small that it is extremely difficult to form any satisfactory idea of the style or composition of the subject to which they belonged. Mr. Dawkins' suggestion,[4] that they come from a group of two confronted lions which filled the pediment of the later (sixth-century) temple, is extremely likely and is supported by the evidence of two pediment-shaped reliefs in soft limestone.[5]. Further, as the groups in painted poros from the Acropolis at Athens [6] and the Corfu pediment [7] show, this was a popular method of pedimental composition at this date. The style of these Spartan fragments so far as can be seen agrees well with that of the lion groups from the Acropolis, though not with that of the Corfu lions. There need, therefore, be no hesitation in assigning these fragments to the sixth century, the date already assigned to the later temple on stratigraphical grounds.

3. Right hand, life size. W. about ·12 m. Poros. The little finger is missing. The hand is clenched and holds a rounded object (·058 m. in diameter at the top), perhaps the stem of a vase. Carefully finished work, with the nails well rendered.

4. Part of female head, over life size. H. ·16 m.; w. ·13 m. Grey Laconian marble. Above are traces of two rows of curls, one in the upper row and two in the lower. Below is a heavy ridge for an eyebrow with a smaller ridge for the upper eyelid, in which are two small sinkings.

5. Two adjoining curved fragments with a plaited band close to the edge. L. ·23 m. Grey Laconian marble. In the larger piece is a roughly cut hole (for a tenon?). The lines of the curve suggest that these may come from a horse's neck, but any attribution must be conjectural.

6. Fragment of large lustral bowl with Gorgoneion in high relief. H. ·24 m.; w. ·30 m.; thickness of rim ·03 m. H. of Gorgoneion ·12 m.; depth of relief ·08 m. (Fig. 147). Greyish coarse-grained Laconian marble. From either side of the Gorgoneion project limbs, bent and more like arms than legs. The Gorgon wears a low polos and has short locks on either side of the face decorated with horizontal and vertical cuttings. The hair is rendered with fine irregular waves ending in short separate locks on the forehead and ropy plaits hang down over the ears. The eyes are almond-shaped and set obliquely. The ears are small and set level with the eyes. The chin is moulded flat below. The mouth with the projecting tongue is not conspicuously wide. This interest-

[4] *V.* p. 22 above.

[5] P. 23, Fig. 11.

[6] Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I. p. 67, No. 3, pp. 75, 76; Wiegand, *Poros Architektur*, pp. 214 *sqq.*; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Fig. 377; Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1922, pp. 95 *sqq.*; Heberdey, *Porosskulptur*, pp. 77, 87, 91, 110.

[7] Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 374.

ing piece of decorative sculpture can be unhestitatingly classed as a Spartan work of the sixth century. It is very similar in treatment to the head of the male figure on the Chrysapha [8] stele and other work of the same type, but is not very similar to the Gorgoneion akroterion in the Sparta Museum.[9]

Fragments of three inscribed bowls of archaic date are published under inscriptions, Nos. 136–138, pp. 353 *sq.*, and there are pieces of three others. One very thick fragment has remains of a palmette, another much smaller a guilloche band below the rim, and the third has merely a raised band parallel with the rim.

7. Female head. H. ·128 m.; w. ·103 m. (Fig. 148). Greyish Laconian marble. The exact provenance of this interesting piece is not known, but it most probably was built into the Roman masonry. The eyes are wide open and slope slightly inwards. The eyelids are rendered as rather thick rolls.

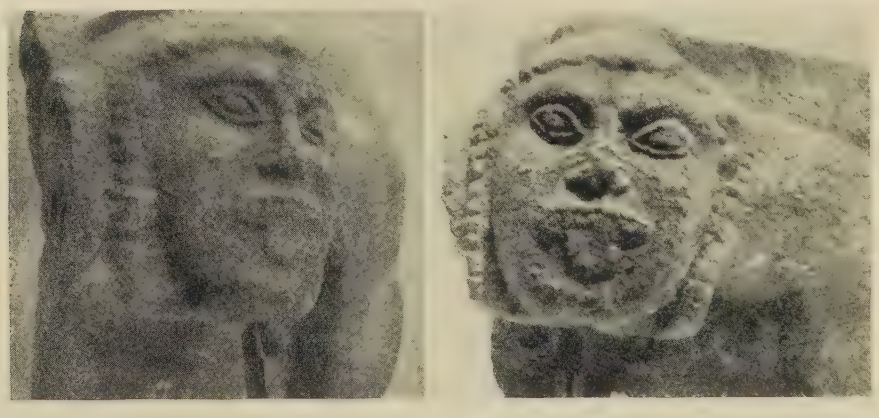

Fig. 147.—Fragment of Marble Lustral Bowl with Gorgoneion. (Scale *about* 1 : 4.)

They touch, but do not overlap at the outside angle, and continue in one straight line at the inner corner. The eyebrows curve sharply upwards, but curve again down towards the ears, giving the eyes a smiling expression. The lips are full and rather long and the mouth is straight. The ears are not preserved. No traces are left of the hair except at one place above the right eye, where one knob of hair with part of another suggests that a border of tight locks ran round above the forehead as on the male figure in the Chrysapha stele.[10] The high triangular forehead also suggests that the hair was dressed to slope down towards the ears from a point above the centre of the forehead.

The top of the head was levelled horizontally on purpose by the sculptor. Some way from the front there is a vertical sinking, ·08 m. deep, also intentional, making in plan three sides of a rectangle. The cutting is now ·044 m. long and ·021 m. wide, but was probably originally square, the fourth side (the back)

[8] Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 468; cf. *S.M.C.*, p. 104, H, Fig. 4; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pp. 89 *sqq.*, p. 91; *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 100 *sqq.*, Figs. 1–3.

[9] *S.M.C.* No. 654.

[10] Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 468.

being destroyed. In its front side is a circular hole, ·023 m. deep, and in each side are traces of a similar hole, all three being cut so that attachments inserted in them would meet in one common point about ·10 m. above the head.

Fig. 148.—Marble Head, probably of Orthia. (Scale *about* 5 : 7.)

These holes and the horizontal cutting taken together seem to have been made for the purpose of attaching a polos to the head.

The head is carved in a hard manner with no attempt at surface modelling, and the lips, eyebrows, and eyelids stand out from the general surface. The whole is distinctly sculptural. This treatment, taken in conjunction with the

strong probability that the head was once surmounted by a polos, gives it a great resemblance to the head of Hera at Olympia.[11] Both have a smiling expression and a triangular forehead with a fringe of hair and are worked along a frontal and two side planes. The shape of the eyes and of the mouth is similar in both. The ivory, terracotta, and lead figures which are believed to represent Orthia usually wear a polos,[12] and if this head also wore a polos it too may well be identified as a representation of the goddess.

The use of local marble and the general stylistic likeness to the Chrysapha stele [13] and other undoubted Spartan works of the same period, such as the Anaxibios stele,[14] a torso and relief from Geraki,[15] and the Magoula relief in Berlin,[16] give us every reason to consider this a characteristic example of Spartan sculpture.[17] As it clearly dates from the sixth century, it must be connected with the later temple and may well come from a statue of the goddess Orthia erected in or near it.

Later Period.

8. Small fragment with three locks of hair. H. ·11 m. White (Pentelic ?) marble. Good work. This is the only piece which can be assigned to the fifth century.

The remaining marble fragments are too small to allow any close attempt at dating and are not worth full discussion.

The fragments from statues include the head of a boy about life size, three pieces of arms slightly under life size, two fragments of legs, and three pieces of a left foot.

Those from statuettes comprise a youthful male torso about ·20 m. high, possibly Hellenistic; an Aphrodite torso about ·14 m. high similar to Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 347–49; a girl holding a bird; the lower part of a draped figure; and a small right foot.

Among reliefs are a relief of a trophy of late imperial date about ·27 m. high, part of an acanthus relief from a grave stele, and a melon-shaped finial.

Architectural fragments in addition to the pieces of a Doric capital and column described above [18] comprise two small pieces from Ionic capitals and some indeterminate fragments of mouldings.

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[11] Richter. *op. cit.*, Fig. 138; cf. Langlotz's remarks, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pp. 92 *sqq.*

[12] *V.* **Pls. XXVIII–XXXII, CXVII–CXX, CLXXXII, CLXXXVIII.**

[13] Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 468; cf. *S.M.C.* p. 103, Fig. 2; p. 104, Fig. 4.

[14] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 144, Fig. 1.

[15] *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 100 *sqq.*, Figs. 1–3.

[16] Langlotz, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[17] Cf. Langlotz's analysis, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 *sqq.*

[18] P. 21.

7. *The Iron Spits and other Coins.*

I. *The Spits.*

The most important finds, from the point of view of the numismatist, were the remains of iron spits, in which we may confidently recognise the earliest Spartan currency. The literary sources for the use of iron ὀβελοί or ὀβελίσκοι as currency at Sparta have been collected and discussed by Svoronos, in connection with the discovery of the objects of this nature dedicated by Pheidon at the Argive Heraeum, and discovered in Waldstein's excavations in 1894 [19]; and have been treated more recently by Seltman,[20] who draws important metrological conclusions from them. There is no need to repeat these sources here.[21]

It is not surprising that the votive offerings to Orthia should have included numerous spits, most of which are represented by fragments between 15 and 25 centimetres in length, and a large number of similar fragments came to light in the more recent excavations on the Spartan Acropolis in 1924–27. The distribution of the iron fragments at the Orthia site has not been fully recorded, but it seems that they occurred plentifully at many points in the arena, and that only a few pieces were found east of the altar, among the later houses. This iron was not common in those earlier strata in which Geometric pottery alone was found, but began to be frequent with the appearance of Proto-Corinthian, and continues through the deposits of Laconian I. Of its being found with definitely Laconian II pottery there is no evidence. Its range would therefore be from the latter part of the eighth down to towards the end of the seventh century. In a small supplementary excavation, conducted by myself in 1928 south of the altar, about fifteen pieces of ὀβελοί were discovered, all in the earth between the sand-layer and the cobble-pavement of Geometric date, below which, it appears, no iron spits ever came to light in any of the previous campaigns. These fragments may represent five or six different spits, but it was seen that eight of them could be joined together to give a total length of ·55 m., which was certainly not the total original length of the object. The number of fragments found during the whole course of the excavations has not been counted, but at a rough guess was not less than 300, though it is impossible to say how many spits are represented. No complete specimen came to light, either here or on the Acropolis,

[19] *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* ix. (1906), pp. 192 *sqq.*

[20] *Athens, History and Coinage,* pp. 117 *sqq.*, §§ 93–96.

[21] In his pamphlet *Das Eisengeld der Spartaner* (Braunsberg, 1925), B. Laum attempts to show that the iron sickles dedicated to Orthia are a survival of Spartan iron currency. This and other bold conclusions contained in his work do not concern us here. (See Blinkenberg's criticisms in *Gnomon,* ii. pp. 107 *sqq.*)

so their original length must remain conjectural. It seems clear, however, that when complete each spit had a pointed lance-head at one end, and a plain four-sided, not rounded, spike at the other. In this they resemble the spits from the Heraeum, but they differ from them in being as a rule distinctly thicker.

Owing to their corroded condition the average diameter is hard to calculate, but it seems to have been very close to one centimetre, and the normal section is square. A small proportion, however, seem to belong to pieces of smaller diameter, perhaps ·0075 or ·008 thick. In the following table are set forth the length and weight of a selection of typical fragments from the Acropolis, which may safely be taken as a guide for the material from the Orthia site.

Length			Weight	
Length	·185 m.		Weight	121·5 grammes.
,,	·215 ,,		,,	160·1 ,,
,,	·245 ,,	(thinner in section)	,,	145 ,,
,,	·13 ,,	(thicker than usual towards one end)	,,	113 ,,
,,	·16 ,,	(with spike)	,,	95·5 ,,
Total	·93 m.		Total	635·1 grammes.

This gives us an average weight of $\frac{635{\cdot}1 \times 100}{93} = 682{\cdot}9$ gr. per metre. Now the average weight of the Heraeum spits is given as 403 grammes, and their average length may be taken as 1·185 metres. Reduced to weight per metre this gives us $\frac{403 \times 100}{118{\cdot}5} = 340{\cdot}08$ grammes. This startling result, that the Spartan spits are almost exactly twice as heavy, in proportion to their length, as those from the Heraeum is, however, only an accident, due to their condition, since we must take into account the relative degree of corrosion on the two sets. At my request Mr. Oliver Davies, who has considerable experience as a metallurgist and mineralogist, examined with me, in the Numismatic Museum, selected specimens of ὀβελοί from both sites, and arrives at the following conclusions: '(1) The Spartan pieces seem to contain about 50 per cent. iron, the rest of the weight being due to corrosion and absorption of foreign matter, and the Argive pieces about 66 per cent., which compels us to treat the original weight per metre of the former as *ca.* 340 grammes, and of the latter as *ca.* 227, giving us a proportion between them of 3 : 2, not 2 : 1. (2) Consequently, if, as seems more probable, their original length was equal, the Spartan spits must have weighed $\frac{340 \times 118{\cdot}5}{100}$, say 402·9 grammes; whereas if their weight was equal, the length of the Spartan spits must have been only $\frac{118{\cdot}5 \times 2}{3}$, or 79 cms. (3) It is hazardous to draw exact conclusions from such corroded specimens, but perhaps we may trace a connection between the proportions of the two sets of spits and the relation of the Euboic double stater to the Aeginetan (4 : 3).' It is noteworthy that Mr. Davies's results

give to the Spartan spits almost exactly the present weight of the Argive examples, which Svoronos and Seltman regarded as their original weight.[22] At Mr. Davies's request I would also draw attention here to the bronze object found at Anthedon by the American School at Athens some forty years ago, and published in *A.J.A.*, vi. (1890), p. 106, and Pl. XV, xxvii. It is described as 'resembling a bundle of reeds or rods.' L. ·068; each is ·01 wide. This consists of six bronze 'rods' cast in one, and Mr. Davies is no doubt correct in interpreting it as a bronze 'drachma'—the only object of the kind known to exist.

II. *The Coins.*

The lists given below show in tabular form the coins from the site. Out of the total of 322, 162 are Greek or Roman, and the rest Byzantine, Frankish or Venetian. Of the pieces which defied exact identification owing to their poor condition, twelve seemed to be Greek autonomous (Nos. 72–83), twenty-two Roman imperial, mostly, if not all, of the later fourth century, and nine Byzantine (Nos. 283–291). It must be admitted that ten more Byzantine pieces (Nos. 273–282) could be only approximately classed, five as scyphate and the other five as small angular pieces, but each of these groups is indicative of a fairly limited period.

It will be seen that of the Greek issues, Laconia, including a specimen each from the mints of Gythion and Las, accounts for forty-eight, and Corinth apparently for eleven[23]; the other states represented are Sikyon (five), Egypt (three), and Aegina, Tegea, and Messene, one each of autonomous issues, and one of the Imperial period from Mothone in Messenia. Among the Laconian pieces are two types of the autonomous period which I have not found in any of the books of reference (Nos. 20 + 21, and 22), though specimens are in the Athens collection. There are also several minor varieties of Laconian types published in the *British Museum Catalogue* and elsewhere, which need not be described in detail. Apparently unpublished, also, is No. 16, a coin of Sikyon, of the reign of Severus, with Artemis on the reverse.

Of the Roman issues, almost every reign of any length is represented from the middle of the third century onwards, at any rate to the reign of Constantius II inclusive. The gap between Hadrian and Trebonianus Gallus is partly to be explained by the more or less continuous circulation of local and Corinthian imperial issues, though it is just possible that two or three of the pieces which I ascribe to Corinth may be badly worn Roman *asses*. The mints of the later Roman issues offer no surprises, in that none of the western mints other than Rome are represented.

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[22] This seems fatal to Seltman's conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 118) that the Argive iron 'obol' weighing 403 grammes was equivalent to a silver obol of 1·008 grammes, the relative value of iron to silver being 1 : 400. And it involves also the conclusion that the bundle of 180 obeloi found at the Heraion cannot have been equal in weight to the iron 'norm,' as Svoronos and Seltman assume. The solution of the resulting problem must be left to others.

[23] Two or three of the worn specimens of Imperial date may possibly be Roman; *v.* below.

The Byzantine coins form a fairly representative series down to the thirteenth century, and therein afford an interesting contrast with the finds of Byzantine coins from the Theatre, where the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries are almost entirely unrepresented. Otherwise, including the types of Frankish and Venetian issues, the resemblance in the reigns, and even in the numbers belonging to each of the reigns concerned, between the Theatre and the Orthia site, is strikingly close. As the coins from the Orthia site may be regarded as typical of the coins in circulation in Sparta at various dates during a period of nearly 1600 years (*ca.* 200 B.C. to 1400 A.D.), we may claim that the present material is not devoid of interest. Naturally, a fuller picture will be obtained when all the coins from the excavations of the years 1906 to 1910 and 1924 to 1928 are available for study. Of this, unfortunately, there is no very immediate prospect.

In the list which follows, the following abbreviations are used for the titles of certain books cited in addition to the volumes of the *British Museum Catalogues* concerned :—

Cor. Num.	= *Corolla Numismatica. Numismatic Essays in Honour of B. V. Head.* (Oxford, 1906.)
Milbank, *Aeg.*	= S. R. Milbank, *The Coinage of Aegina.* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 24. New York, 1925.)
Num. Com. Paus.	= F. Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (reprinted from *J.H.S.* 1885–87).
I.–Bl., *M. Gr.*	= F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883.
Matt.–Syd.	= H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. I. 1923; Vol. II. 1926.
Cohen[2]	= H. Cohen, *Description des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, 2nd edition, 1880–1892.
Schlumb. *N.O.L.*	= G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin.*

Inventory of Coins

1. *Greek.* (*Nos.* 1–71.)

No.	Place.	Denomination, Period, etc.	Reference.
1	Aegina.	AR. Drachma.	*B.M.C., Attica.* 167–170 = Earle-Fox, in *Cor. Num.*, p. 37, Class VI. = Milbank, *Aeg.* Pl. II. 16.
2	Corinth.	Tiberius.	*B.M.C., Cor.* 521 (?).
3	,,	Caligula.	*do.* 536.
4	,,	Claudius (?).	Rev. doubtful.
5	,,	Hadrian.	*B.M.C., Cor.* 590.
6	,,	Hadrian (?).	Rev. doubtful (possibly Roman Æ 2).
7	,,	Ant. Pius.	*Num. Com. Paus.* p. 21, 20, Pl. E. xciii.
8	,,	M. Aurelius (?).	Rev.: seated Zeus, to l., without sceptre; eagle behind throne (unpublished (?)).[24]
9	,,	*do.* (?).	Similar, but much worn.[25]

[24] This might possibly be Roman, though I cannot identify the reverse; it is not *B.M.C., Cor.* 606.

[25] Possibly Roman; if not, it might be *B.M.C., Cor.* 606.

No.	Place.	Denomination, Period, etc.	Reference.
10	Corinth.	M. Aurelius (?).	Rev. worn smooth.
11	,,	Commodus.	*B.M.C.*, *Cor.* 655 for rev.
12	,,	*do.* (?).	Rev. worn smooth.
13	Sikyon.	AR. Hemidrachma, 400–300 B.C.	*B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 111 *sqq.*
14	,,	,, (?)	*do.* 149 *sqq.*
15	,,	250–146 B.C.	*do.* 205 *sqq.*
16	,,	Severus.	Rev.: Artemis st. to l., drawing arrow from quiver ΣIKVW NIWN (unpublished ?).
17	,,	Geta.	*Num. Com. Paus.* p. 28, 2.
18	Messene.	Autonomous.	*B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 29–31.
19	Mothone.	Severus.	*Num. Com. Paus.* p. 69 (not figured), rev. Asklepios standing.
20, 21	Laconia.	Autonomous.	Herakles-head in lion-skin; rev.: club between letters Λ A surmounted by two stars. *B.M.C.*—; cf. Athens, I. Bι′, 431.
22	,,	*do.*	Helmeted head of Athena r.; rev.: jar between letters Λ A; cf. Athens, 4273.
23	,,	*do.*	*B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 22.
24	,,	*do.*	*do.* 24.
25	,,	*do.*	*do.* 32.
26	,,	*do.*	*do.* 34.
27	,,	*do.*	As *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 22 *sqq.*, but letters Δ A.
28	,,	*do.*	*do.*, but letters uncertain.
29	,,	*do.*	As *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 35 *sqq.*, but letters Σ //.
30	,,	*do.*	As *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 41 *sqq.*, but letters N I. ρ
31	,,	*do.*	*do.*, but letters A (Αργ.).
32, 33	,,	*do.*	*do.*, but letters obscure.
34	,,	*do.*	*B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 47.
35	,,	*do.*	*do.* 54.
36	,,	*do.*	*do.* 56 (countermark, small male head).
37, 38	,,	*do.*	*do.* 62.
39–52	,,	*do.* (Eurykles).	*do.* 63–65: fourteen, some in very bad preservation.
53	,,	(Augustus and *do.*).	*do.* 70, variety, obv. leg. KAIΣAP.
54	,,	*do.*	*do.* 70, leg. obscure.
55	,,	Claudius.	*do.* 72, variety, rev. leg. has KΩNOC on r.
56	,,	*do.*	*do.* 72, variety, obv. leg. ends AYΓ.
57–59	,,	Hadrian.	*do.* 73 and 74: obv. legends obscure.
60	,,	L. Verus.	*do.* as 79, of Commodus.
61	,,	Commodus.	*do.* 79.
62	,,	Severus.	Hermes and infant Dionysos, as I.—Bl., *M. Gr.* p. 173, 90.
63	,,	Plautilla.	*B.M.C.*, *Pelop.* 85.
64	,,	Gallienus.	*do.* 87 (same rev. die).
65	,,	*do.*	*do.* 87 (?) (worn and broken).
66	Gythion.	Geta.	As *do* 2 (of Severus), rev. Herakles standing.
67	Las.	Caracalla.	*do.* 1.
68	Arcadia: Tegea.	Autonomous	*do.* 15.
69–71	Egypt.	Ptolemy VI (?)	As Σβορῶνος, Νομ. Κράτ. Πτολ. Pl. 48, 21 (?).
72–83	Uncertain.	Autonomous.	Twelve pieces, mostly (if not all) autonomous Greek, in hopeless condition.

2. *Roman.*

(a) *Republican.*

No.	Denomination.	Issuing Authority.	Reference.
84	AR. Denarius.	Q. Pomponius Musa.	*B.M.C., R. Rep.* I. p. 444, No. 3617.
85	Æ. Light *Dupondius.*	Oppius.	*do.* II. p. 518, Nos. 158–63.

(b) *Imperial.*

86	*As.*	Claudius.	*B.M.C., R. Emp.* I. Nos. 199–201.
87	*Sestertius.*	Hadrian.	Matt.-Syd. II. No. 861 (?).
88	*As.*	*do.*	*do.* No. 839.
89	*Sestertius.*	Trebonianus Gallus.	Cohen,[2] 54.
90	*Dupondius.*	Otacilia.	*do.* 32 (?). Rev. Pietas (?).
91	*Antoninianus.*	Gallienus.	*do.* 161 (variety).
92	,,	*do.*	*do.* 327.
93	,,	*do.*	*do.* 599.
94	,,	Aurelian.	*do.* 63 (mint $\overline{*\ T}$).[26]
95	,,	*do.*	*do.* 285 (,, $\overline{T}$).
96	,,	Tacitus.	*do.* 40 (,, ?).
97	,,	Probus.	*do.* 642 (,, $\overline{R \rightarrow\!\!-\!\!\leftarrow \Gamma}$).
98	,,	Diocletian.	*do.* 31 (,, ?).
99	,,	*do.*	*do.* 34 (,, KΓ).
100	,,	Galerius Maximianus.	*do.* 22 (,, HB).
101–2	Æ 3.	Licinius.	*do.* 163 (mints SF and N̤Γ).
103	,,	Constantius I.	*do.* 264 (mint $\overline{// ST}$).
104	,,	Constantine I.	*do.* 454 (,, Alexandria).[27]
105	,,	*do.*	*do. do.* (,, uncertain).
106	,,	*do.*	*do.* 513.
107–8	,,	*do.*	*do.* 716 (mint Alexandria).[28]
109	,,	*do.*	*do.* 760 (,, Antioch).[29]
110	,,	Constantine II.	*do.* 31 (,, Siscia).[30]
111	,,	*do.*	*do.* 122 (,, Antioch ?).[31]
112	,,	Constans	*do.* 63 (,, Thessalonika).[32]
113	,,	*do.*	*do.* 197 (,, ?).
114	Æ 2.	Constantius II.	*do.* 44 (,, ?).
115–17	Æ 3.	*do.*	*do.* 45 (,, ? ? ?).
118–20	,,	*do.*	*do.* 47 (,, ? ? ?).
121	,,	*do.*	*do.* 104 (,, Cyzicus).[33]
122–3	,,	*do.*	*do.* 188 (,, ? ?).
124–9	,,	*do.* (?).	(*Fel. Temp. Reparatio,* six worn specimens.)
130–1	,,	*do.* (?).	(*Gloria Exercitus,* two worn specimens.)
132–4	,,	*do.*	Cohen,[2] 335.
135	,,	*do.*	*do.* 335 (?).
136–7	,,	Julian.	*do.* 43.
138	,,	Gratian.	*do.* 38.
139	,,	Theodosius I.	*do.* 68.
140	Æ 2.	1st or 2nd century.	Unidentifiable.
141–62	Æ 3.	Late 4th or early 5th century.	,, (22 specimens).

[26] A line placed above the mint-mark indicates that it is in the exergue; if there is no line, it is in the field.

[27] Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne,* iii. p. 273(1).

[28] *Op. cit.,* iii. p. 281, iii.

[29] *Op. cit.,* iii. p. 217(1).

[30] *Op. cit.,* ii. p. 345, ii.

[31] Doubtful, but I seem to see $\overline{\text{S}\dot{\text{M}}\text{A}\dot{\text{N}}\text{B}}$.

[32] *Op. cit.,* ii. p. 476, iv. 4.

[33] Maurice, *op. cit.,* iii. p. 138, 3.

3. *Byzantine.*

(All are bronze, of very various sizes.)

No.	Denomination.	Issuing Authority.	Reference.
163		Arcadius.	Sabatier, *Monn. Byz.* I. p. 107, 47.
164		Theodosius II.	*do.* p. 118, 26.
165		Anastasius I.	*B.M.C., Byz. Emp.* I. 31.
166		Justin I.	*do.* 25 *sq.* (mint CON).
167		*do.*	*do.* 27 *sq.* (,, ?).
168		*do.*	*do.* 33 (variety, Γ).
169		Justinian I.	*do.* 48 (mint CON).
170		*do.*	*do.* 70 (,, *do.*).
171		*do.*	*do.* 244 (,, KYZ).
172		*do.*	*do.* 296 (,, ANT). Variety in obv. legend.
173		Justin II.	*do.* 41 (mint CON). Variety in rev. legend.
174		*do.*	*do.* 47 *sqq.* (mint CON).
175		*do.*	*do.* 59 (,, CON).
176		*do.*	*do.* 134 (,, NIKO).
177		*do.*	*do.* 193 (variety on each side).[34]
178		*do.*	*do.* 221 (mint ANT). Obv. legend blundered.
179		Maurice Tiberius.	*do.* 26 *sqq.* (over-struck on Justin II).
180		*do.*	*do.* 162 (mint KYZ).
181		*do*	*do.* 163 (,, KYZ ?)
182		Phocas	*do.* 41 (,, ?) (over-struck on Maurice Tiberius).
183		*do.*	*do.* 71 *sqq.* (mint NIK) (over-struck on Justinian I ?).
184		Theophilus.	*do.* 15.
185		Leo VI.	*do.* 8 *sq.*
186		Romanus I.	*do.* 21.
187–9		Constantine VII.	*do.* 45 *sqq.*
190		*do.*	*do.* 45 (?) (over-struck on Romanus I ?).
191–3		Nicephorus II.	*do.* 9 *sqq.*
194–201		John Zimisces.	*do.* 13 (all with two dots on halo, where visible).
202–3		*do.*	*do.* 31.
204		Basil II.	*do.* 22 *sq.*
205–12		Michael IV.	*do.* 6 *sqq.* (one over-struck on ?).
213		Constantine IX.	*do.* 19 *sqq.*
214–15		*do.*	*do.* 26 *sqq.* (one over-struck on Basil II; the other on ?).
216–17		Theodora.	*do.* 6 *sqq.*
218–23		Michael VI.	*do.* 3 *sqq.* (one over-struck on ?).
224		Isaac I.	*do.* 6 (?) (over-struck on Theodora, *B.M.C.* 6).
225–39		Nicephorus III.	*do.* 12 *sqq.* (one over-struck on ?).
240–2		Alexius I.	*do.* 37 *sqq.* (one rather uncertain).
243–7		*do.*	*do.* 49 *sqq.*
248		John II.	*do.* 69.
249–50		*do.*	*do.* 70.
251		*do.*	*do.* 72 *sqq.*
252–3		Manuel I.	*do.* 64 *sqq.*
254–7		*do.*	*do.* 78 (one rather uncertain).
258–66		*do.*	*do.* 79 *sqq.*
267–9		*do.*	*do.* 83.

[34] The obverse legend is more blundered than usual on pieces of this reign, reading VNTSAI OLTNIA; the reverse has

M II
Γ III
7HCЧP

No.	Denomination.	Issuing Authority.	Reference.
270		Manuel I.	*B.M.C., Byz. Emp.* II. 89 ff.
271		Alexius III.	*do.* 15 *sqq.* (doubtful).
272		*do.*	*do.* 20 *sqq.* (,,).
273–7		*do.* (or Isaac II).	(?) five scyphate pieces, in poor state.
278–82		John II (?).	(?) five small angular pieces, in poor state.
283–91		Uncertain.	(?) nine pieces in very poor state : one perhaps Michael IV, and one 11th century.

4. *Venice, Latin Orient, etc.*

292	Venice. AR.	Doge : Lorenzo Celsi (1361–1365).	Papadopoli, *Mon. di Venezia*, I. p. 200, Pl. XII. 2.
293–4	Venetian Levant.	*do.*	Schlumb. *N.O.L.* p. 472.
295–8	*do.*	Doge : Antonio Venerio (1382–1400).	*do. do.* Pl. XVIII. 9.
299, 300	*do.*	Doge : Michael Steno (1400–1413).	*do. do.* p. 472 *sq.*
301	*do.*	Doge : Tomaso Mocenigo (1413–1423).	*do. do.* p. 474.
302–6	Principality of Achaia.	Corinth mint of Guillaume de Villehardouin (1245–1278).	*do. do.* Pl. XII. 7.
307–12	*do.* Edessa.[35]		*do. do.* p. 22 and Pl. I. 13.
313–18	*do.* Edessa.		*do. do. ib.* and Pl. I. 14 (one is over-struck).
319	*do.* Antioch.	Tancred.	*do. do.* p. 44 and Pl. I. 6.
320–1	*do.* Antioch.	*do.*	*do. do. ib.* and Pl. I. 8 (?).
322	Unidentified.	(Possibly Kingdom of Serbia ?).[36]	(?).

[35] The re-attribution of many types of Byzantine and 'Crusaders' coins is made by A. R. Bellinger in his *Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 35, New York, 1928), but I have retained here the classifications of Wroth and Schlumberger.

[36] A small and thin copper coin of good workmanship with seated figure, facing, on one side and a bust on the other. Details not very clear, and no legend decipherable. By weight and fabric alike it cannot be Byzantine.

A. M. Woodward.

CHAPTER XII

THE CULT OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA

When, on April 7, 1906, the British School discovered the sanctuary of Orthia on the banks of the Eurotas,[1] the first step was taken towards putting in a comparatively clear light one of the most puzzling and most vehemently discussed cults in the Greek world. It is the purpose of this chapter to show briefly what is now certainly known, from literature and from archaeology, of this venerable worship, and what still awaits elucidation, either from some lucky philological discovery or, less probably, from the finding of more evidence in the soil, not of Sparta, for that can hardly tell us anything more on this particular topic, but of some other place where the goddess was worshipped in antiquity.

The shrine itself tells its own history briefly and clearly, thanks to the thoroughness with which the excavations were carried out.[2] In what had once been a fold of the ground, about 100 m. from the stream of the Eurotas, but not quite out of reach of the highest floods, was discovered a layer of ashes and other remnants of sacrifice, which were shown by consideration of the pottery found therewith (early Geometrical sherds) and comparison with the thickness of the higher strata to date from about the tenth century B.C. No evidence was found of any earlier worship on the site, and, in particular, no trace of anything Mycenaean or Helladic : we are dealing with a cult of the invading Dorians. Over this stratum, which is about 50 cm. thick, lay a cobble pavement of very early date; on this, but not contemporary with it, stood the remains of a large archaic altar, from beneath which protruded a fragment of an earlier altar yet. Whatever building there may have existed contemporary with this oldest altar to house the image of the goddess has entirely disappeared; parts of the foundation of a very early temple, about contemporary with the archaic altar and standing a little to the west of it, have, however, come to light, together with fairly conclusive evidence that it was built mostly of sun-dried brick with a stone foundation and a timber roof with wooden pillars, as might indeed be expected for such early work. It seems to have been overthrown by a flood; whereupon the faithful, to secure their sanctuary from further damage and possibly also as a sort of purification or re-consecration, covered the *débris* with a thick layer of sand and proceeded, about the year 600 B.C., to put up a larger temple of stone. By the second century B.C., or thereabouts, this in turn seems to have become ruinous, and yet another temple rose on its

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[1] Bosanquet in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 278.

[2] For which *v.* Chap. I in this book, and for earlier publications the summary by Dawkins in *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 18 *sqq.*; details in earlier vols. from xii. onwards; *v.* also Ziehen, col. 1465, and refs. there.

good and solid foundations. About four hundred years later the newer altar which stood before this temple, still on the site of its predecessors, was enclosed in a kind of theatre of Roman style, founded on a strong platform of concrete, in which were embedded many fragments of the older work, including not a few dedicatory inscriptions.

These inscriptions, together with inscribed tiles from the Hellenistic temple, show clearly that the sanctuary is none other than that of Artemis Orthia, called also Lygodesma, mentioned by Pausanias.[3] The name of the deity is spelled in a bewildering variety of ways; besides the familiar Ὀρθία we have Ὀρθεία, which need be no more than a varying orthography, for its date is not very early; it is, however, the usual form in the classical period; Ὀρθέα often, and occasionally Ὀρθαία—here we have an actual difference in pronunciation; digammated forms of all these, as Ϝορθέα, etc., later spelling Βορθέα, etc.; at least one example of Ϝροθαία;[4] besides the variants arising out of the Lakonian substitution of σ for θ, as Βορσέα, and one or two pretty obvious misspellings. None of these varieties of form, which mostly concern the suffix, need throw any doubt on the traditional connexion of the word with ὀρθός, however we may interpret that (see below), although the Ϝ seems to have belonged originally to the middle, not the beginning of the word, since the Sanskrit equivalent is ūrdhvás; for the first syllable is in reality nothing but a vocalic *r*, which may equally well be represented by ορ or ρο.[5] Nor need we be much impressed by the fact that the ο is often written ω, as Βωρσέα, seeing that so much of our material is of Imperial date, when the sense of quantity was departing rapidly. The lowlying site, liable as we have seen to be swamped by the river until the level was artificially raised, and much damaged by floods since then (as may be clearly seen from the photograph of the spot before excavation began),[6] might very naturally be called Λιμναῖον, and this is reason enough for the title Λιμναία or Λιμνᾶτις which the goddess seems to have shared with her sister Artemis Issoria of Pitane.[7] It also fits very well with the legend of the finding of her image in a thicket of λύγοι, which held it upright, giving it the titles of Ὀρθία and Λυγοδέσμα.[8]

If now we proceed to consider the nature of the goddess, we find in our literary authorities, and in such archaeological indications as we have outside of Sparta, that she or someone identified with her was worshipped in several places in the Greek world, but nowhere out of it. Inscriptions and references in authors prove that more or less the cult of Orthia, Orthosia, or Orthasia existed in Athens, Megara, Epidauros, one or two places in Arkadia, Elis, Byzantion and perhaps Thera. But for such places as Mysia and India we have only the very dubious testimony of the author of the tract *de fluuiis*, which the MSS.

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[3] Paus., iii. 16, 7, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος.

[4] *V.* p. 201 above; date, late seventh century B.C.

[5] *V.* Brugmann, *Kurze verg. Gramm.*, sect. 203 and 157, 3 *d*.

[6] P. 3, Fig. 1.

[7] Evidence in Ziehen, col. 1463, 29 *sqq.*, 1470, 41 *sqq.*

[8] Paus., *loc. cit.*, 11. λύγος is *Vitex agnus-castus L.*, a very common Greek shrub, especially fond of low and well-watered ground.

libellously ascribe to Plutarch.[9] Now this exactly suits the testimony of the excavations. The shrine, as already stated, shows no Prehellenic traces at all; its earliest pottery is Geometric, and thence it progresses through Proto-Corinthian and the series of Laconian styles. It is true that in the later Geometric levels and in the immediately succeeding strata containing Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery, first with and later without any admixture of Geometric, and also in the Laconian II deposits which reach down to the end of the seventh century, there have been found a number of charming ivories of oriental style, some of which show the goddess in the form of the so-called Persian Artemis, winged and holding a beast or a bird in either hand, in fact as the πότνια θηρῶν who seems to have been worshipped in one form or another, and doubtless under many names, throughout the Aegean and the neighbouring Asiatic coasts. But there is clear evidence (in the form of half-finished pieces of carved ivory) that though the inspiration may have come from the East, the workmanship was local, dating from the little-known days when Sparta was something better than a barracks and had time to develop the fine arts, at least to a certain extent.[10] To identify local deities to some extent with those worshipped abroad is a thing which the Greeks of all ages were very ready to do; to import a cult, or be seriously influenced by foreign ritual, is something very different, much less characteristic of the Greeks, and which there is no reason for imagining was done in the case of Orthia, whatever theorists of later times might suppose (see below). The instances of her cult outside Sparta are nearly all Dorian, and the great prestige of Sparta might easily lead to the worship of one of her deities in Elis and Athens; we may therefore conclude with some degree of certainty that Orthia was a Spartan, at all events a Dorian goddess in origin.

But if this is so, she cannot be identical, although she might be identified, with the Prehellenic Artemis. Here again the finds at Sparta give us some reason for saying that the two were not always identical, even in the minds of their worshippers in comparatively late times. Many of the dedications, it is true, give the goddess both names,[11] but a very respectable number call her Orthia (or one of the many variations of that name) simply; that this was in some sort the official designation may be concluded from the fact that the Hellenistic temple-tiles are stamped ἱεροὶ Βορθείας, Βωρθείας ἱεροί, or (a rather rare stamp of Roman date) Βορθείας ἱαροί, but never, *e.g.* Ἀρτέμιτος Βορθείας ἱεροί; contrast the stamps from other temples which give the name, not the title only, of the deity, as Ἀθάνας ἱερός, Ἀθάνας ἐν Κραναΐς.[12] We need not linger over two or three dedications which contain the phrase παρθένῳ

[9] Pseudo-Plutarch, *de fluuiis*, 4, 3 and 21, 4; if any old tradition lies behind the stories he tells, the name of the goddess may well be due to his own pedantic display of learning. Other passages cited by Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, iii, 1210 *sqq.*

[10] *V.* Thompson in *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 286 *sqq.*; Dawkins, pp. 245 *sqq.*, above.

[11] For instance, Ch. X above, p. 329, No. 61, 6, Ἀρτέμιτι Βωρσέᾳ; p. 324, No. 51, 7, Ἀρτέμιδι Ὀρθείᾳ; but these are all of comparatively late date, none being earlier than the Flavian period; *v.* p. 293.

[12] P. 143 above; *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 348–9; xiii. pp. 56–7; xvi. p. 41, n. 1.

Ὀρθείᾳ or the like, for παρθένος is so commonly applied to Artemis as almost to have become a name for her,[13] at any rate in verse. It remains then to ask why she was identified with Artemis at all; and here we may reasonably seek for some better grounds than the superficial parallelisms which so often served in the case of a foreign deity, *e.g.* the slight resemblance in attributes which seems to underlie the popular equation of Saturnus with Kronos. Artemis was an exceedingly well-known goddess, and there seems to have been at least as strong a tendency to dissimilate her local forms (as Atalanta and Kallisto) from her as to assimilate other goddesses to her.

The reason is probably to be found in the fact that Orthia, like Artemis, is a deity of the fertility of men and beasts. Of this we have no lack of evidence. Firstly, we may note that she is associated certainly with Eileithyia, probably with Aphrodite. The sanctuary of the former was οὔ πόρρω, says Pausanias; [14] and that that means 'very near' is suggested by the fact that several dedications to her have been found actually in the sanctuary of Orthia: [15] an inscribed bronze die and crude terracotta groups which seem to represent a young mother attended by the spirits who help at birth, the Eileithyiai or equivalents thereof. If these are really offerings to Eileithyia, the connexion between the two goddesses must assuredly have been fairly close in function, since it was so in locality; if not, then they are meant for Orthia, who thus appears, like Artemis herself, as a goddess of birth. As to Aphrodite, the terracottas also include several nude female figures in the posture of the Knidian Aphrodite, and their existence in the shrine of Orthia indicates that she was thought somehow to be connected either with that goddess herself or with her functions of giving fertility. Moreover, among the ivories already mentioned are a few showing a winged male figure in the same attitude as the goddess (erect and grasping birds or beasts), which suggests a divine or semi-divine consort of some kind, a very appropriate feature in the mythology of a goddess of fertility; but I would not lay too much stress on these, which may possibly be, like the style of the ivories themselves, due to Oriental influence. Still, it recurs among the little lead figurines so commonly found in the shrine. The significance of this cannot be said to have been fully discovered as yet. Of other male figures, whereof some hundreds occur alongside the much more numerous female ones, some are ithyphallic; while with these anthropomorphic dedications are a great number representing the lower animals, sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with the figure of the goddess. If these were all figures of sacrificial animals, they might be explained as simply poor people's substitutes for real victims; but horses and lions are included among them, and the latter at least were certainly not sacrificed in Sparta.[16] It seems, therefore, that these figurines again testify to the goddess' interest in increase, both of mankind (hence the phallic representations) and of the lower

[13] As Ar., *Lysistr.*, 1262 *sqq.* For the inscriptions, *v.* above p. 367, No. 169, 1, (archaic), p. 298, No. 4 (Roman date), p. 302, No. 11 (late and uncertain).

[14] Paus., *loc. cit.*, 17, 1.

[15] Also several tiles inscribed Ἐλευσίας, p. 143; terracottas, p. 51; bronze die, p. 370, No. 169,24.

[16] Thompson, *op. cit.*; above, Chap. IX, pp. 249 *sqq.*

animals, whether wild or tame. If we add the fact, to be discussed in more detail shortly, that boys were prominent among her worshippers, we shall see that she possessed another outstanding feature of a goddess of fertility, that of κουροτρόφος.[17]

And now we may proceed to ask what her name means, or in what sense she was connected with 'uprightness,' or 'straightness.' A popular ancient view is reflected in the variants of her name, as they seem to be, Orthosia and Orthasia; she makes those who serve her to stand upright, either in the sense of preserving them (from childbirth or other dangers), or of giving their children power to be straight and healthy; Ὀρθωσία, says the scholiast on Pindar,[18] ὅτι ὀρθοῖ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἢ ὀρθοῖ τοὺς γεννωμένους. This is certainly an intelligible view; for the former sense of ὀρθοῦν we may compare, for example, Aeschylus, *Septem* 229. The name would practically mean either σώτειρα or κουροτρόφος. But there was another explanation, already cited from Pausanias (see note 8), which, divested of its mythological framework, comes to this, that the goddess was called 'the upright' because that was how her cult-statue stood. Here archaeology helps us again; we possess several small works of art, in ivory and other materials, which show a very stiff draped female figure, crowned (often, but not always), with a *polos*, which are so unlifelike as to suggest that they represent a statue, not a living being. One is a mere round pillar-like figure with a head, suggesting the famous Apollo of Amyklai.[19] I am inclined to agree with the discoverers that these represent the temple-statue itself, which was doubtless very old; Ziehen's objection, that there seem to be no λύγοι surrounding them, does not seem to me very weighty, for Pausanias does not say that these were represented on the image in any way, and if they really were used in the service of the goddess, they may well have been real living twigs.[20] This statue, then, might certainly be described as 'upright,' for it stands stiffly to attention; and whether or not it represents the temple-figure itself, it would appear to be the normal type under which the goddess was imagined, although she is to be found in other forms, one or two of which have already been mentioned.

To these ancient views, various moderns have added others.[21] Thus, Thomsen would derive the name from the root *arth*, Fαρθ, signifying 'to make grow,' which would be more acceptable if we were surer of the existence of any such root in Greek; but it is by no means an impossible derivation. Eitrem and Ziehen are inclined to make it mean *die Erigierende*, with a phallic signification. This again is not impossible, but I would reject it, not from any notions of delicacy, but because it seems to me to misplace the emphasis; the attention of the goddess was apparently devoted, not so much to begetting,

[17] This was, of course, an outstanding characteristic of several Prehellenic goddesses, *v.* Nilsson, *M.M.R.*, 486. It is perhaps worth noting that double axes have been found among Orthia's offerings (*v.* index); she may well have absorbed something from the goddesses who were before her.

[18] Schol. Vet. on *Olymp.* iii. 54.

[19] *V.* above: p. 147 (terracotta); **Pl. XCVI, 2**, and p. 218 (ivory). Latest discussion of the Apollo, Ziehen, col. 1457, 62 *sqq.*

[20] Ziehen, col. 1466, 18.

[21] Listed and commented on by Ziehen, col. 1470.

as to birth and nurture. Personally, I am much inclined to accept the second of the ancient views, in substance. The goddess was potent, and not to be mentioned lightly; hence she was reverently alluded to as 'the one who stands up straight,' which was inoffensive, as it referred to her statue and not directly to her. This is in substance the view of Farnell, *C.G.S.* ii. p. 453 *n. b.*

The archaic appearance of the statue (which we may take for granted independently of the above evidence, since there was in the very earliest temple a sort of dais which no doubt supported some kind of image) [22] is one factor in a legend which seems to have been popular, namely, that this was the famous idol of Artemis which Orestes fetched back from the land of the Tauroi.[23] The rest of the story is purely aetiological. The image caused all manner of trouble, civil strife succeeded by plague, and an oracle told the people to wet the altar with human blood. So they proceeded to choose a victim by lot to be sacrificed, and this custom went on, says Pausanias, until Lykurgos substituted for it the rite of scourging the young men (ἔφηβοι), 'and so the altar continues to be stained with human gore.' This brings us to a consideration of the most famous rite of Orthia, the καρτερίας ἀγών, μάστιγες or διαμαστίγωσις, concerning which the most divergent opinions have been held in antiquity and in modern times. Of the facts there is no doubt. All young Spartans were scourged; the priestess of Orthia stood by holding the statue, and if the beating was not severe enough, it became intolerably heavy. It not infrequently happened that one of the victims died under the scourging; and some kind of prize, probably a wreath, was given to him who could endure the most with the least sign of suffering. Such a one was called a βωμονίκας, because the scene of the rite was the altar of the goddess. As it was apparently quite a popular spectacle as late as the fourth century A.D., we may suppose that the theatre served the convenience of those who came to look on at this and perhaps at the other contests in honour of the goddess.[24]

Some of the ancients, as we have seen, declared this to be a milder substitute for human sacrifice, introduced by Lykurgos; to which Thomsen reasonably enough objects that all the epheboi were scourged, and they can never have been all sacrificed. Others, as Plutarch above cited, or his authority, still attributing it to Lykurgos, thought it part of the moral training of the youths—a severe but useful lesson in endurance of pain, very profitable for future soldiers. This is hardly worth considering, in a rite so obviously religious. Many moderns follow Frazer in supposing it to be a ceremony of initiation, or Thomsen, in taking it to be one of purification, a case the more of the famous *Lebensrute* ; neither has any difficulty in finding parallels from the lower civilisations.[25] But it is a very good point, first made, I think, by

[22] *V.* above p. 10.

[23] Paus., iii. 16, 10.

[24] Paus., *ibid.*,; Plut., *Lycurg.*, 18; Stat., *Theb.* iv. 233 (if it refers to this rite), Hyginus, *Fab.* 261; Libanius, *Orat.* i. 23 (p. 93, 14, Foerster); full collection of literary material in Trieber, *quaestiones Laconicae*, Göttingen, 1866; cf. Wide, *Lak. Kult.* pp. 99–100.

[25] Frazer on Paus., *loc. cit.*; for other refs., *v.* Nilsson, *Gr. Fest.* pp. 192–4, Ziehen, cols. 1466–8.

Bosanquet,[26] that all the mentions of the rite as above described are of Hellenistic date, indeed late Hellenistic for the most part; the earliest writer who certainly speaks of διαμαστίγωσις is Cicero.[27] If we look at earlier writers who treat of Sparta, we find nothing at all to the point in Herodotos, nothing in any Attic poet or orator, whether praising or blaming Sparta—an almost incomprehensible silence, if the rite then existed. In Xenophon we do find a ceremony at the shrine of Orthia which involved beating, but it is of quite a different kind; it was a point of honour to steal as many cheeses as possible, παρ' Ὀρθίας, but while the would-be thieves were at work, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε (*sc.*, Λυκοῦργος).[28] Here surely the reference is to some kind of rough game; cheeses are laid, perhaps, on the altar; a young man, or a party of young men, try to snatch them, while certain other persons defend them with sticks or whips. It was for the lad with the thickest skin and the quickest hands to win. Of this Plutarch [29] seems to have heard, for he in one passage derives the whole rite from an alleged incident in the Persian wars; as Pausanias was sacrificing before the battle of Plataiai, certain Lydians came upon him and were beaten off with sticks and whips by him and his staff, in memory of which the Spartans,Plutarch says, still celebrate τὰς . . . πληγὰς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Λυδῶν πομπήν—the latter being a ceremonial of which we know nothing. Plato also [30] may well be referring to some such thing when he writes of numerous blows exchanged by Spartans 'in certain snatchings' (ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς τισι). Passing to the earlier Hellenistic authors, we still find no mention of the διαμαστίγωσις, for the passage of Plautus which is sometimes quoted in this connexion proves nothing at all; he calls parasites *Lacones . . . plagipatidas*, from which we cannot even deduce with certainty whether the epithet refers to the treatment received by real Spartans or by the hangers-on to whom they are compared.[31]

It seems, therefore, almost inevitable to regard the cruel custom we are discussing as a piece of antiquarianism, the fruit of the revived Lykurgeian constitution, and as containing someone's idea of what the methods of the good old days were like. The theatre is of the second half of the third century, and we may not unfairly conclude that by that date there were not a few who took a sadistic pleasure in witnessing the flogging. *Bomonikai* had sometimes honorary statues put up to them by the city, at the expense of some benefactor; three of these have left their bases in the foundations of the theatre.[32] Senseless and cruel though the custom was, and little though it seems to have had in it of real antiquity, it illustrates the stubborn hardihood of even the later Spartans that the boys, and their parents, allowed it to go on till the fourth century.

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[26] In *B.S.A.* xii. p. 316, an excellent discussion of which I have made much use.

[27] *Tusc. Disp.*, ii. 34, from personal observation apparently, at least from good hearsay.

[28] Xenophon, *de Laced. rep.*, 2, 9, a passage in which I see no signs of corruption.

[29] Plut., *Aristeides* 17. There appears to be no other mention of this 'procession of Lydians.'

[30] Plat., *Laws*, i. 633 B.

[31] Plaut., *Capt.* 471–2.

[32] Above, Chap. X, Nos. 142, 143, 144.

Numerous dedications of an iron sickle-shaped object whose exact nature is much disputed enable us to get a glimpse of three other competitions engaged in by young Spartans. The first was the μῶα (μῶ'α), *i.e.* Μοῦσα, probably a contest of song. The second was the κελῆα (κελέα, κελοῖα, κελεῖα, καιλῆα, κελῦα; the form varies so much, even allowing for homophones, as ε=αι, οι=υ, that it seems as if no one knew what it should really be called, and the derivation is unknown). As one victor says that he dedicates the prize of 'the sweet sound of a nimble tongue' ([εὖ]στομον εὐτρο[χά]λου γλώσσης . . . ἄεθλον . . . . ἔθετο),[33] I conjecture that the competition was one of oratory or declamation of some kind. The third is the κασσηρατόριον (καθθηρατόριον, κατθηρατόριον, often with the common late form of the ending -ιν for -ιον); the word clearly is derived from κατὰ + θηρᾶν, with the usual variations between Lakonian and common Doric in the form. As to what it was, the fact that the contestants were μικκ(ιχ)ιδδόμενοι, *i.e.* boys of ten, makes it highly likely that it was, as Tillyard suggests, a game of some sort, not a real hunt with wild animals for its object.[34] All these three competitions were referred to collectively as τὸ παιδικὸν (παιδιχόν).

All this information is from inscriptions. There was another festival of which archaeology tells us nothing (had it passed out of use in later times, to which the great majority of our inscriptions refer?), and that was the procession of girls for which Alkman wrote his famous *Parthenion*. In this they say[35] ταὶ Πελειάδες γὰρ ἄμιν/'Ορθ[ρ]ίᾳ φᾶρος (φάρος Herodian) φερούσαις/νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἅτε Σήριον/ἄστρον αὐειρομέναι μάχονται. If the Pleiads are rising, presumably the time is spring; the girls are bringing something as an offering to the goddess, and the natural interpretation would seem to be that it is a robe. But the well-informed scholiast and also Herodian testify to the existence of a word φάρος, meaning a ploughshare. If this is so, we have evidence of the goddess' interest in vegetable as well as animal fertility, for attempts to give the word a secondary, phallic meaning seem to me very far-fetched. This would agree very well with the sickle-shaped object, if it really is what some inscriptions call it, a δρεπάνη, reaping- or pruning-hook. So old a cult as this, apparently going back to the very first settlement in Sparta of the Dorians, is, of course, older than the arrangement of the developed Lykurgeian constitution by which a Spartiate had his farm-work done for him by his helots. Further light on the matter would be welcome.

I have not thought it worth while to attempt the thankless task of pointing out the conjectures which the discoveries have shown to be unfounded; a fairly large collection may be made by anyone who cares to do so by comparing what I have written with the work of Wide or the relevant articles in Roscher's *Lexikon*. That we know all about Orthia, or need make no more conjectures, would be an utterly absurd statement; but our present knowledge is to that of the last generation as tolerably clear daylight to fog.

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[33] Tillyard in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 361, No. 5; the material of the above paragraph is mostly from this article. *V.* also Woodward, above, Chap. X, pp. 285 *sqq.*; Ziehen, cols. 1468–9.

[34] Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[35] Alkman, fr. i. 60 (95) *sqq.*, Diehl; references to Herodian, etc. in his notes (*Anthologia Lyrica*, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12).

Literature.

Good summary of all evidence by Ziehen, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, art. ' Sparta,' cols. 1465–71. More literature, col. 1453.

Archaeological evidence, *B.S.A.* vols. xii.–xvi. with index volume; xxiv. pp. 89 *sqq.*

Literary evidence, mostly in S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 97 *sqq.* (also older archaeological evidence).

See further, for Artemis in general, L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii., Oxford, 1896; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906, and *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1927; also the articles ' Artemis ' and ' Orthia ' in W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*. On the ritual, compare J. J. G. Vürtheim, *Het Rituel aan het Altaar der Orthia te Sparta*, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wettenschappen*, Abd. *Letterkunde*, 4, xii., Amsterdam, 1913.

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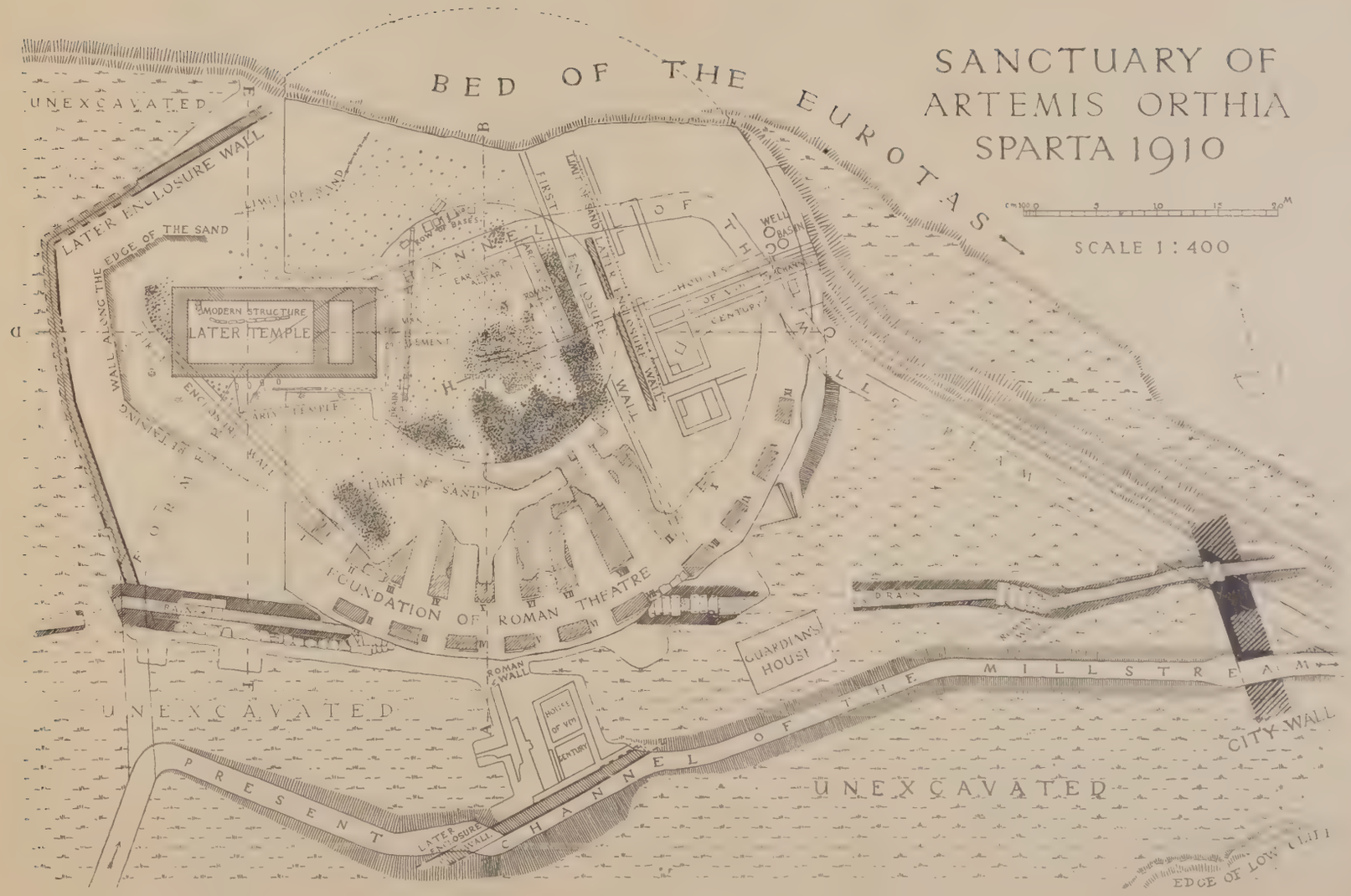
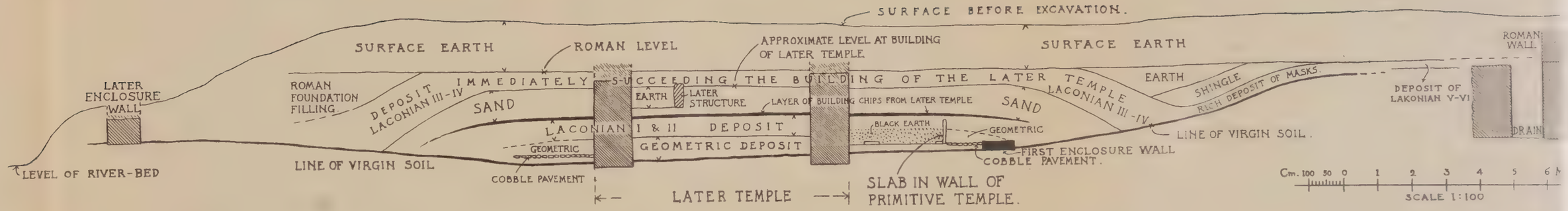
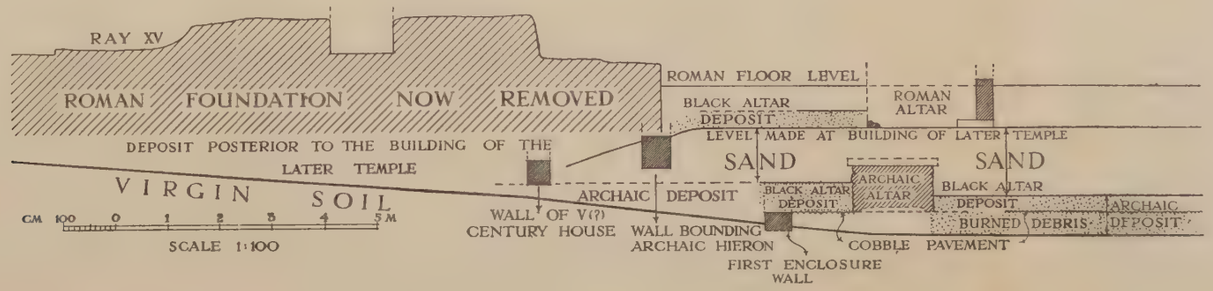


The Sanctuary at the close of the Excavation.



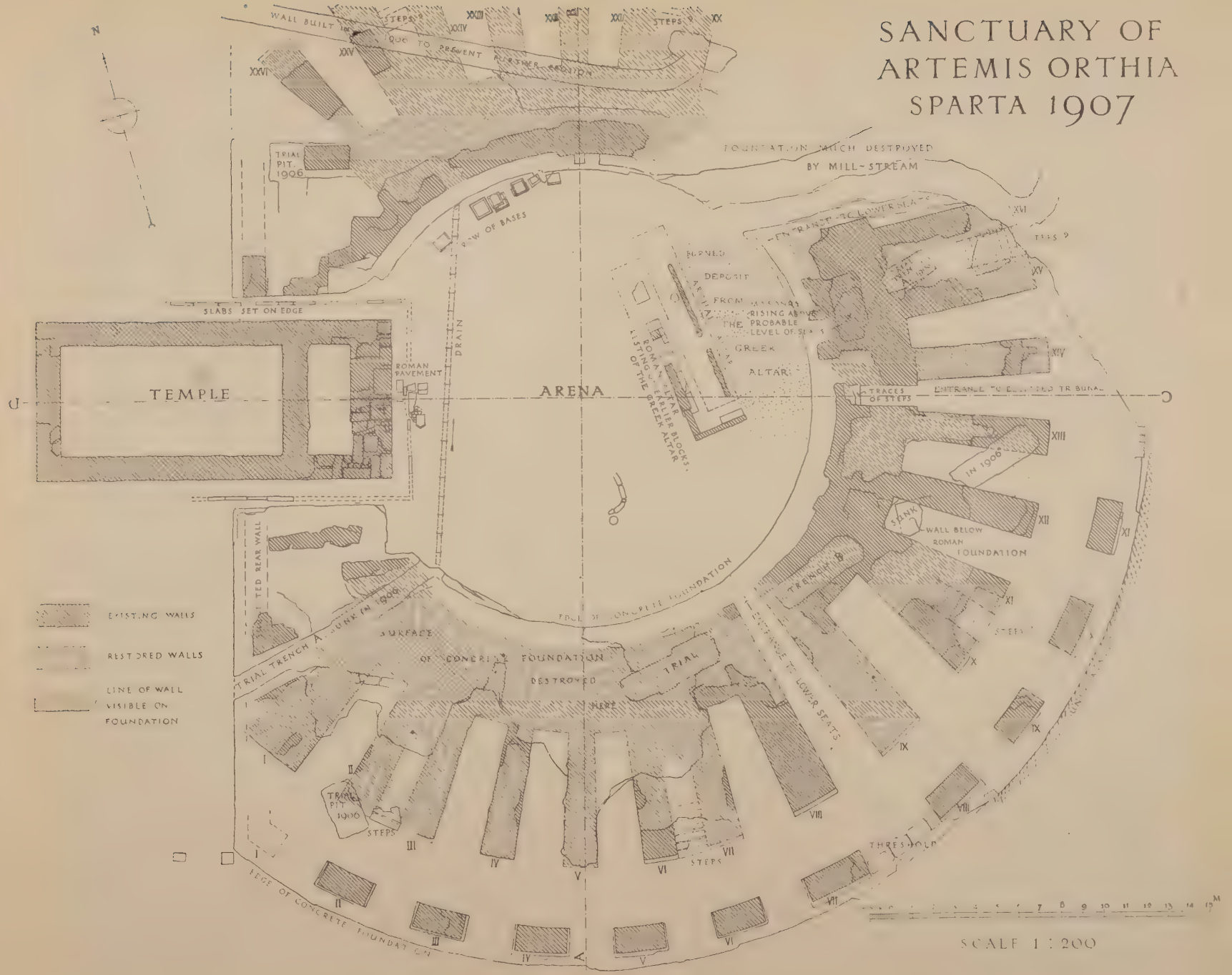
A.—Section on Line E—F on the Plan (Pl. I).

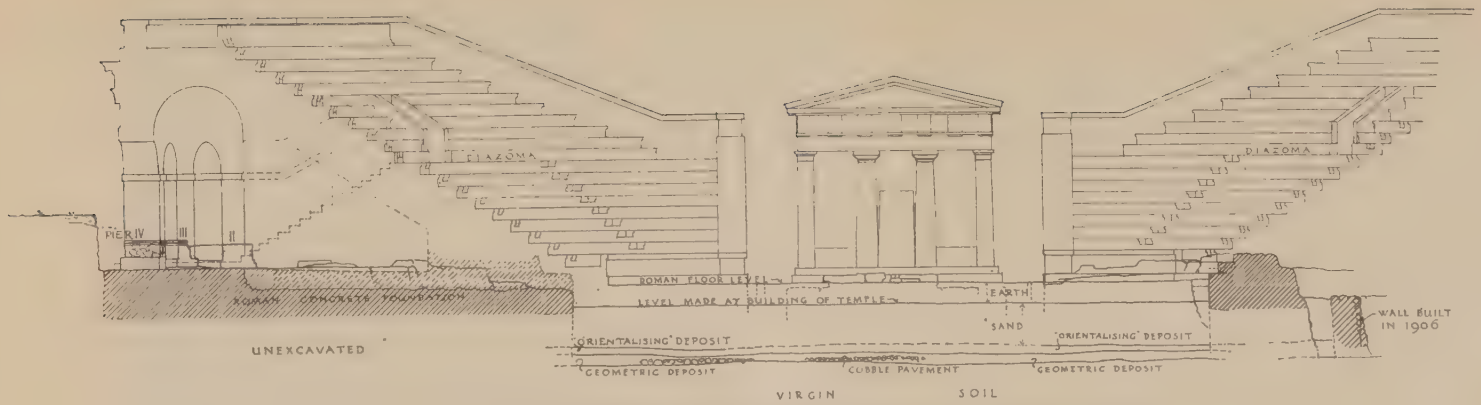


B.—Section on Line G—H on the Plan (Pl. I).

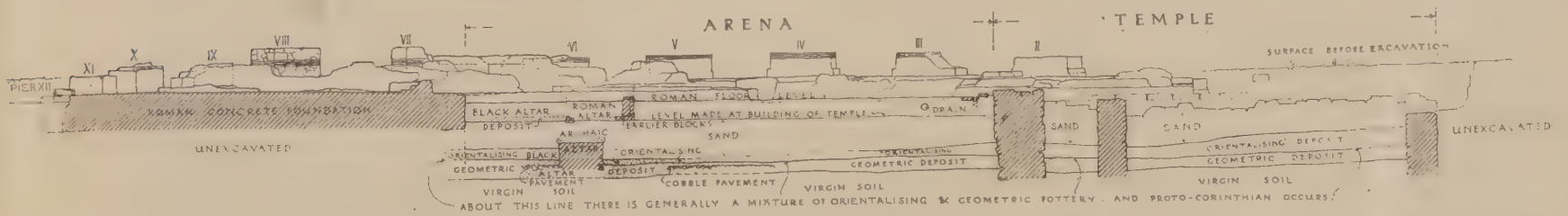
Sectional Drawings.

SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA SPARTA 1907



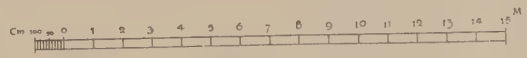


RESTORED SECTION ON LINE A--B



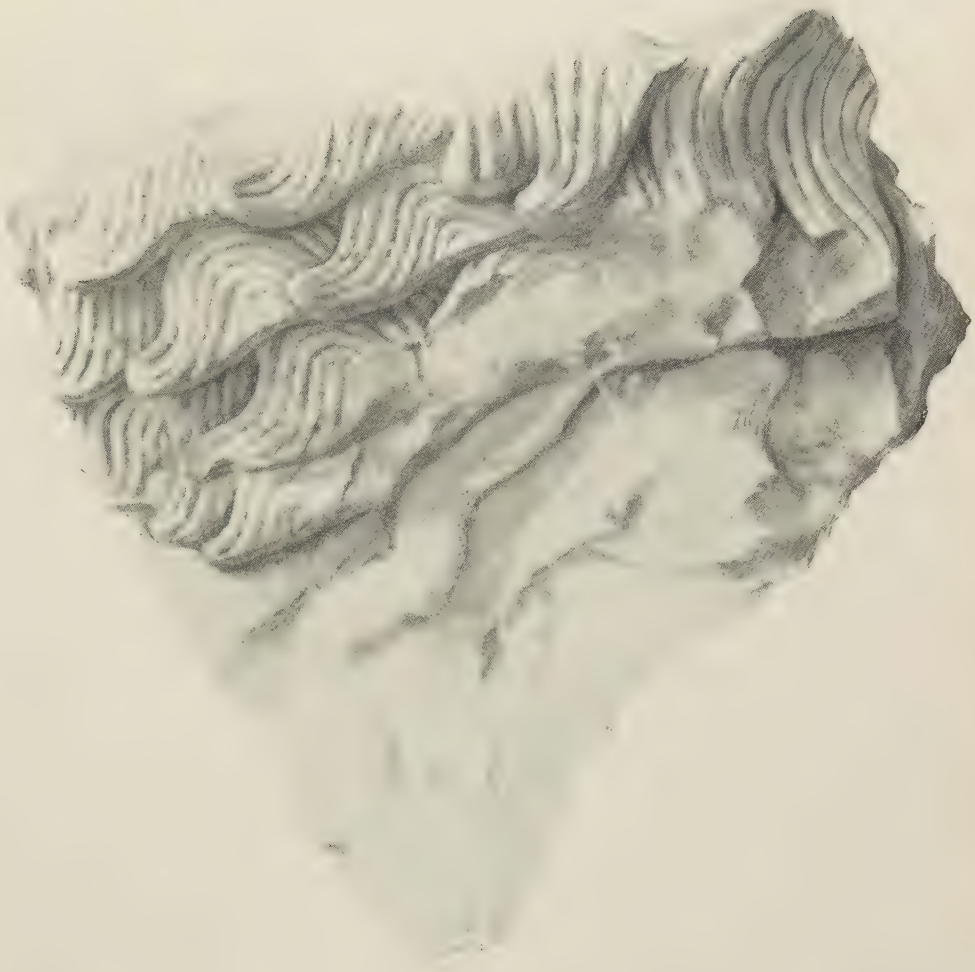
SECTION ON LINE C--D

SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA SPARTA 1907



SCALE 1 : 200

These two sectional drawings, intended primarily to show the Roman theatre, are reproduced as published in 1907 (B.S.A XIII, pl. III). They therefore take no account of later discoveries: in particular the section on line C—D to the left omits the "First Enclosure Wall," and under the Roman foundation marks as "Unexcavated" the space where the Later Enclosure Wall and the Fifth-century Houses were subsequently found. On the right, too, it marks as unexcavated the space where later the two enclosure walls and the Retaining wall were found. In the upper section along the line A—B the part below the Roman foundation to the left was later excavated and found to contain nothing. In both drawings for the word "Orientalising" read "Laconian;" at this stage of the work the pottery had not yet been truly identified.



Painted poros fragment of a lion's mane from 6th Cent. Temple. Scale *c.* 1 : 2.
(*see p. 21*).

Byzantine Ear-rings from the Orthia site. Scale near full-size.
(*see p. 49*).

Laconian II. Lakaina. Scale 3 : 4. (*see p. 76*)

Details of Laconian II. Lakaina. Scale 3 : 4.

(*see p. 76*).

Laconian III. Kylix: interior. Scale 2 : 3. (*see pp. 85, 88*).

Laconian III. Kylix: exterior. Scale *c.* 3 : 4. (*see pp. 85, 88*).

Fragments of pithoi with applied moulded ornament. Scale 2 : 5.

(*see pp. 92, 94*).

Fragments of pithoi with applied moulded ornament. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 92*).

Fragments of pithoi with applied moulded ornament. Scale 2 : 5.

(*see p. 94*).

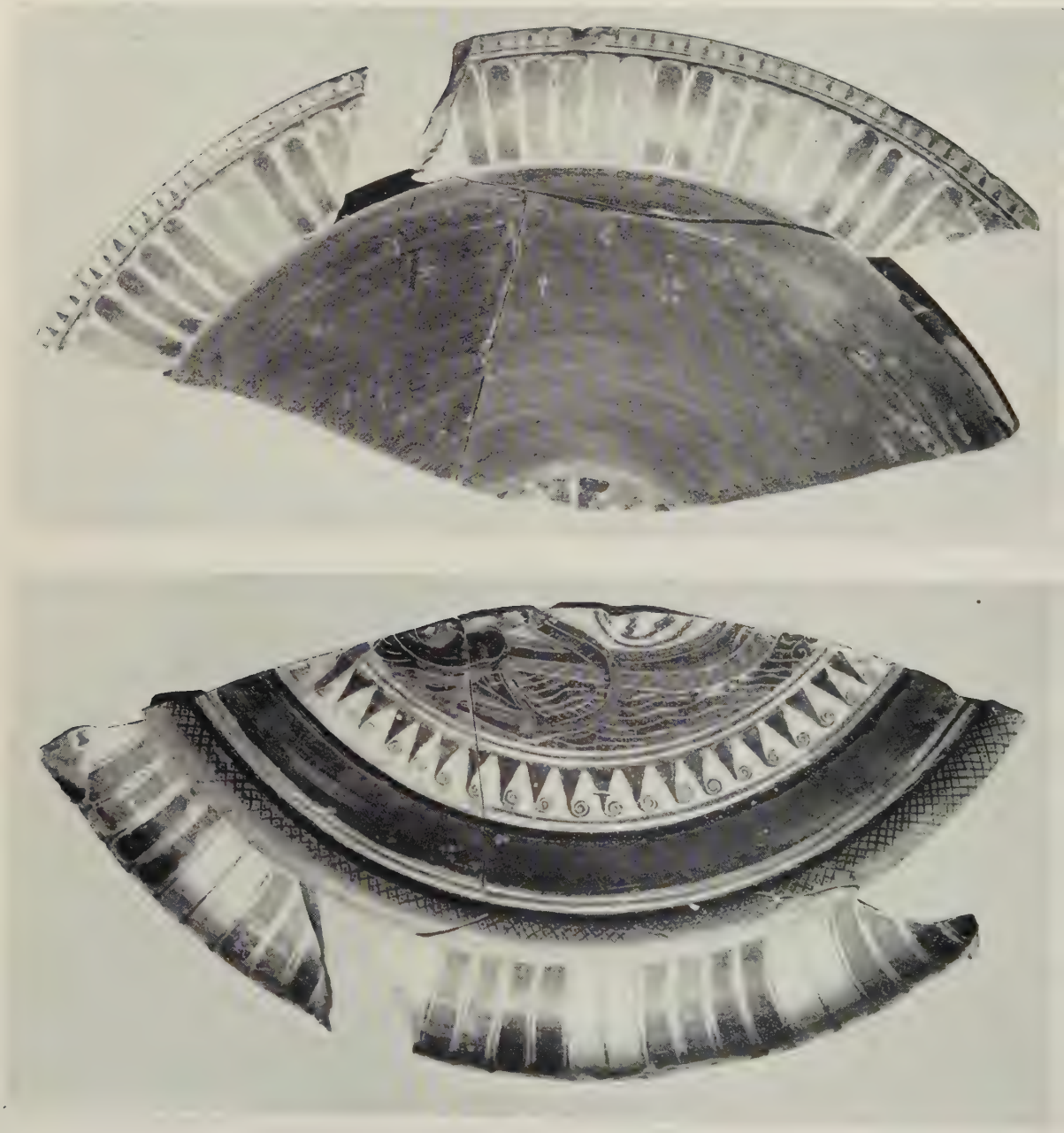
Fragments of pithoi with applied moulded ornament. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 94*).

Pithos with combat and chariot scenes from Heroon. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 92*).

Pithos with combat and chariot scenes from Heroon: Scale *c.* 1 : 4.

Drawing of pithos on opposite page with the addition of the Paris fragment

(*see p. 92*).



Front and back views of a fragment of a plate of Laconian III. style, from Menelaion.
Slightly more than half actual size.
(*see p. 82*).

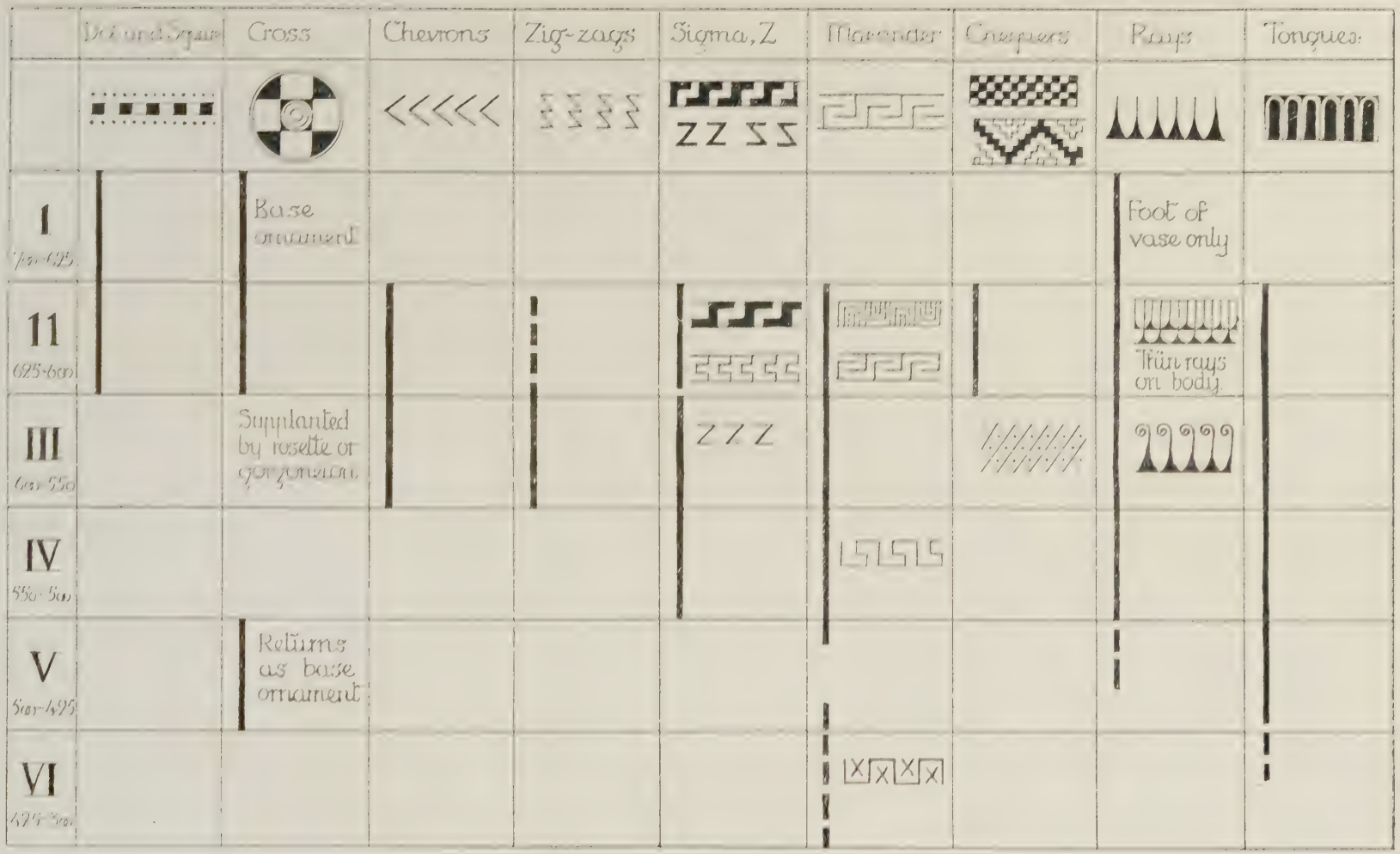
Sherds of Hellenistic pottery. Scale *c.* 3 : 5.

(*see p. 116*).

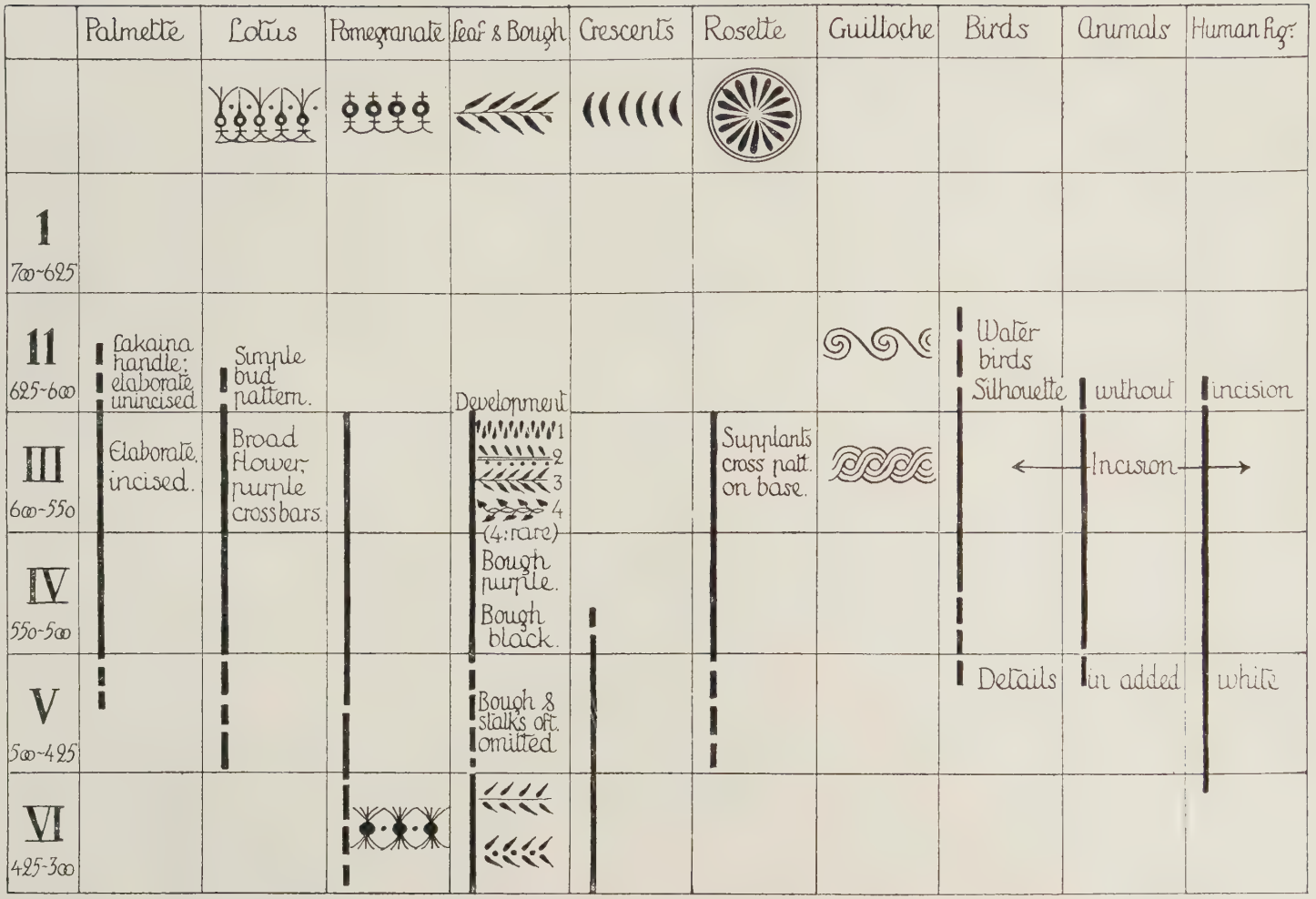
Development of Laconian Pottery.

Period	Fabric					Shapes						
	Slip	Black	Purple	White	Incision	Skyphos No. 7	Bowl Nos 3 and 9	Lakaina Nos 2 and 10	Plate No. 8	Cup Nos. 1, 5 and 6	Kylix Nos 12 13 14.	Oenochoe Nos 16 and 17
I 700-625	Slip thick and smooth	Quality good.	Period I-III thick fresh red applied on slip. But				Foot rare until Period II	Straight sides. cross design on base.	Rim black, channelled (continues until Period III)	Cup high with wide brim One circular handle	Plain black foot occurs in all periods	
II 625-600	End of Period: lines reserved in clay — very rare.		purple line on black inside vase		Palmette not incised			Handle palmettes elaborate — not incised	Rim channelled but slipped Smooth slipped rim, painted cross-lines, squares chevrons, etc.		Foot: sharp thin edge. Stem: black and purple rings on slipped ground	
III 600-550	Occasional partial disuse of slip; lines reserved on clay ground.		Sometimes on black ground Used in ornament (bough of leaf pattern etc.)		Details of animal and human figures.			Handles sometimes vertical. No 11	Smooth slipped rim, painted tongue pattern. Black channelled rim persists from Period I		Stem high, Nos 12	Influence of metal types
IV 550-500	Slip poor in quality. Reserved surfaces increase	Shiny or brown and washy.	Thin and washy Black ground. For figure details None in ornament save palmette centre									
V 500-425		Quality increasingly bad.	Purple lines on plate rim	Much used for figure details.					Run Two ridges crossed by slanting lines. Purple paint.		Foot thick rounded Stem shorter, channelled rings reserved in clay (No. 14)	
VI 425-300												

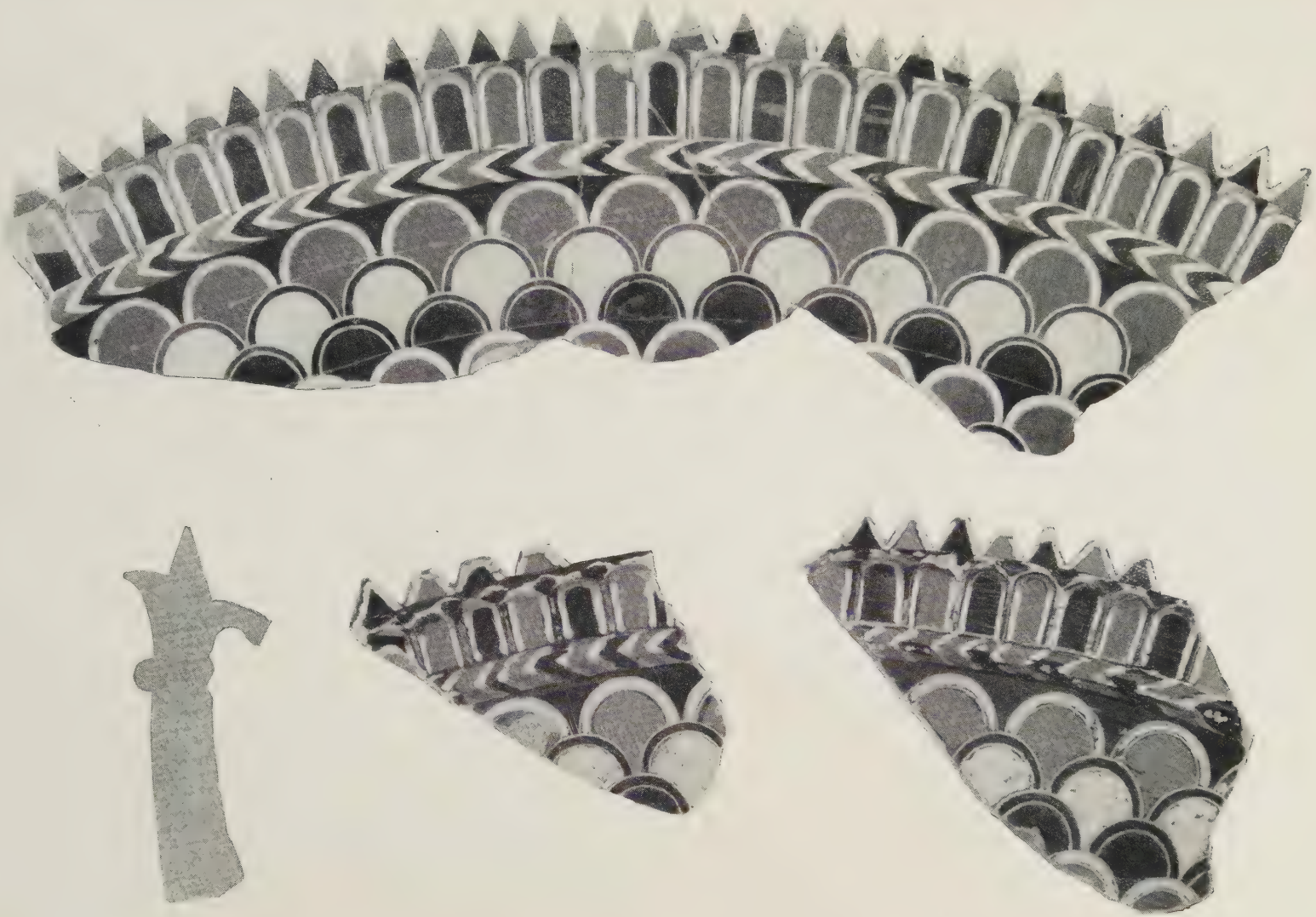
Development of Laconian pottery:
Fabric and shapes. The numbers under the shapes refer to Fig. 83.
(see p. 113).



Development of Laconian pottery
Distribution of patterns
(see p. 113)



Development of Laconian pottery:
Distribution of patterns.
(see p. 113).



No. 1. Polychrome Disc-Acroterion. Scale 1 : 3.
The grey tone represents purple red.

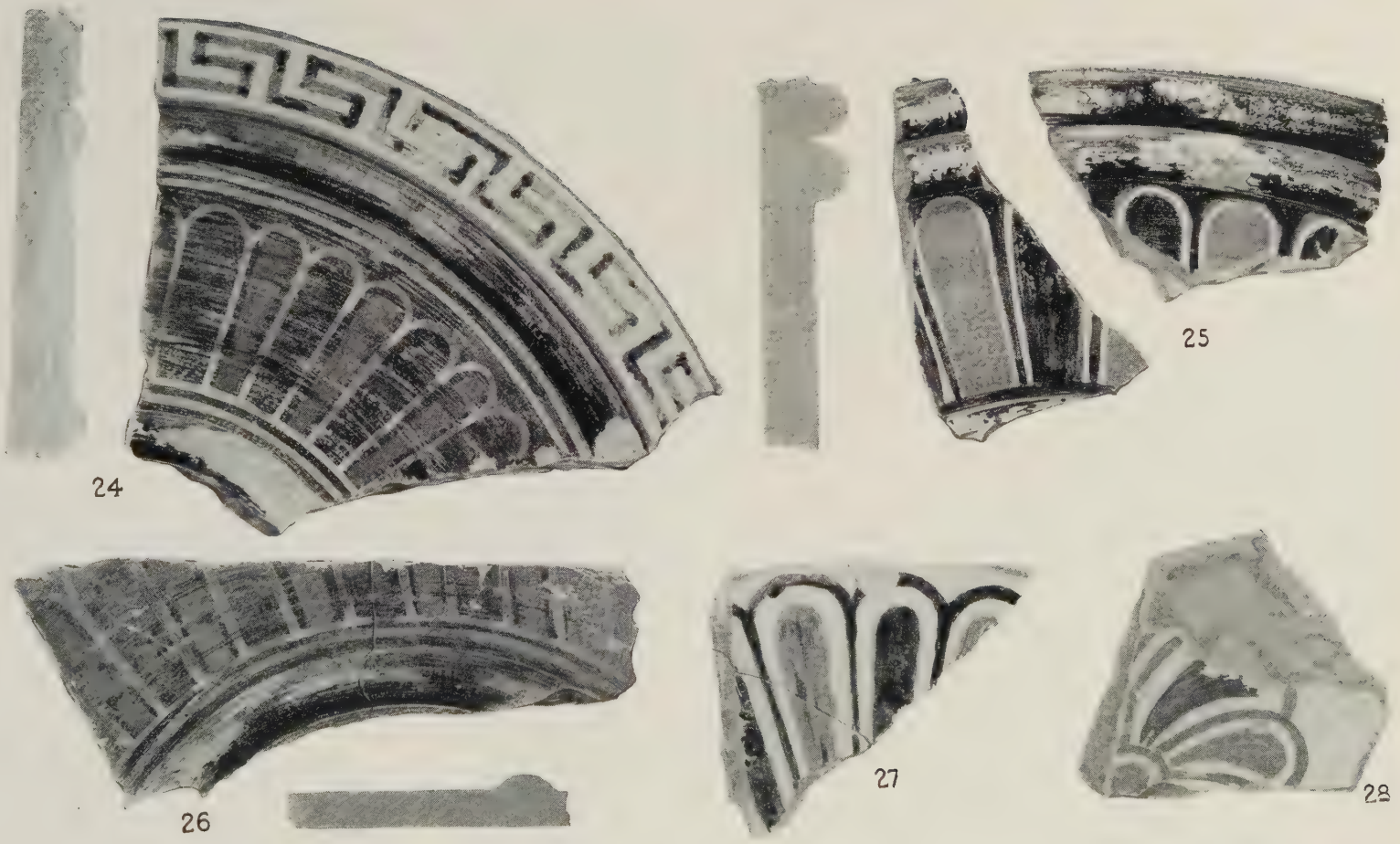
(*see pp. 118, 135*).

Polychrome Disc-Acroteria. Scale 1 : 2.

(*see pp. 118, 135*)

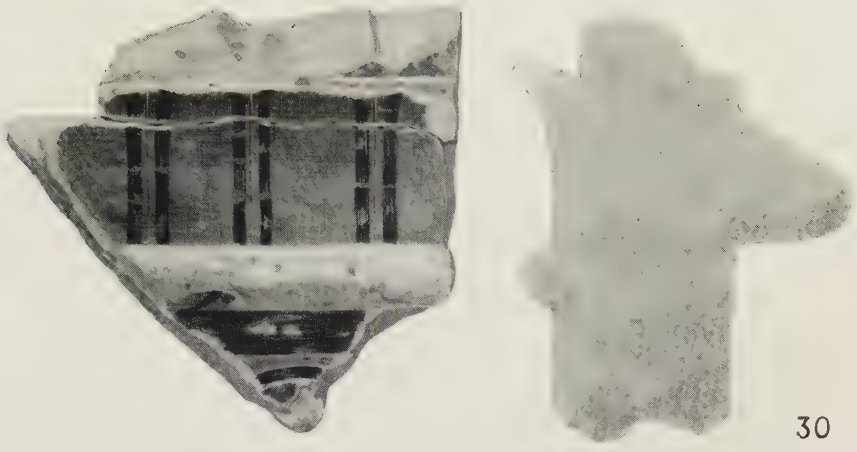
Polychrome Disc-Acroteria. Scale 1 : 2.

(*see pp. 118, 135*).



Polychrome Antefixes. Scale 1 : 2.

(*see pp. 124, 138*).



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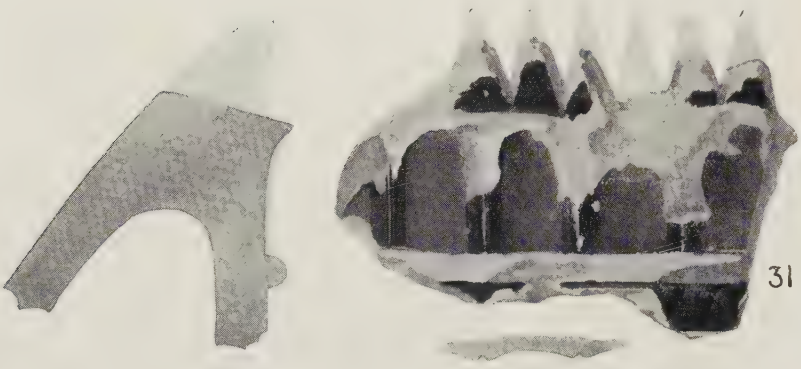

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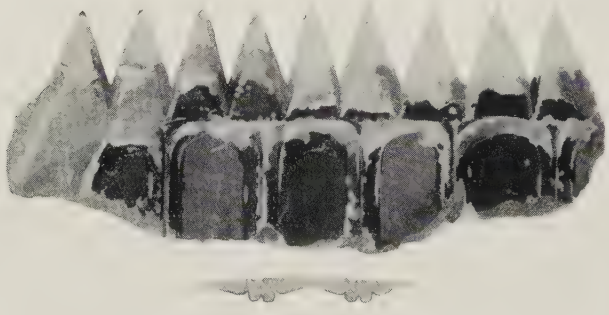

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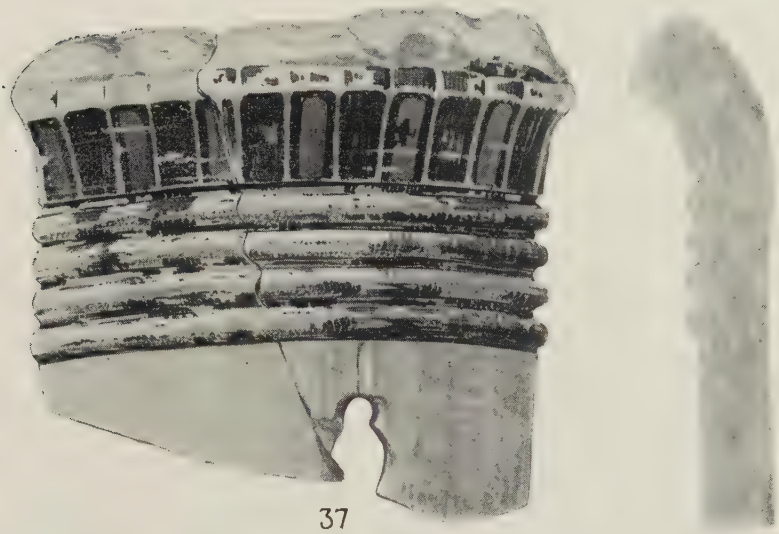
Polychrome Cornice fragments. Scale 1 : 2.

(*see p. 139*).



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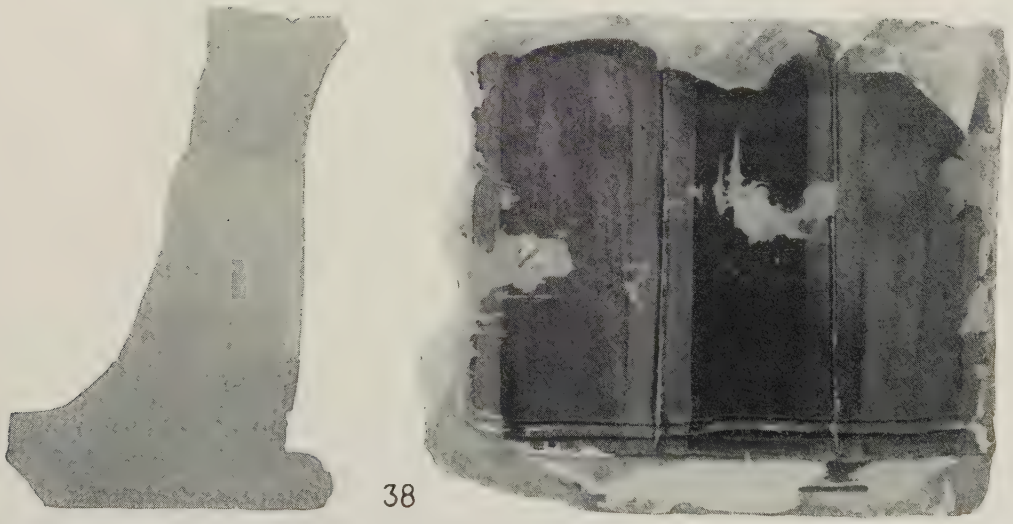

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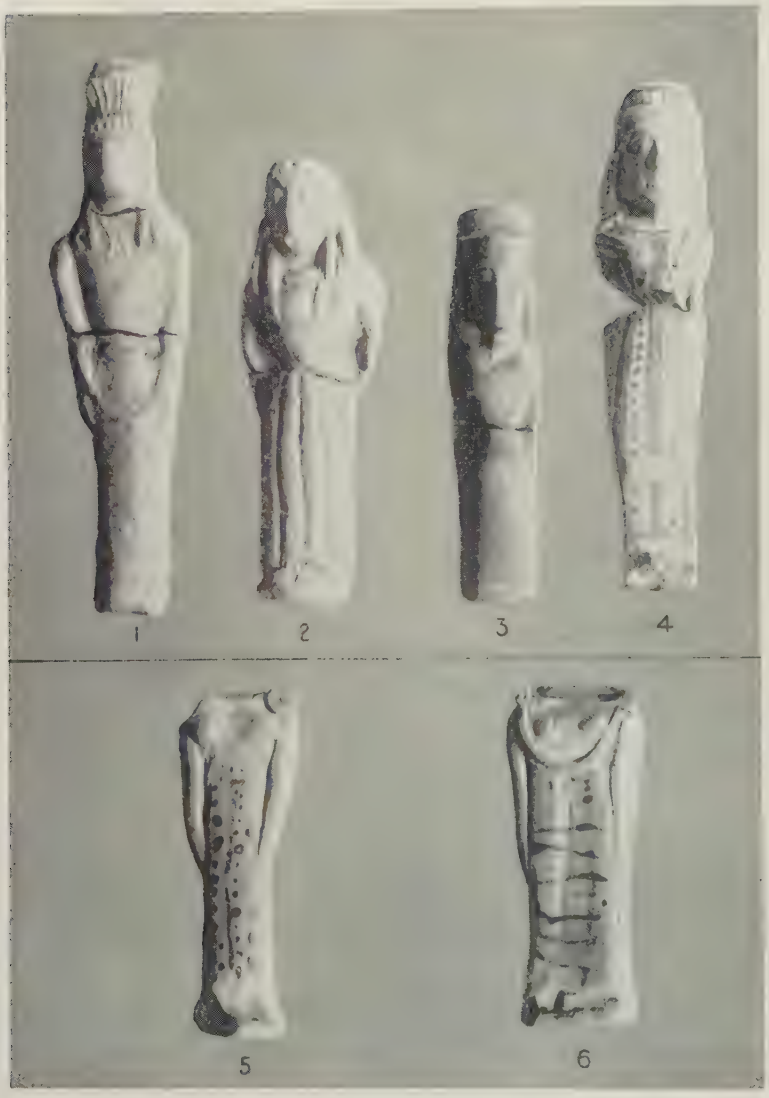
Ridge-tile and Sima (?). Scale 1 : 2.

(*see p. 141*).

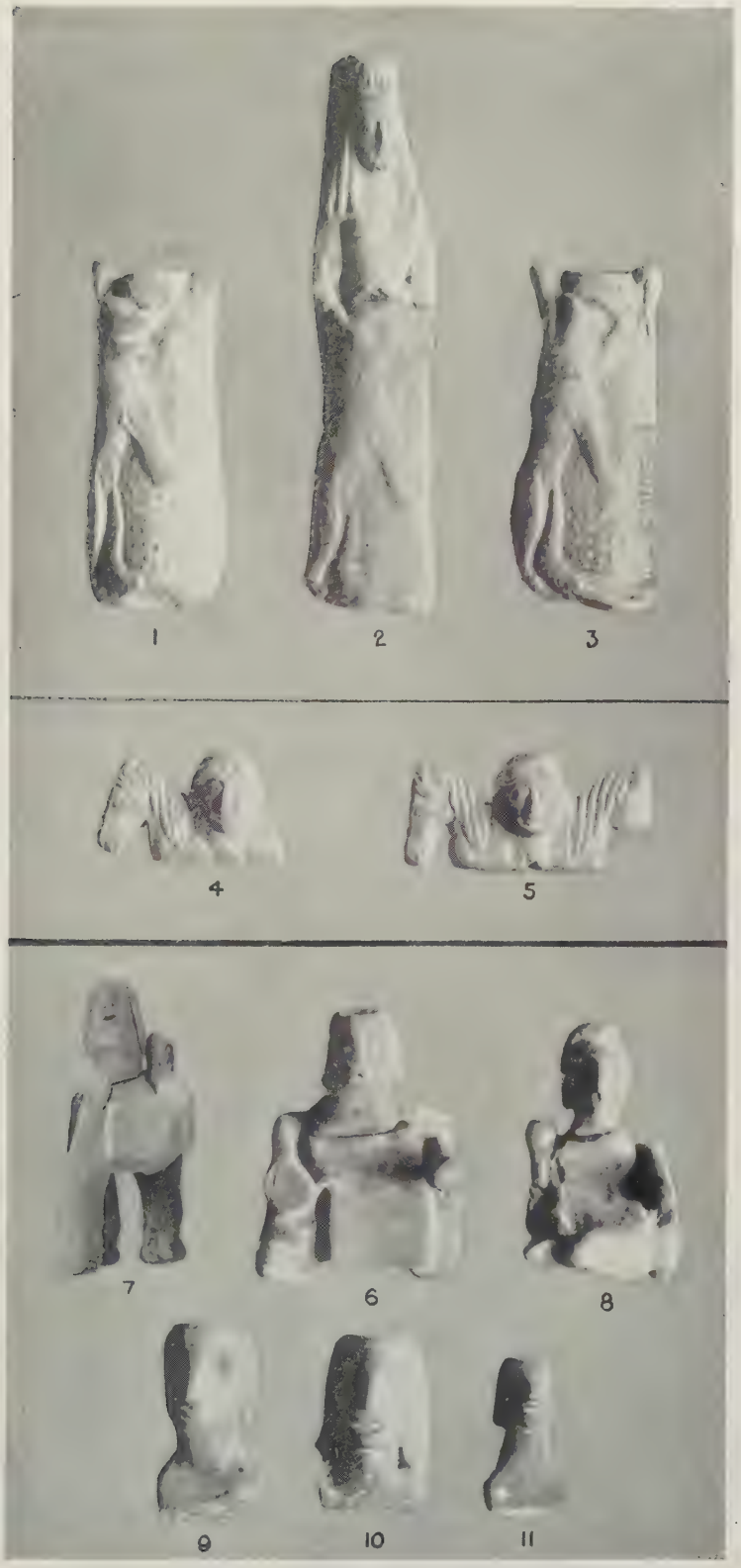
Terracotta figurines—Type Ia (*see p. 147*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type I*b* (*see pp. 147, 148*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type Ic (*see p. 148*). Scale 1 : 2.



Terracotta figurines—Type I*c* and *d* (*see p. 148*). Scale 1 : 2.



Terracotta figurines—Types II and III (*see p. 149*). Scale 1 : 2.

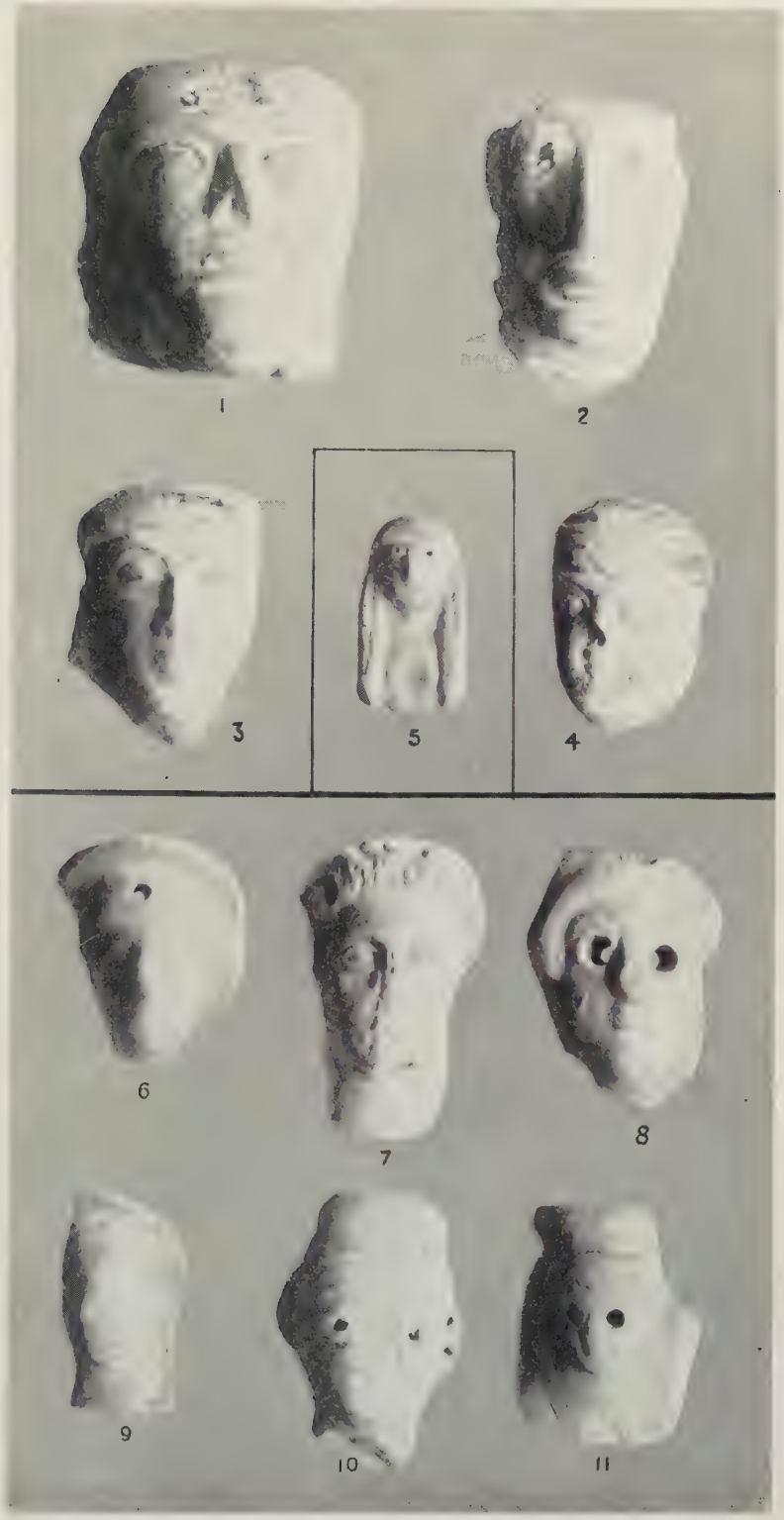
Terracotta figurines—Types IV and V (*see p. 150*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type VI (*see p. 151*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines – Type VII (*see pp. 151, 152*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type VIII (*see p. 152*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Types IX and X*a* (*see p. 153*). Scale 1 : 2.



Terracotta figurines—Types X *b*, *c* and XI (*see p. 153*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type XII (*see pp. 154, 155*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type XIII A (*see pp. 155–157*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines—Type XIII B (*see pp. 157, 158*). Scale 1 : 2.

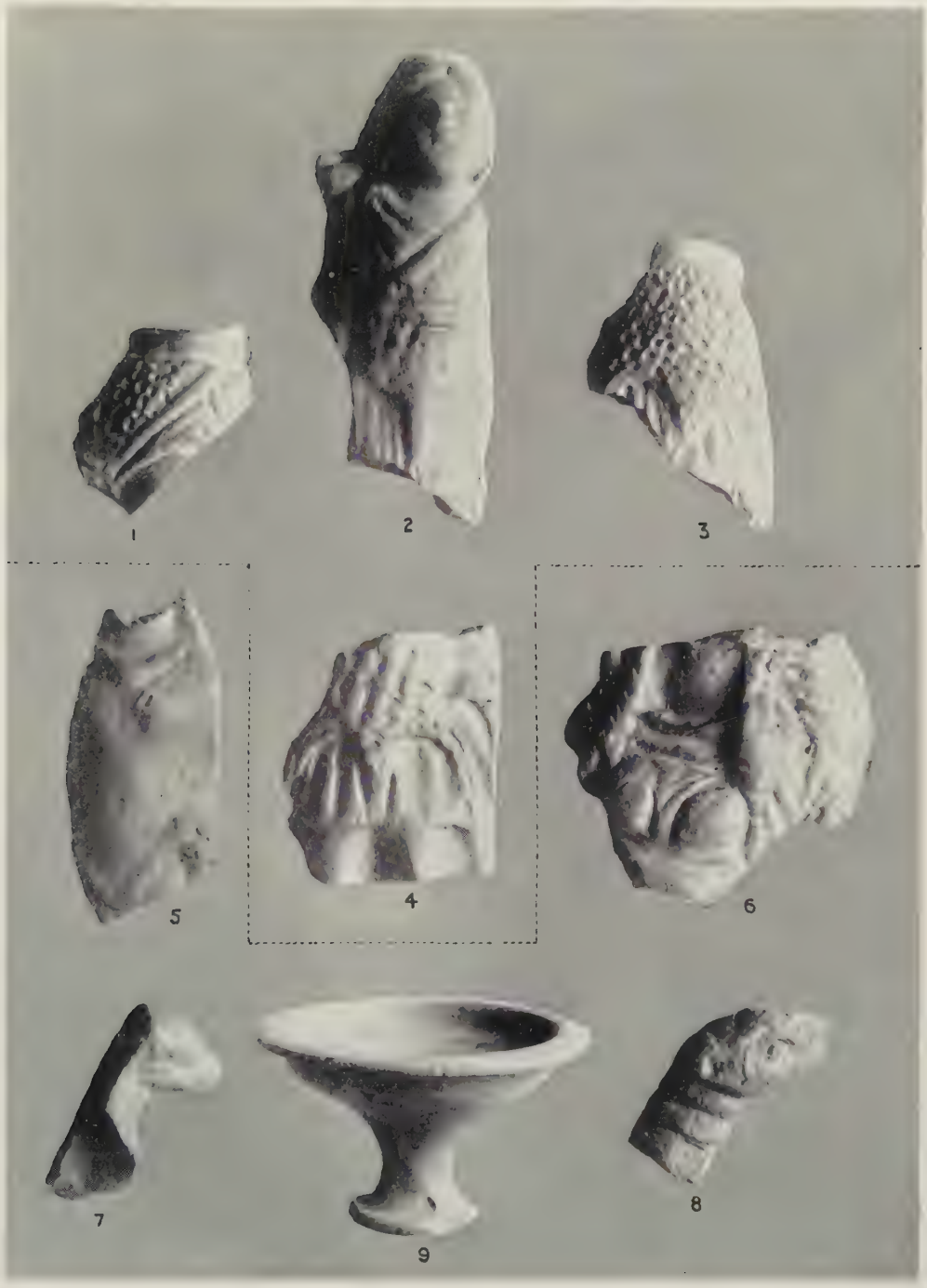
NOTE. No. 6 is upside down.

Miscellaneous terracotta figurines: XIV (*see pp. 158, 159*). Scale 1 : 2

Miscellaneous terracotta figurines: XIV and XV (*see pp. 159, 160*). Scale 1 : 2.

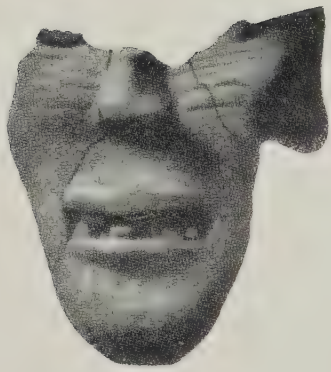
Terracotta figurines: XVI Roman (*see p. 161*). Scale 1 : 2.

Terracotta figurines: XVI Roman (*see p. 161*). Scale 1 : 2.

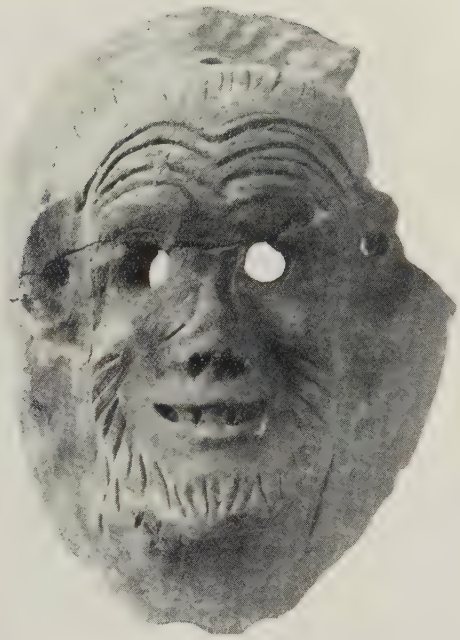


Terracotta figurines: XVI Roman (*see pp. 161, 162*). Scale 1 : 2.

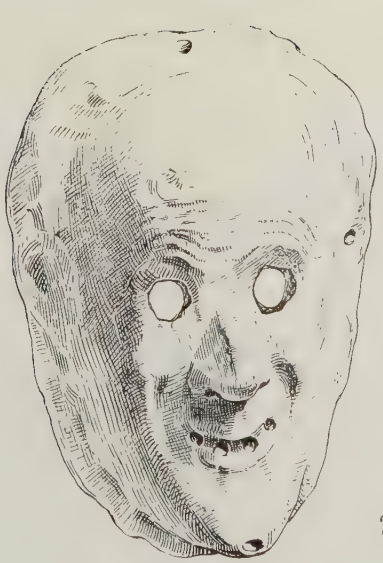
Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Female.
Type A. i. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 166, 179*).



1



3



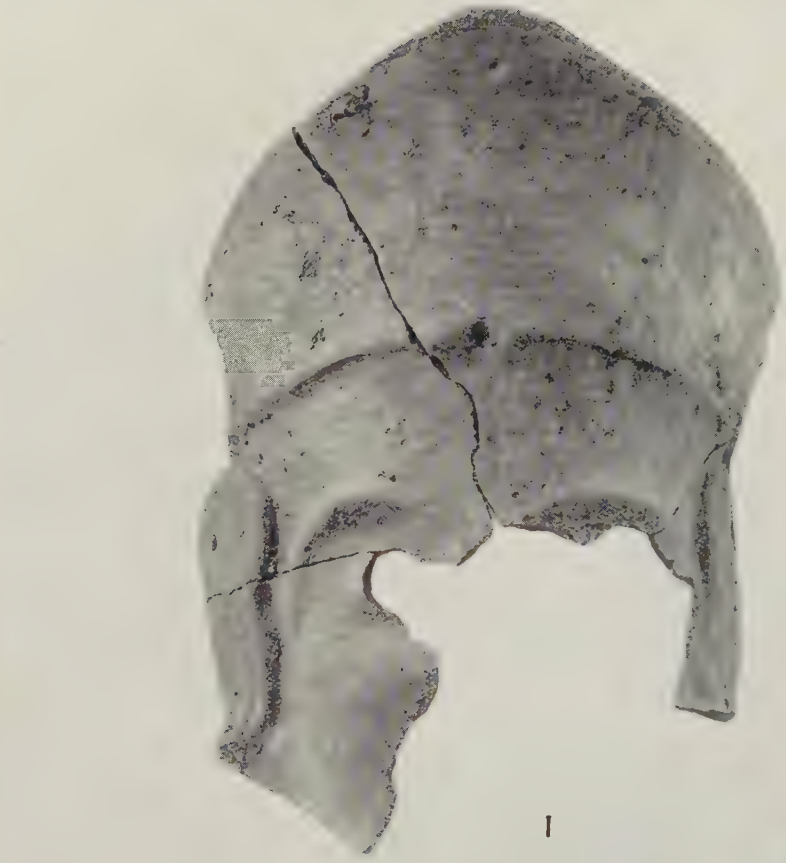
2

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Female.
1, Type A.iv. 2 and 3, Type A.v. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 166, 179*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Female.
1, Type A.vi. 2, Type A. iii. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 166, 179*).

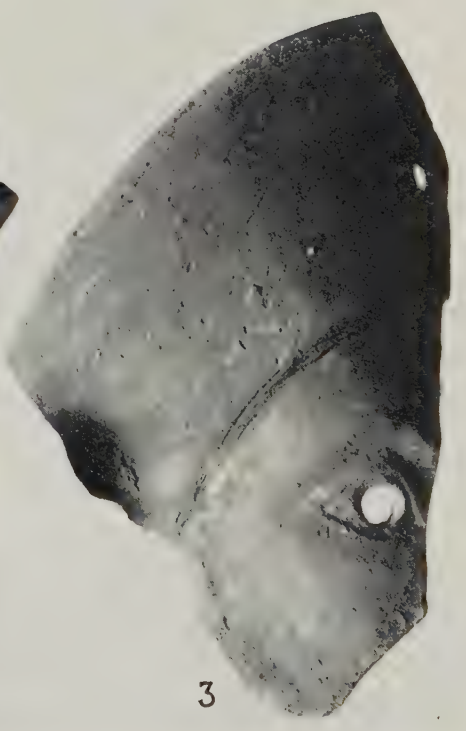
Terracotta Votive Masks
Probably Youths.
Type B.i. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 167, 180*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Youths.
1 and 2 Type B.i. 3, Type B.ii. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 167, 180*).



1

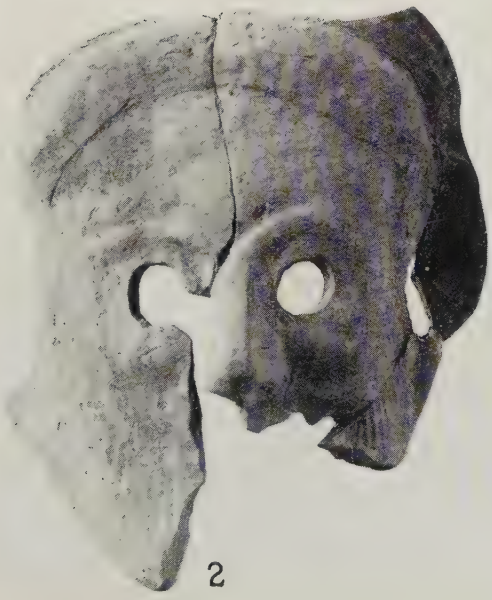
2



3

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Warriors.
Type C.i. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 167, 181*).

1



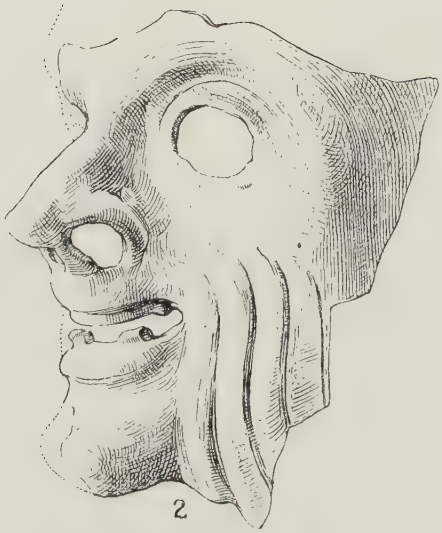
2

3

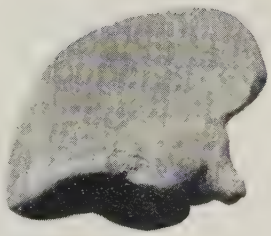
Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Warriors.
1, Type C.i. 2 and 3, Type C.ii. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 167, 181*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Probably Warriors.
Type C.iii. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 167, 181*).

1



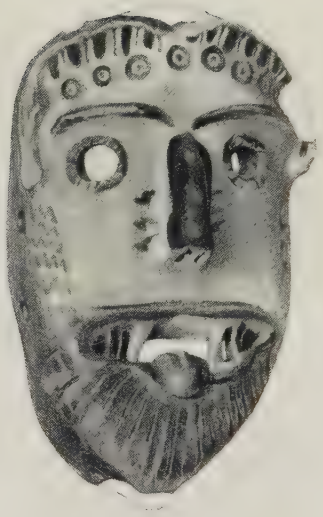
2



3

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Possibly Portraits.
Type D. Scale 2 : 5.
No. 3 is a nose.
(*see pp. 167, 168*).

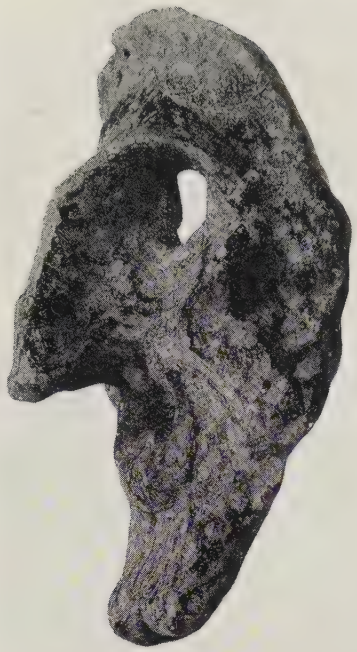
1



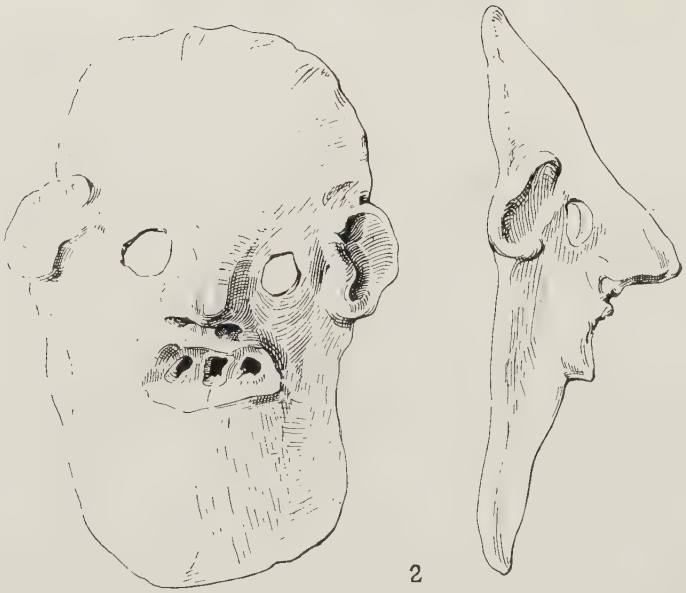
2

3

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Satyr and Gorgons.
1, Type E.ii. 2, Type F.i. 3, Type F.ii. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 169, 182*).

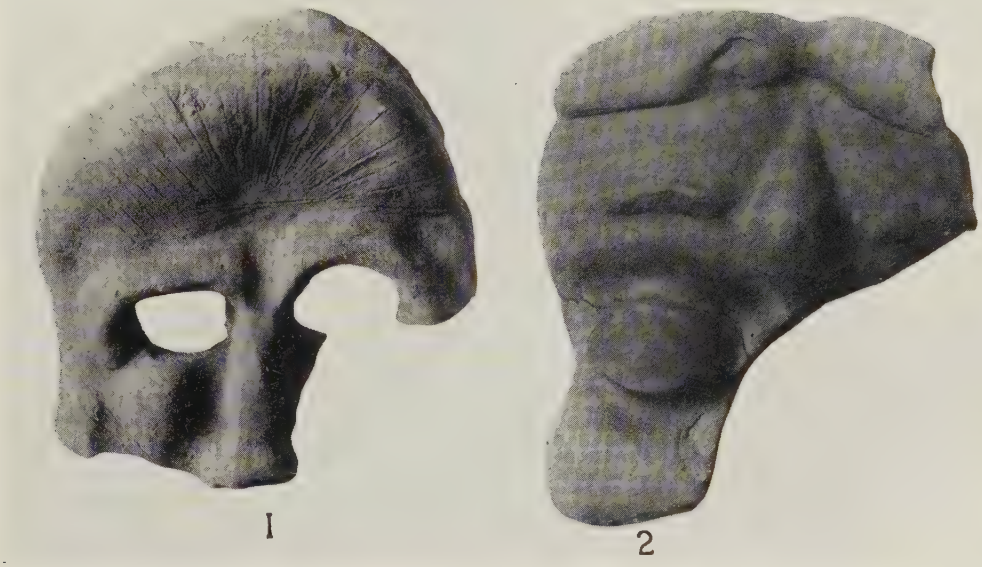


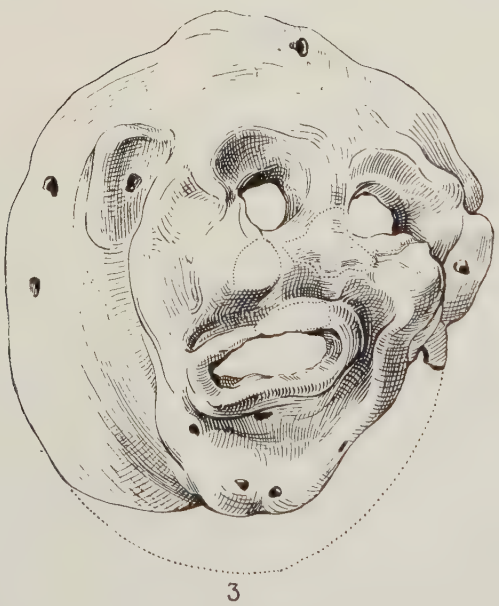
1



2

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
1, Type G.i. *a* (3). 2, Type G.i. *b* (1). Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 184*).



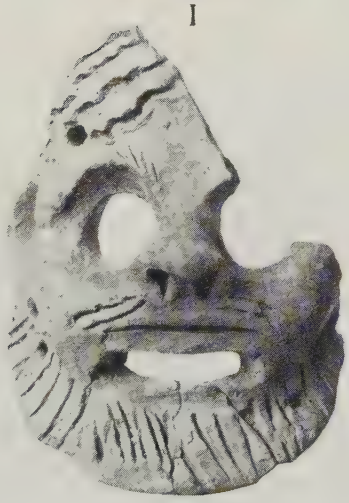


Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
1 and 2, Type G. i. *a* (2). 3, Type G. i. *b* (2). Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 184*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
1, Type G.ii. *a*. 2, Type F.i. 3 and 4, Type G.ii. *e*. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see pp. 183, 184*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
Type G.ii. *a*. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 184*).

1



2

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
1, Type G.ii. *b*. 2, Type G.ii. *c*. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 185*).

Terracotta Votive Masks.
Grotesques.
1, Type G.ii.*d*. 2 and 3, Type G.ii.*e*. Scale 2 : 5.
(*see p. 185*).

Scale 1 : 3.

Human figures in limestone.

(*see p. 188*).

Scale 1 : 3.

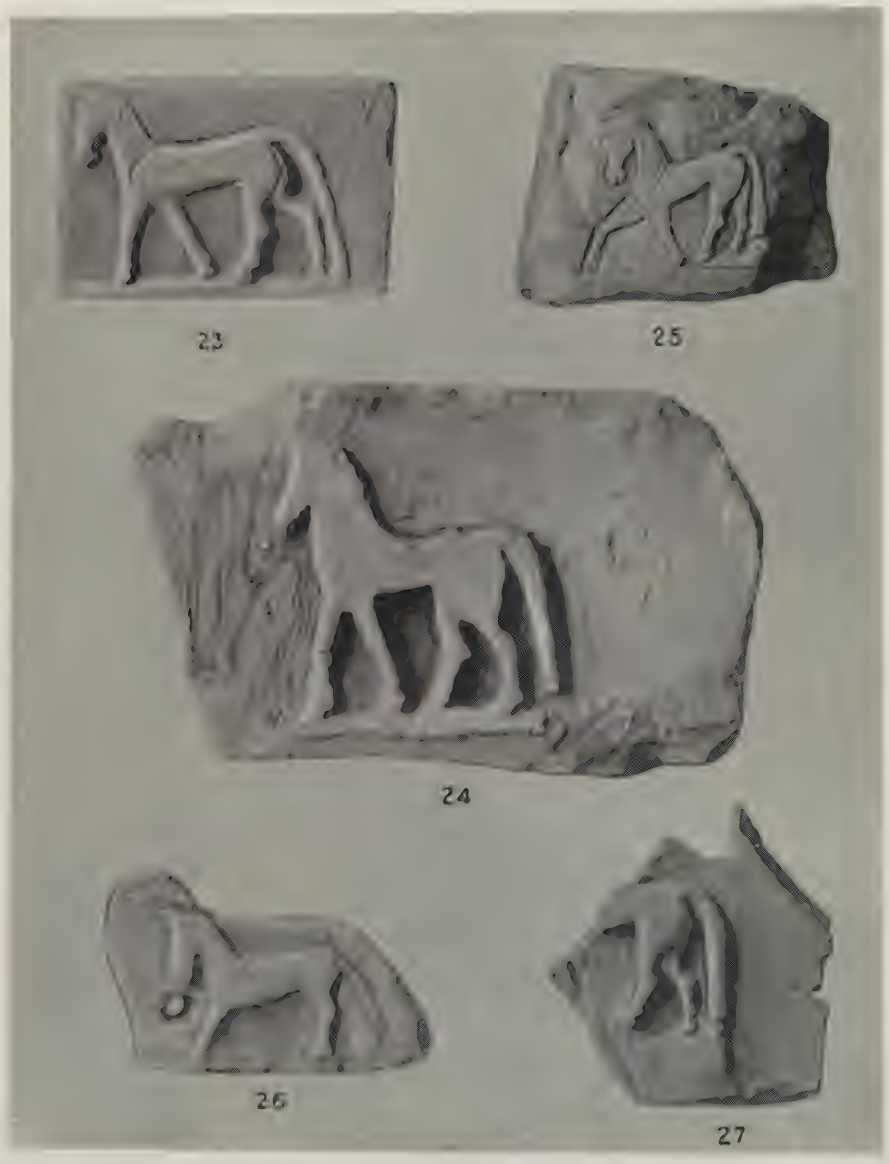
Human figures in limestone.

(*see p. 189*).

Scale 1 3.

Limestone relief
(*see p. 189*).

Limestone figures of Horses.
(*see p. 190*)



Scale 1 : 3.

Limestone reliefs of horses.

(*see p. 190*).

Scale 1 : 3.

Limestone reliefs of horses.

(*see p. 191*).

Scale 1:2

Limestone reliefs of horses.

(*see p. 191*).

Scale 1 : 3.

Limestone reliefs of lions.

(*see p. 192*).

Scale 1 : 3.

Miscellaneous animals in limestone.

(see p. 192)

Scale 1 : 3.

Limestone plaques with incised designs.

(*see p. 193*).

Scale 1 : 3.

Architectural carvings in limestone.

(*see p. 194*).

Scale 1 : 3.
Limestone sphinx.
(*see p. 194*).

Scale 1 : 2

Miscellaneous limestone objects.

(*see p 195*).

Bronze shoulder pins. Geometric period. Scale 3 : 4.
(*see p. 197*).

Bronze Figurines. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see p. 197*).

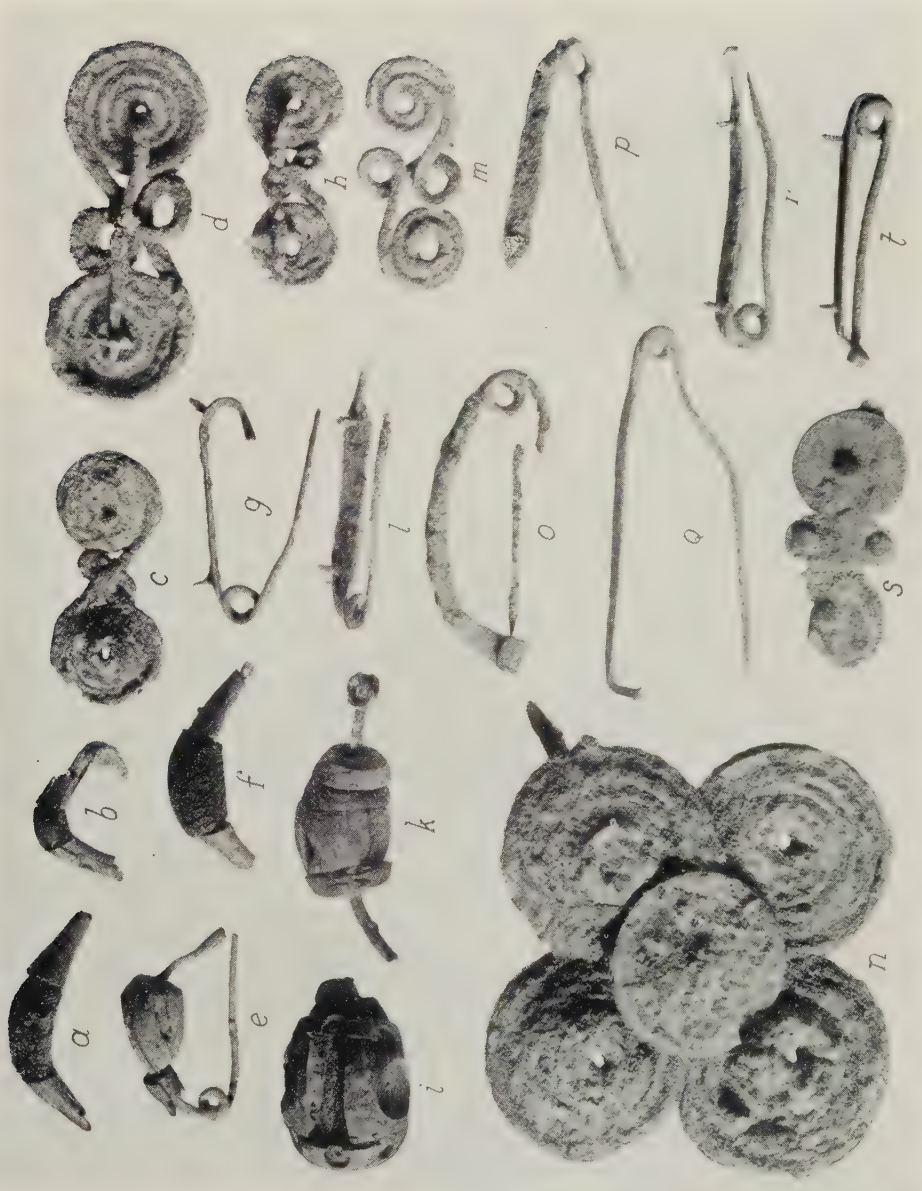
Bronze Figurines. Geometric period. Scale 3 : 4.
(*see p. 197*).

Bronze Figurines. Geometric period. Scale 3 : 4.
(*see p. 197*).

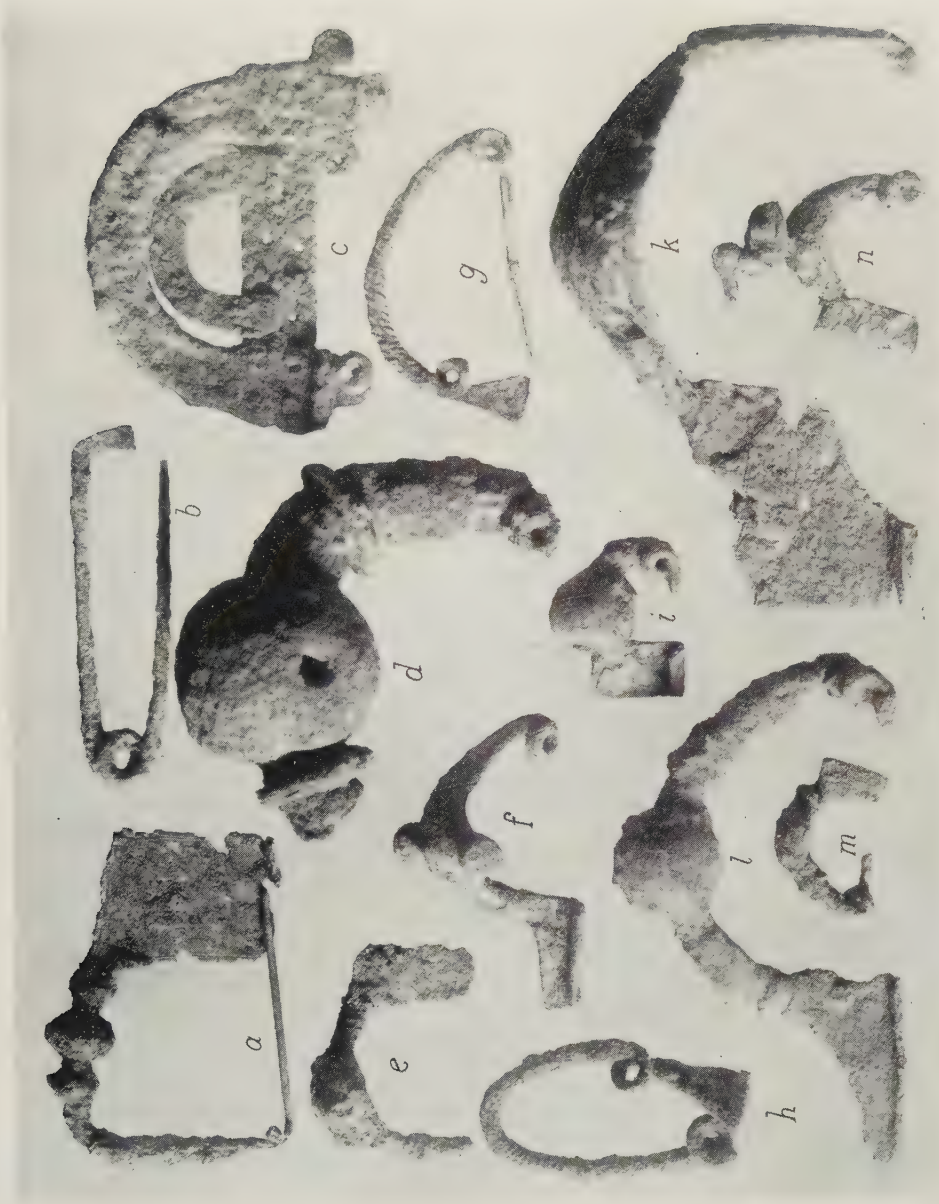
Bronze Figurines. Geometric period. Scale 3 : 4.
(*see p. 197*).

Miscellaneous bronze objects. Geometric period. Scale 3 : 4.
(see pp. 197, 199).

Bronze Brooches. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see p. 198*).



Brooches of bronze, and of bone and amber on bronze pin. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see pp. 198, 199*).



Bronze Brooches. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see pp. 198, 199*).

Bronze Brooches. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see pp. 198, 199*).

Miscellaneous bronze objects. Geometric period. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see p. 199*).

Bronze shoulder pins. VII century. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see p. 200*).

Bronze Pins, Brooches, etc. VII and early VI century. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 200–202*).

Miscellaneous bronze objects. VII and early VI century. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 200, 201*).

Miscellaneous bronze objects. VII century. Scale 2 : 3.
(*see pp. 200–202*).

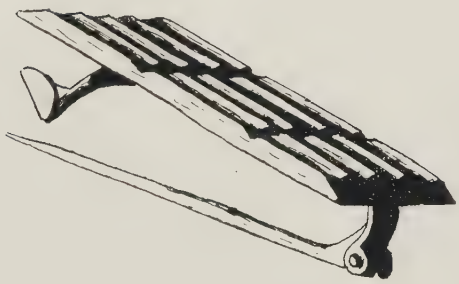
Miscellaneous bronze objects. VI and V centuries. Scale 3 : 4.
(see p. 202).

1

1A

2

1B



1C

Ivory Plaques. First style: 1, 1a, 2, Two Fibula Plaques; 1b, Fibula detached; 1c, Bronze Fibula. Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 205*).

1

3

3

1

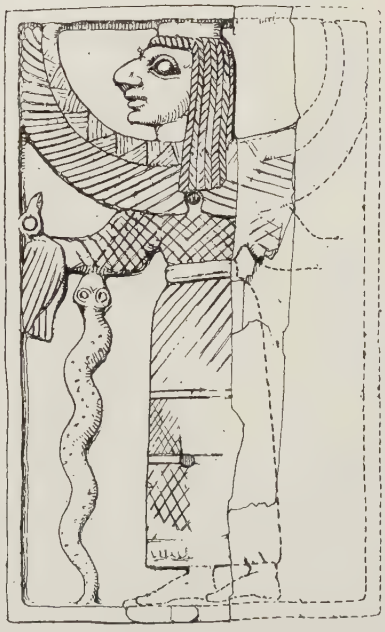
2

Ivory plaques. First style: Three Fibula-plaques.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 206*).

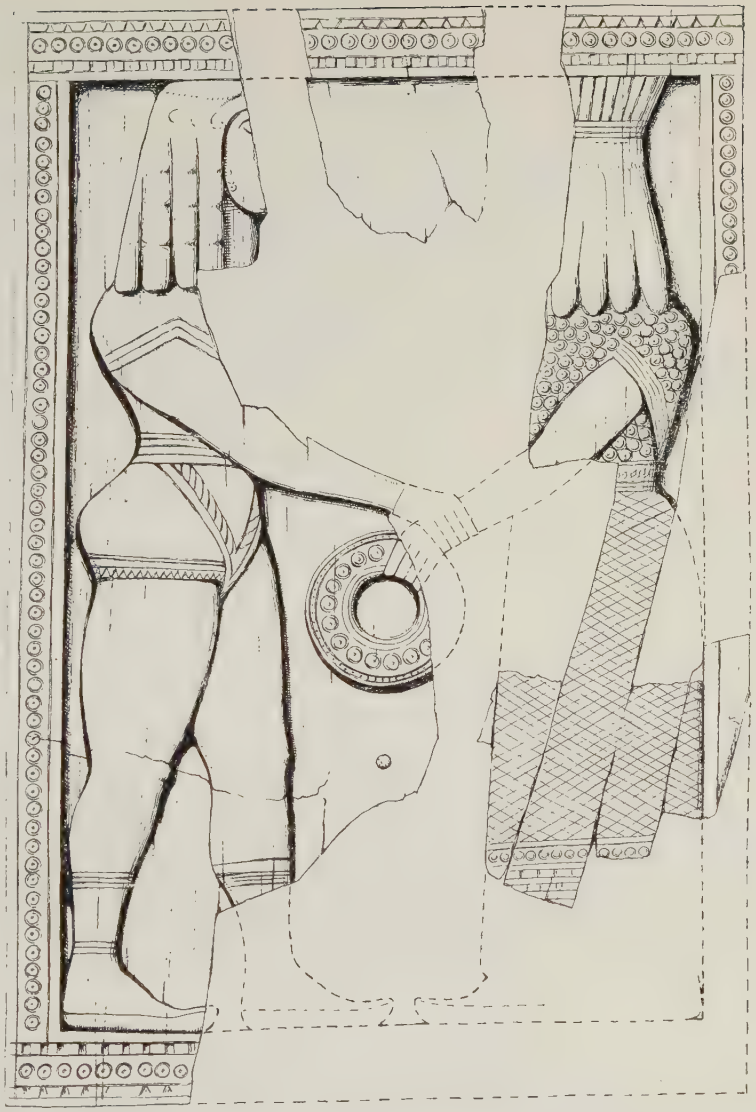
1

3

2

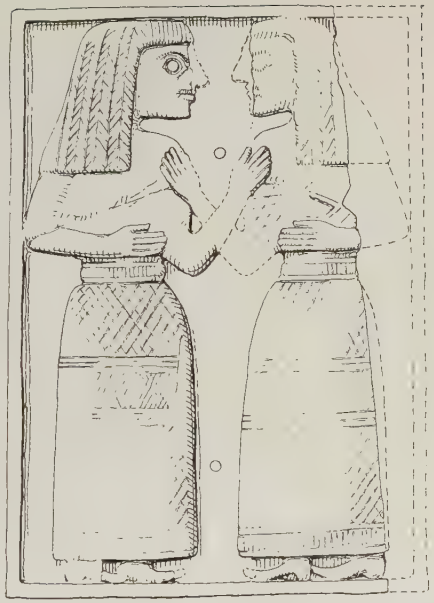


Ivory Plaques. Second style: Three Fibula-plaques.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 207*).



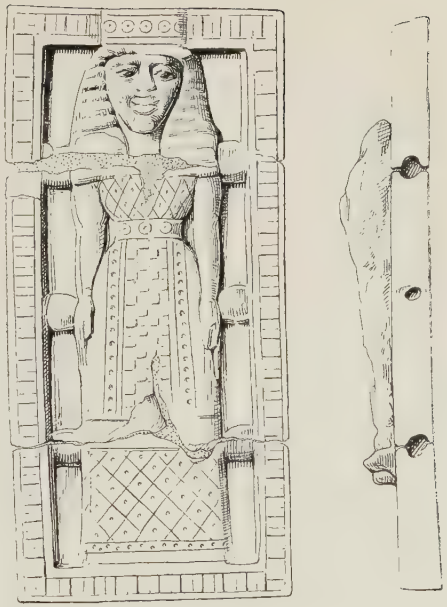
Ivory Fibula-plaque. Second style.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 207*).

Ivory Plaque. Second style.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 207*).



1

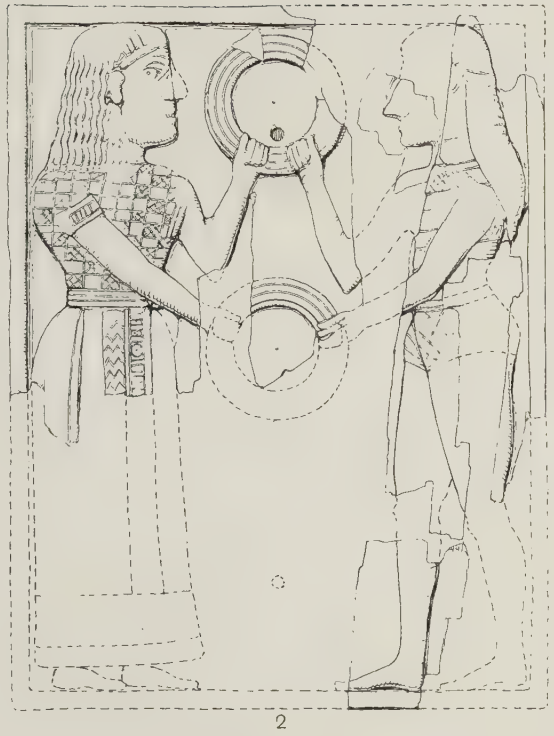
2



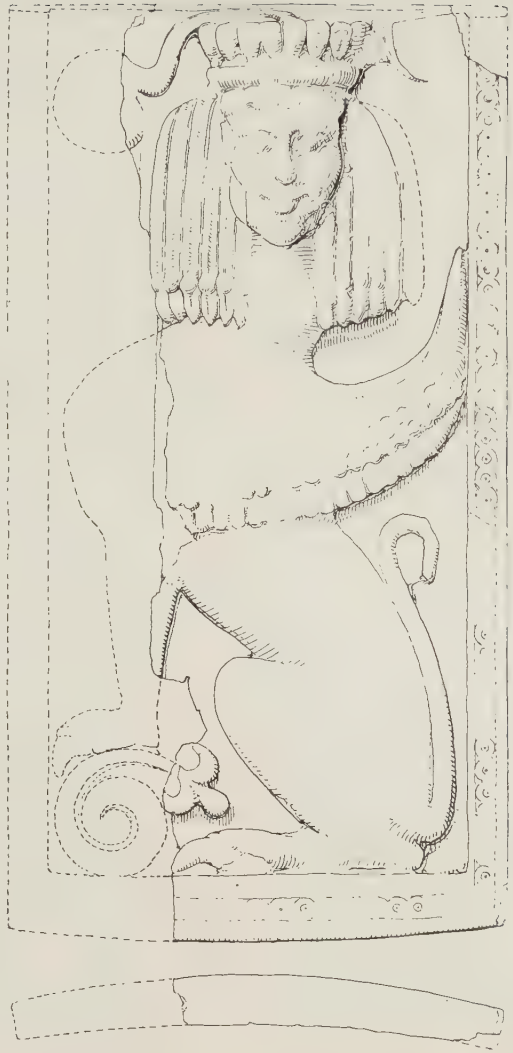
— 3 —

4

Four Ivory Plaques. Second style. 1 and 3, Fibula-plaques.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 208*).



2

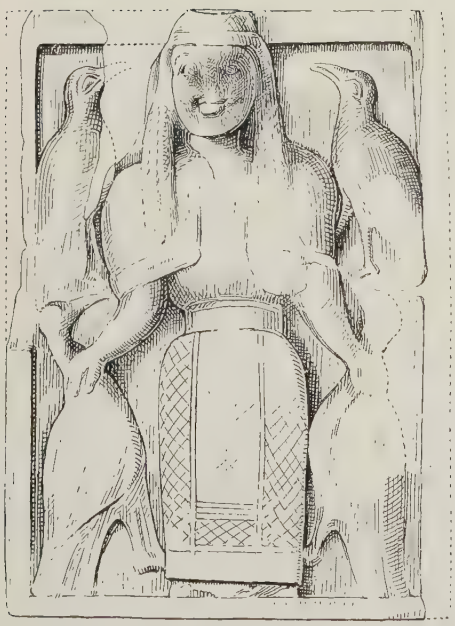


1

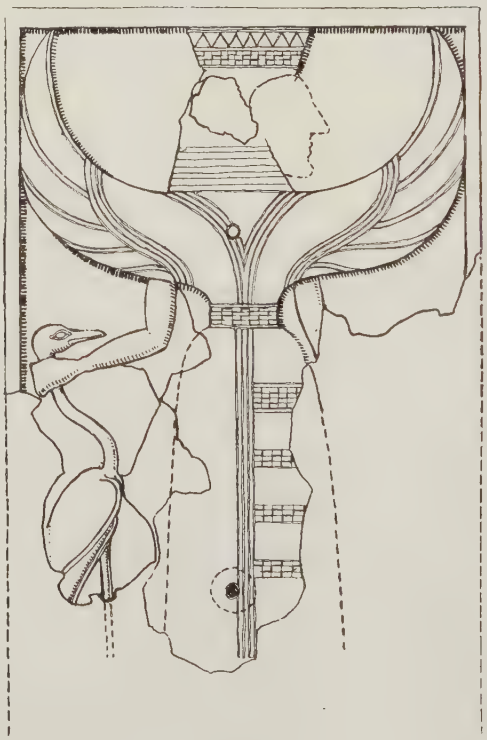
Two Ivory Plaques. Second style. 2, Fibula-plaque.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 208*).

1

2



1

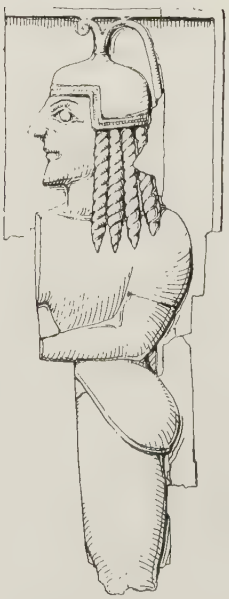


3

Ivory Plaques. Second style.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 208*).

1

2

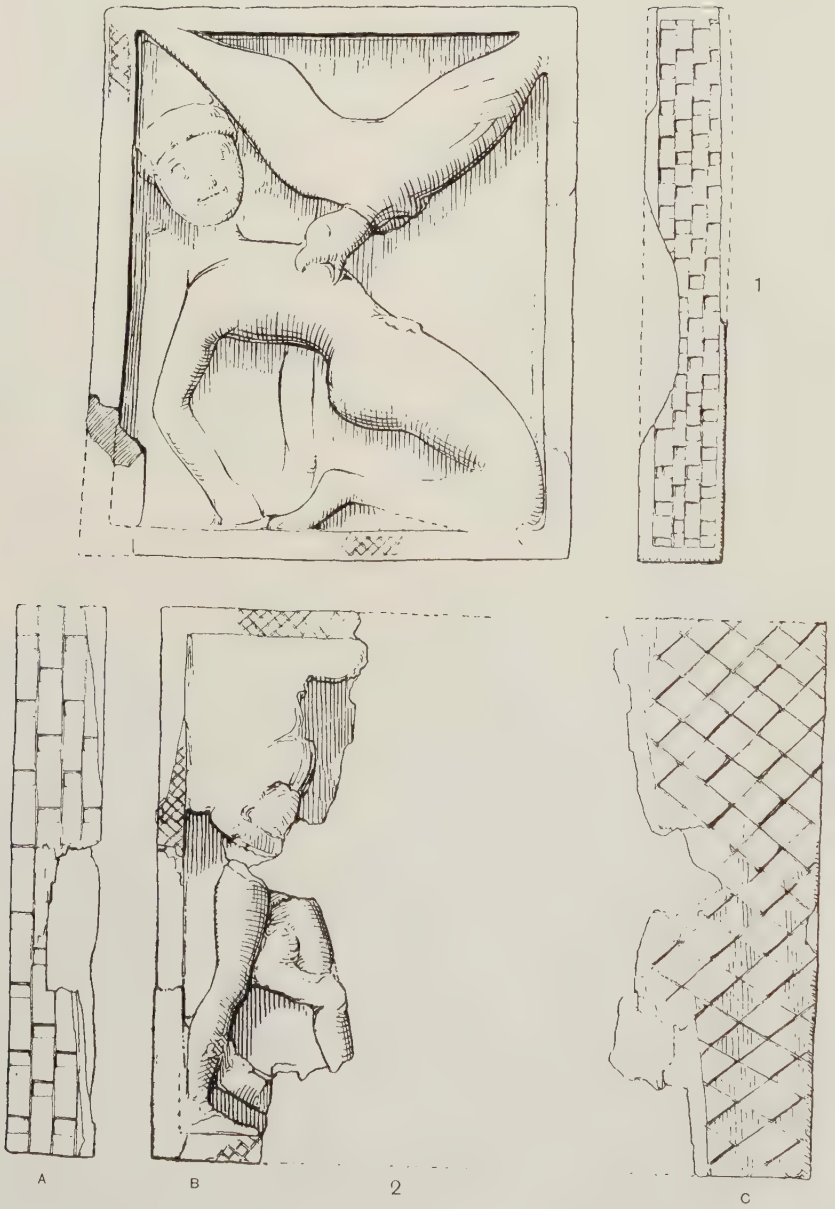


3

1 and 3. Two Ivory Plaques. Second style.
(*see p. 209*).

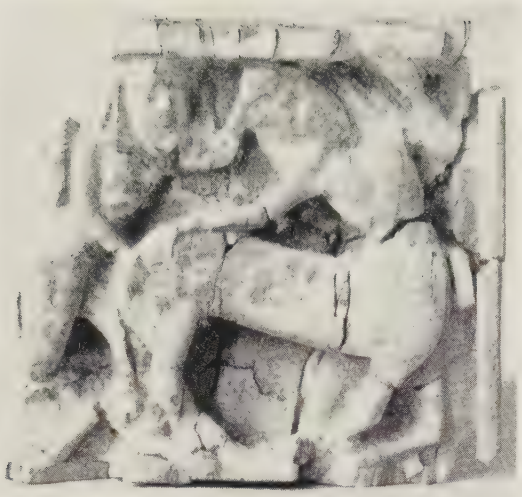
2. Relief from base of couchant animal.
(*see p. 235* and Pl. CLX 2).

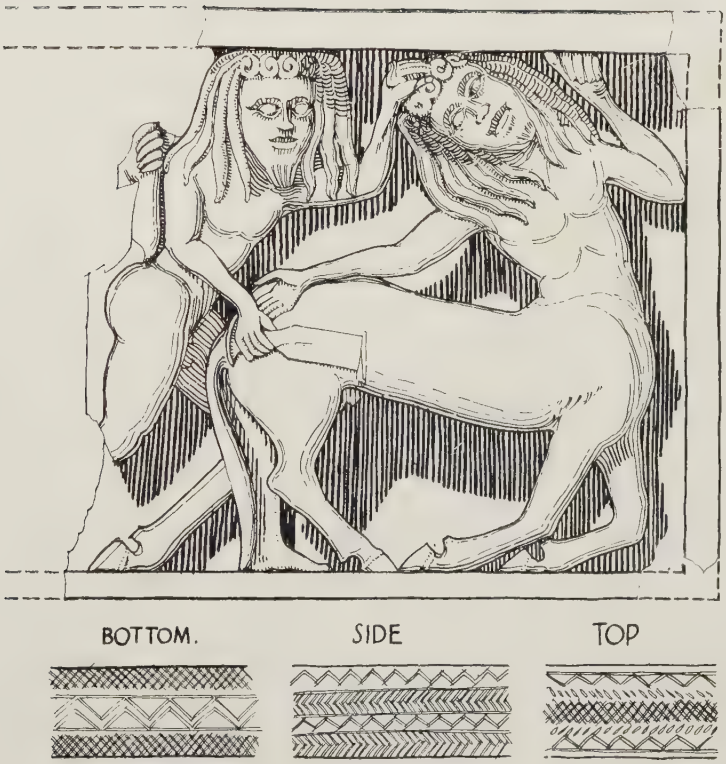
Drawings scale, 1 : 1. Photograph scale 4 : 5.



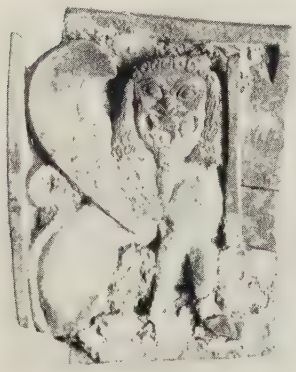
Two Ivory Plaques. Third style. Scale 1 : 1.

(*see pp. 209, 210*).



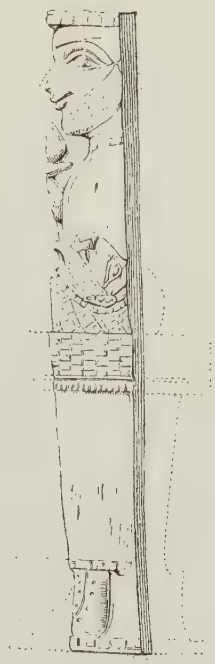


Ivory Plaque. Third style.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 210*).



1

2



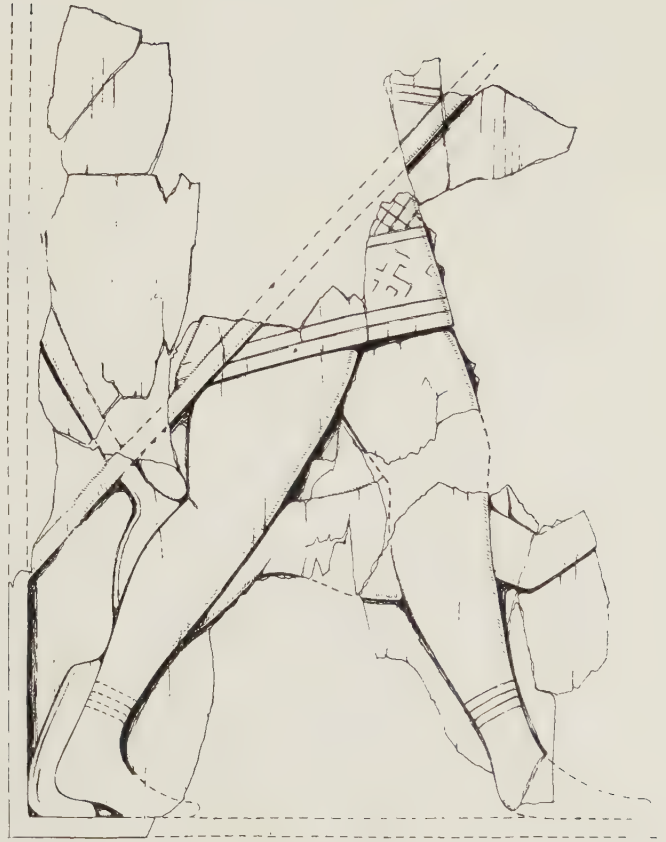
3

Ivory Plaques. 1, Third style. 2 and 3, Fourth style.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 210*)

1

Hero and Hydra.



2

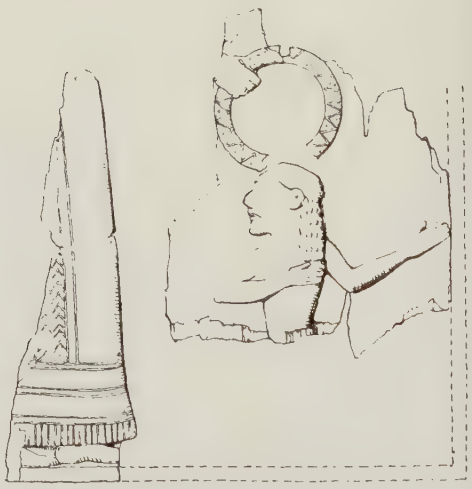
Man with dog.

Two Ivory Plaques. Fifth style. Scale 1 : 1.

(*see p. 212*).

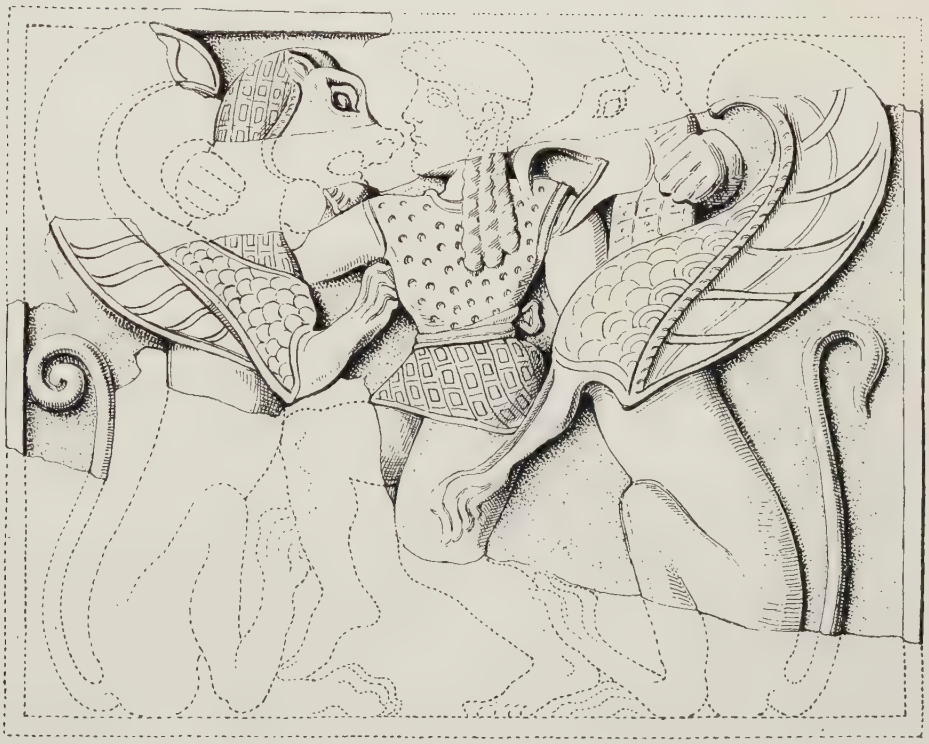
2

1



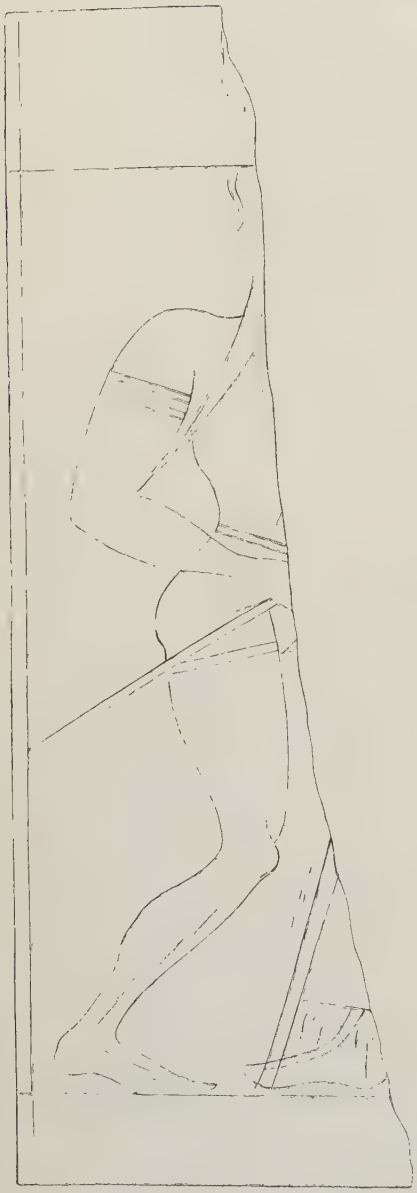
3

Three Ivory Plaques. Fifth style.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 212*).



Ivory Plaque. Fifth style.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 213*).

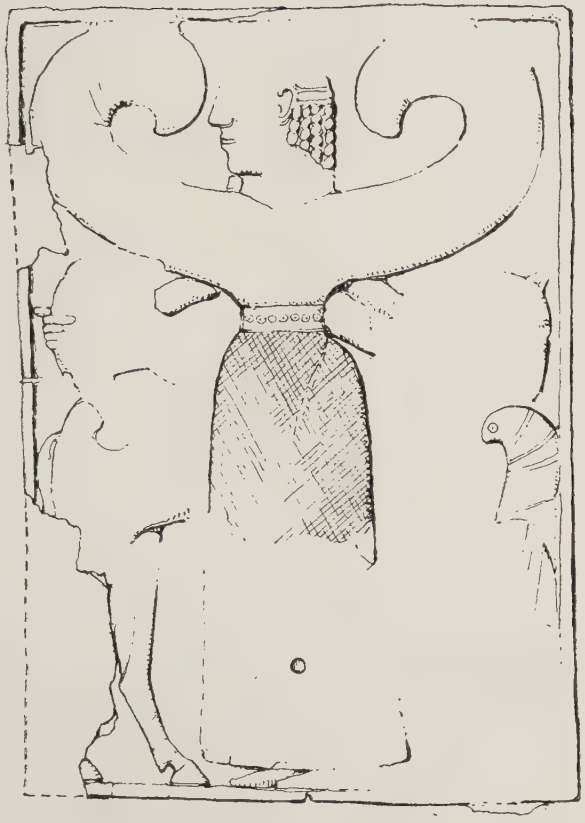
2



3

1

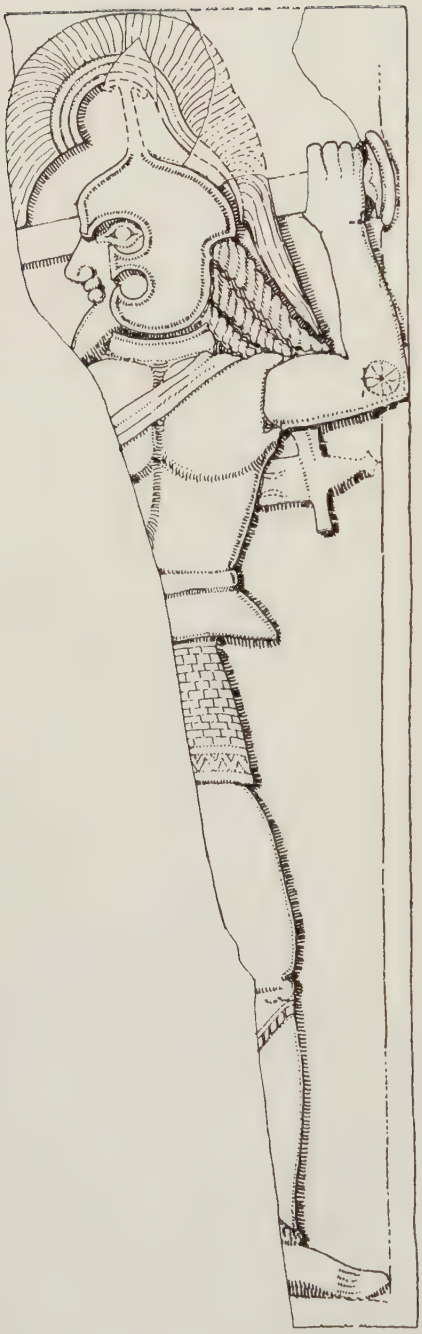
Three Ivory Plaques. Fifth style.
3, unfinished. Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 213*).



1

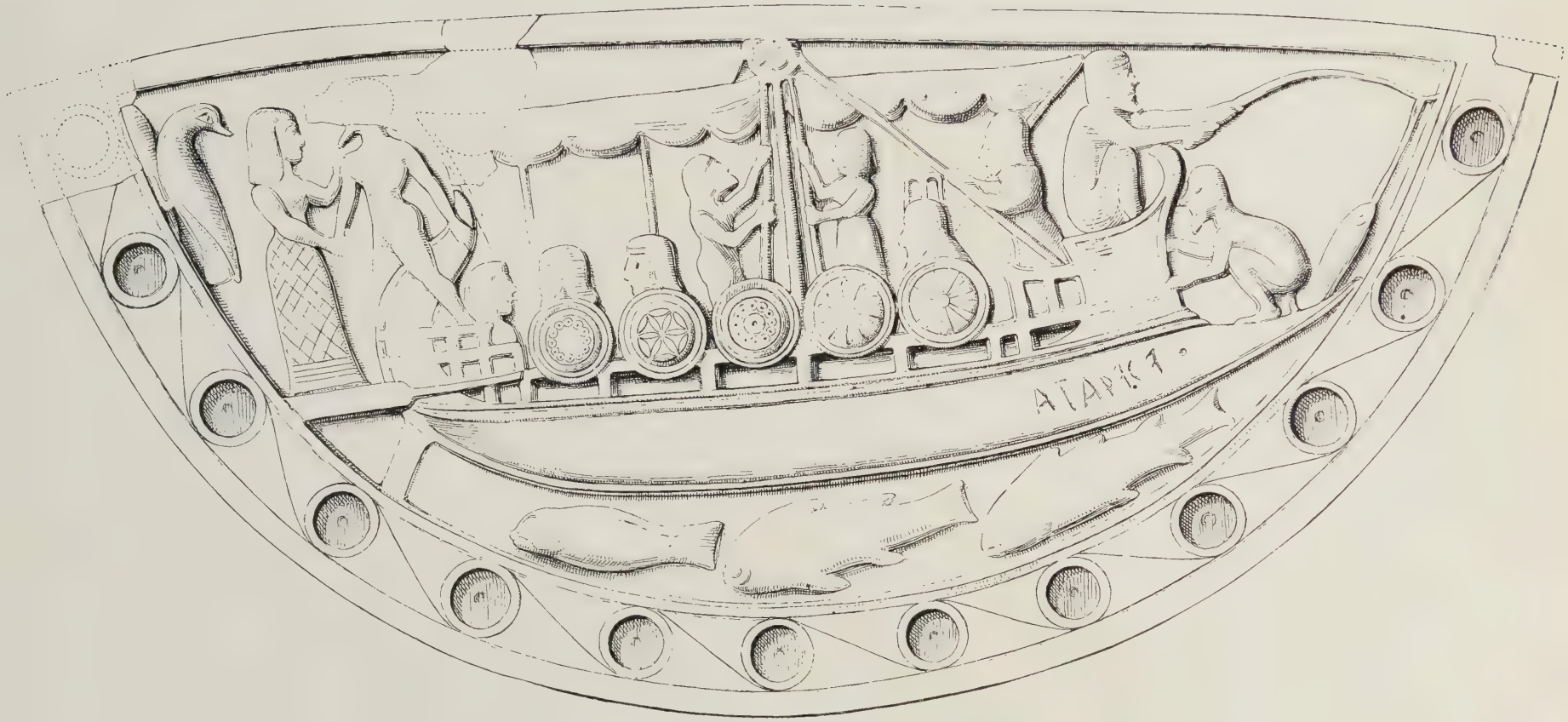
2

Two Ivory Plaques. Fifth style.
1, winged figure with horse. 2, two warriors. Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 214*).



Fragment of Ivory Plaque. Fifth style.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 214*).

Ivory Plaque. Fifth style.
Ship. Scale *c.* 4 : 5.
(*see p. 214*).

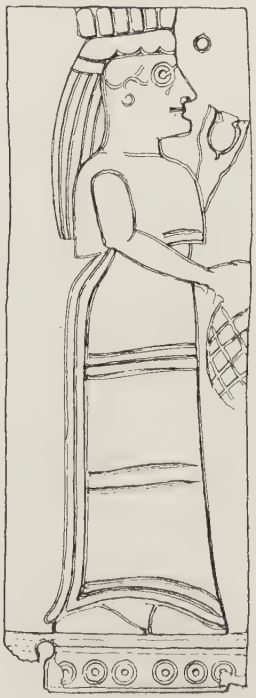


Ivory Plaque. Fifth style.
Ship. Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 214*).

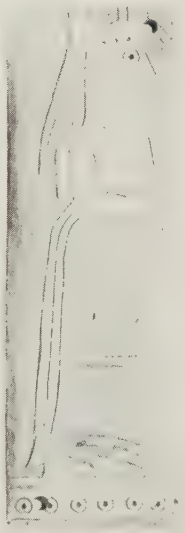
Ivory Plaque. Fifth style.
Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 215*).

1

3



2



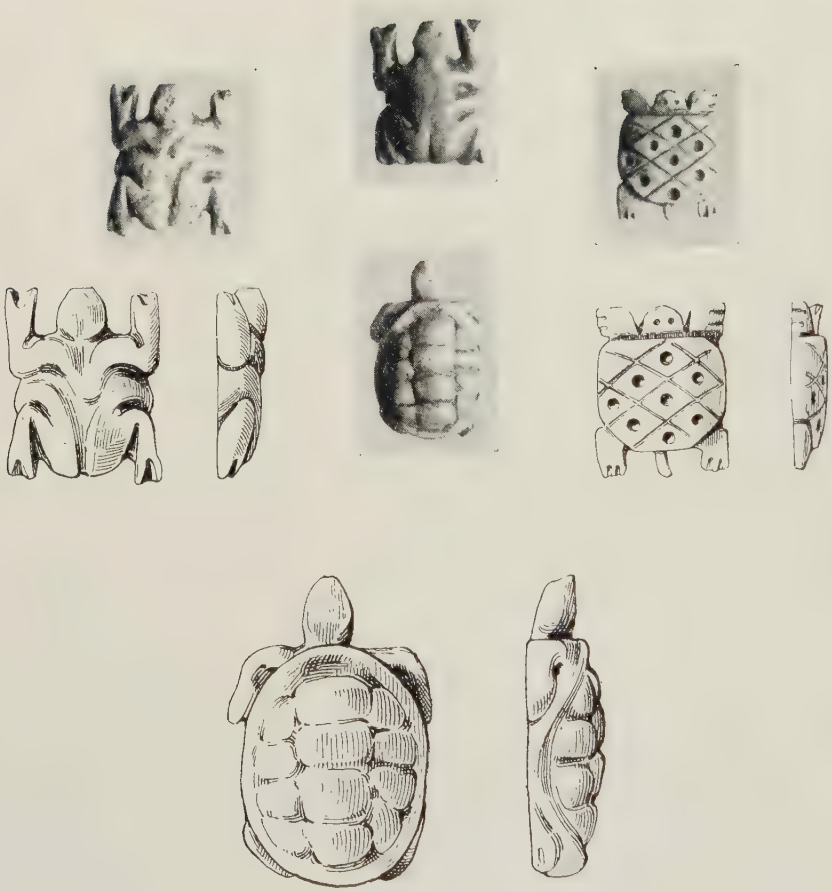
4

5

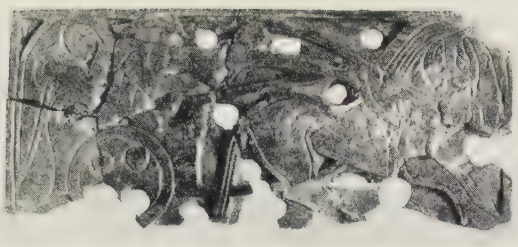
Bone Plaques. Sixth style.
1, Plaque of two pieces. 2–5, examples of two types.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 215, 216*).

Bone Plaques. Seventh style. Birds. 600–350 B.C.
Drawing, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 216*).

Bone Plaques. Seventh style. Examples of three types.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 217*).

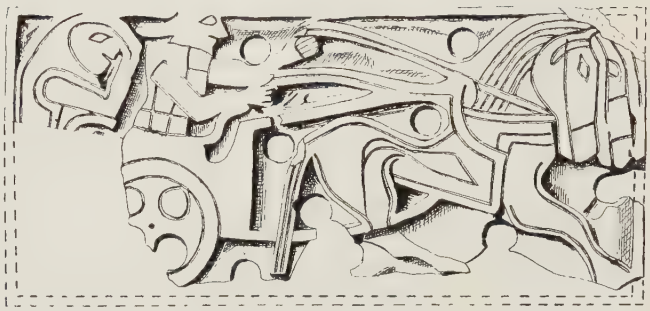


Bone Plaques. Seventh style.
Two frogs and two tortoises.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale *c.* 3 : 4.
(*see p. 217*).

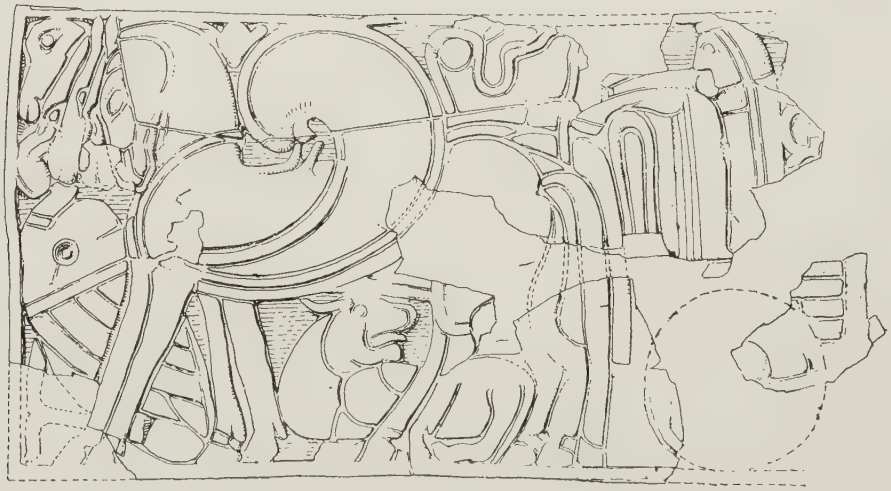


2

3



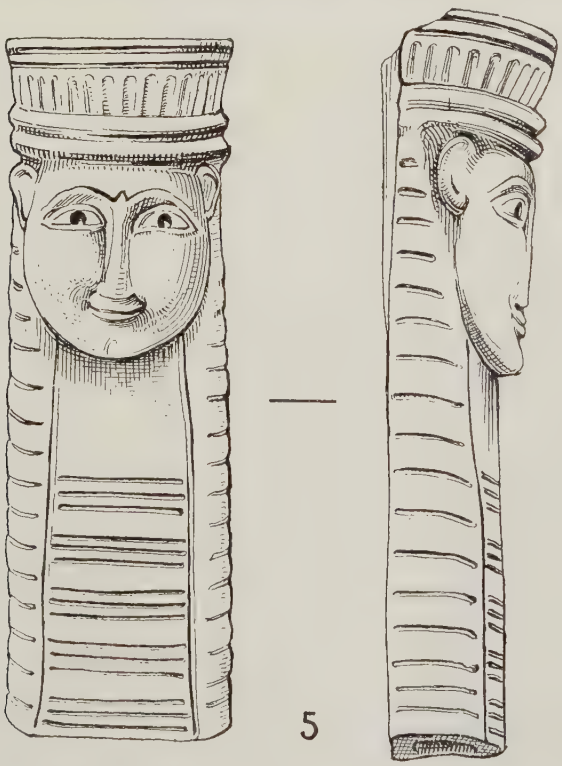
2



1

Plaques. Eighth style. Chariots and horses. Ivory and Bone.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 217, 218*).

Bone figures of Orthia, class *a*. Scale 4 : 5
(*see p. 218*).

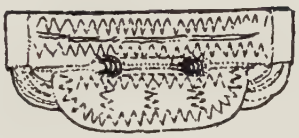


Bone figures of Orthia. Class *a*. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 218*).

Bone figures of Orthia.
1–5, class *b*. 6 and 7, class *c*. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 219*).

Bone protomai and figure of Orthia. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 219*).



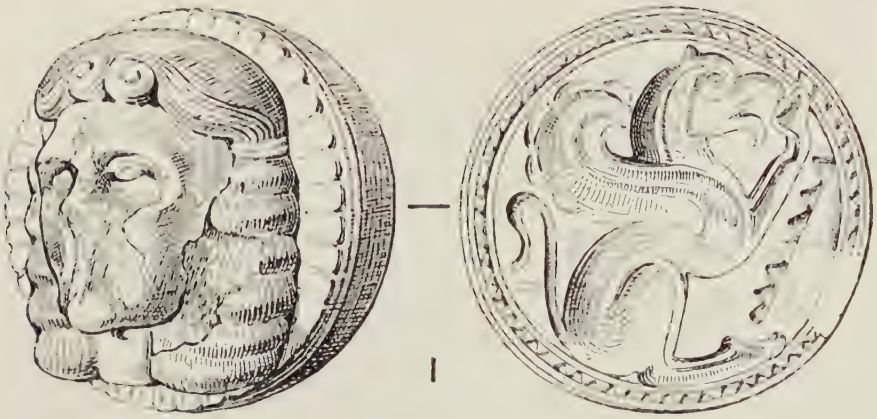
Protomai.

1 and 2, class *a*. 1 is also drawn in four positions.

4 and 7, class *b*. 3, 5 and 6, class *c*. 3 is of Ivory, the rest of bone.

Photographs, scale 4 : 5. Drawings, scale 3 : 2.

(*see pp. 219, 220*).

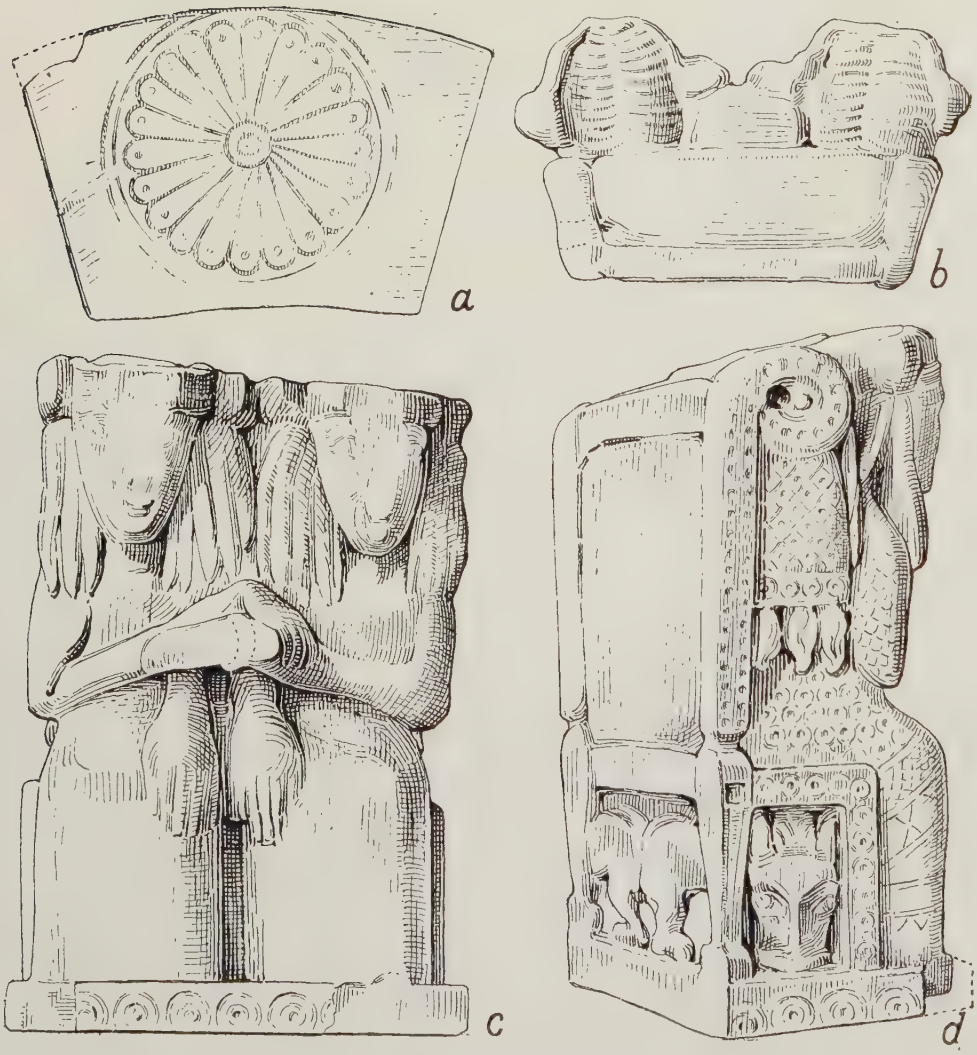


Protomai.
1, Ivory, class *c*. Scale 3 : 2.
2–4, Bone, class *d*. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 220*).

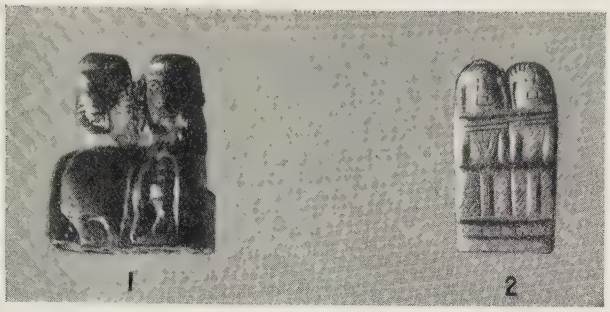
Small bone figures on thrones. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 220, 221*).

Small bone figures on thrones. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 221*).

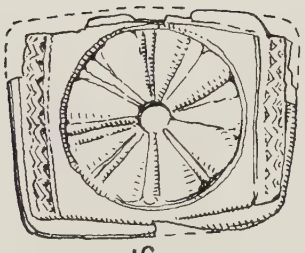


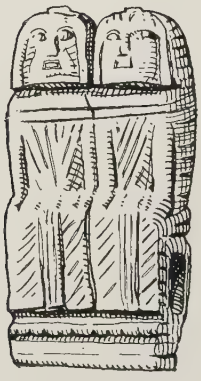
Pair of seated figures. Ivory.
Photograph, scale 4 : 5. Drawn in four positions, scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 221*).



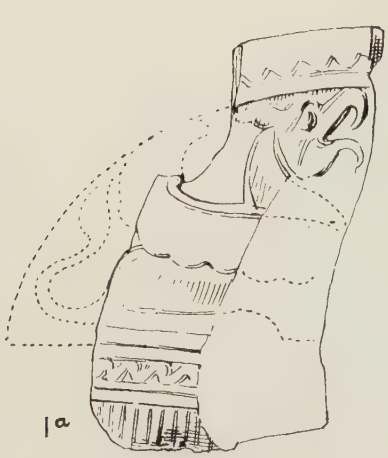
1a

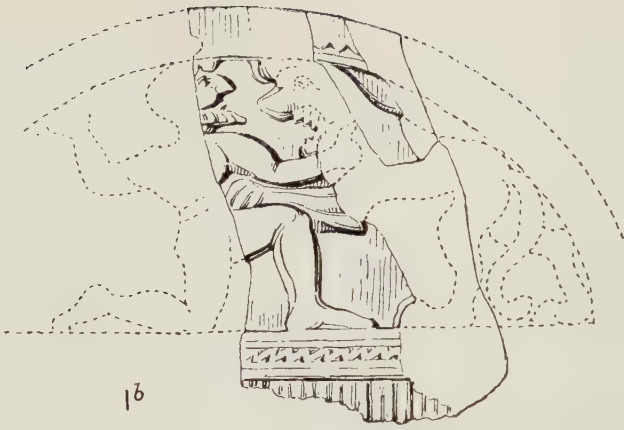
1b

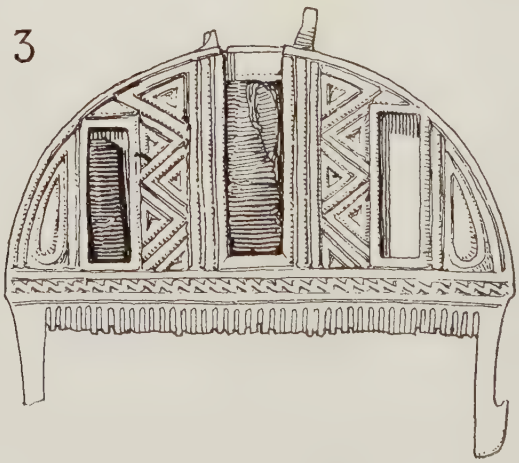

1c


2

Two pairs of seated figures. Ivory.
1 is drawn : *a* front, *b* side, and *c* base.
Photographs, scale 4 : 5. Drawings, scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 222*).



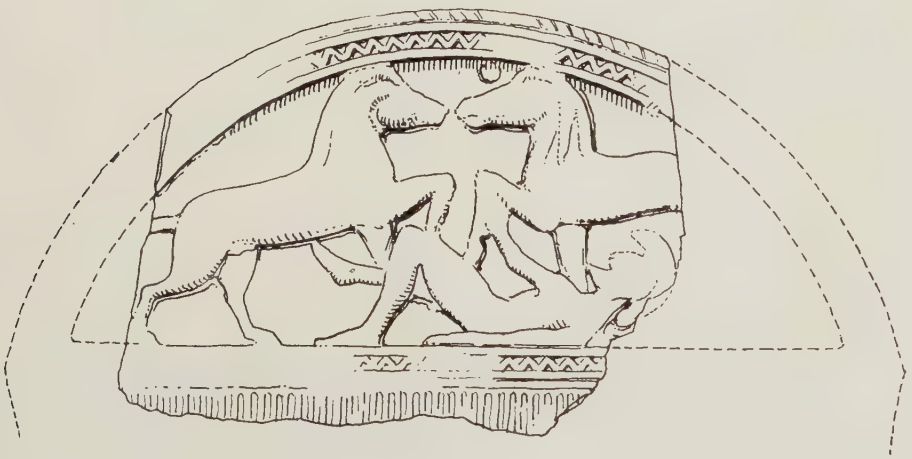




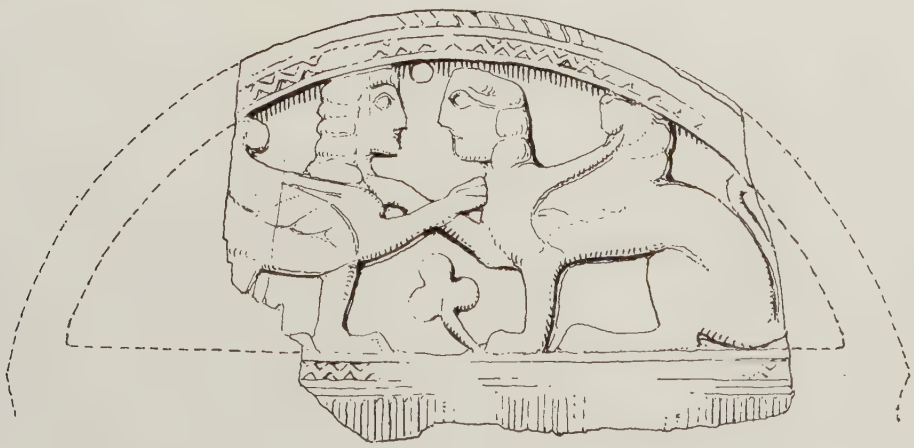
Three Ivory Combs, seen front and back, with side view of 3. Scale 3 : 2.
(*see pp. 222, 223*).

Ivory Comb (front and back). Scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 223*).

1

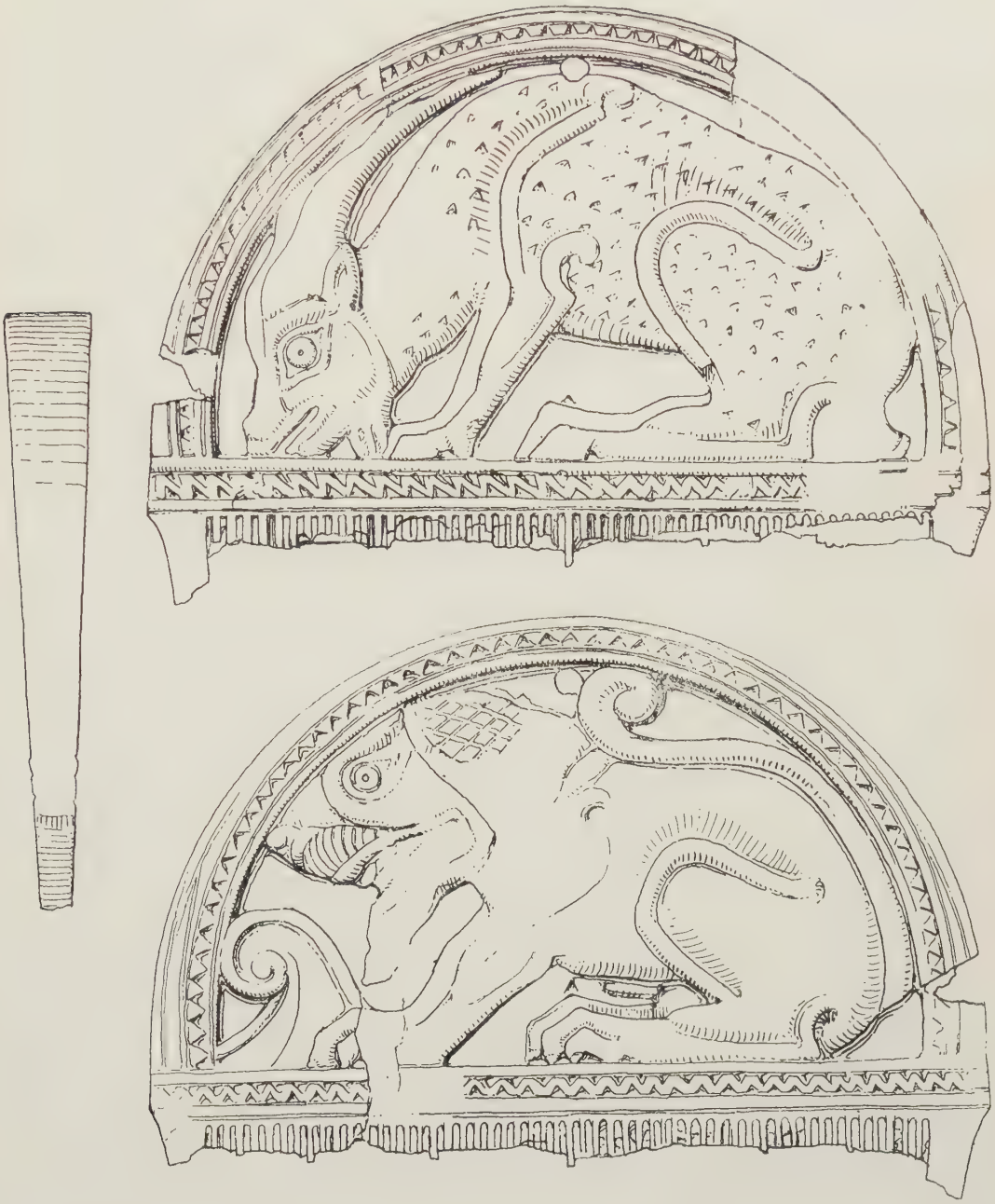


2



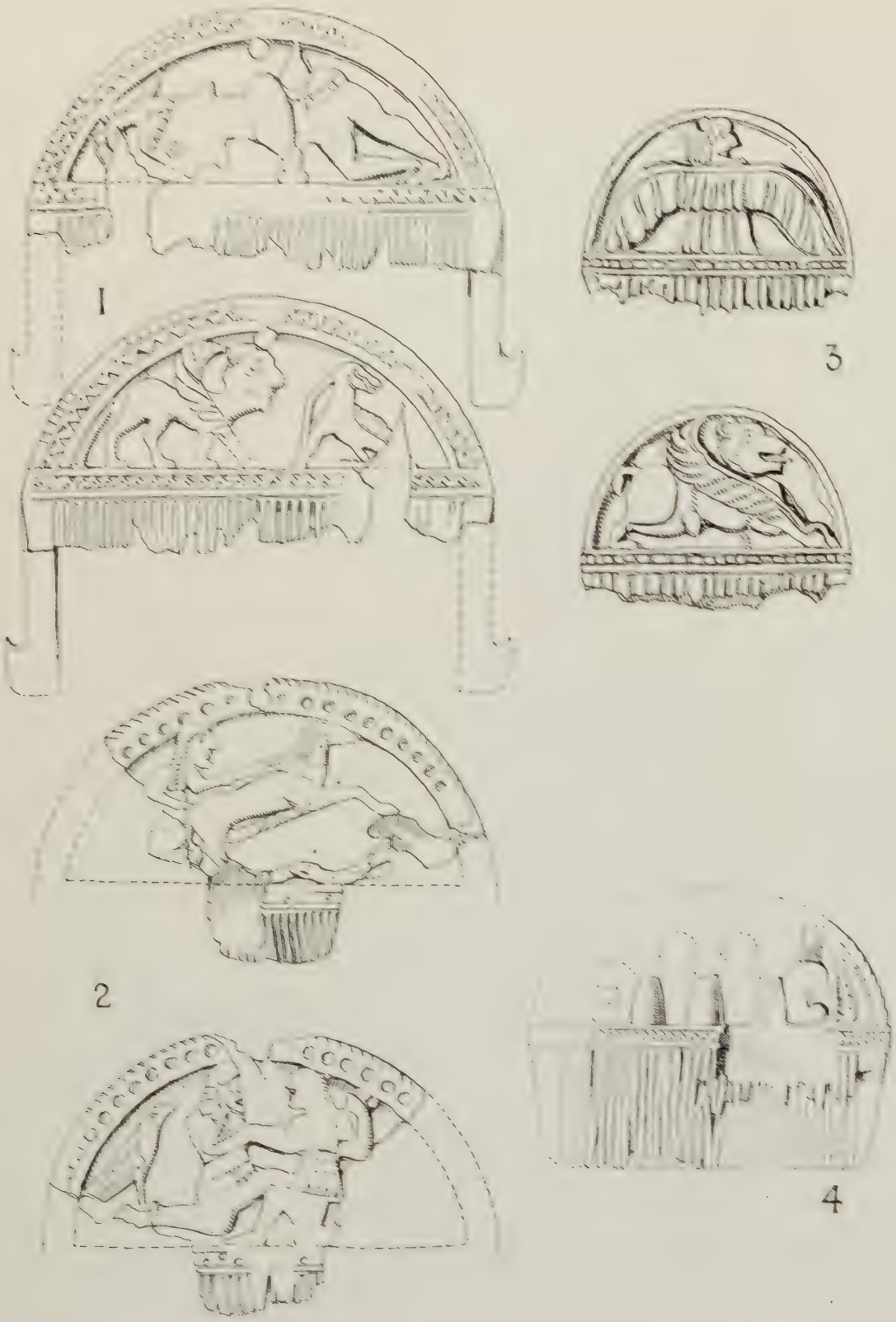
Two Ivory Combs. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 223*).



Ivory Comb; front, back and side. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 223*).

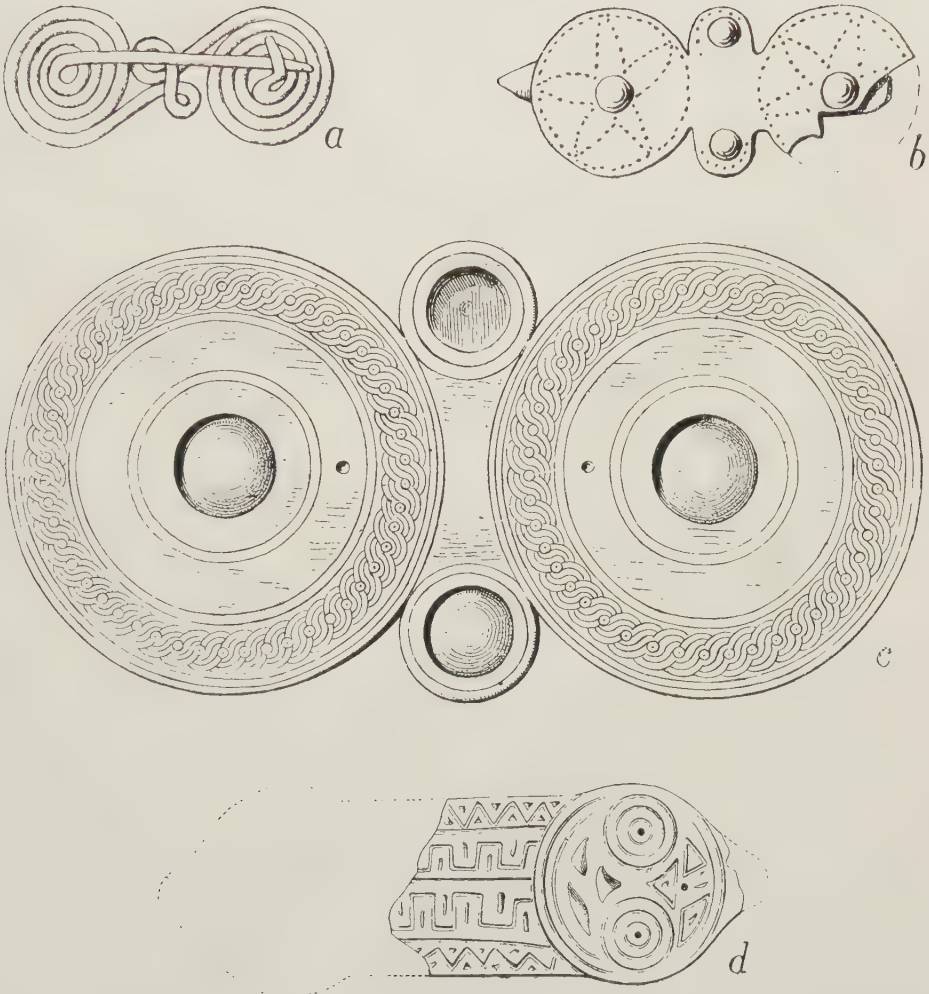


Four Ivory Combs. (Nos. 1, 2, and 3 shown front and back). Scale 3 : 2.

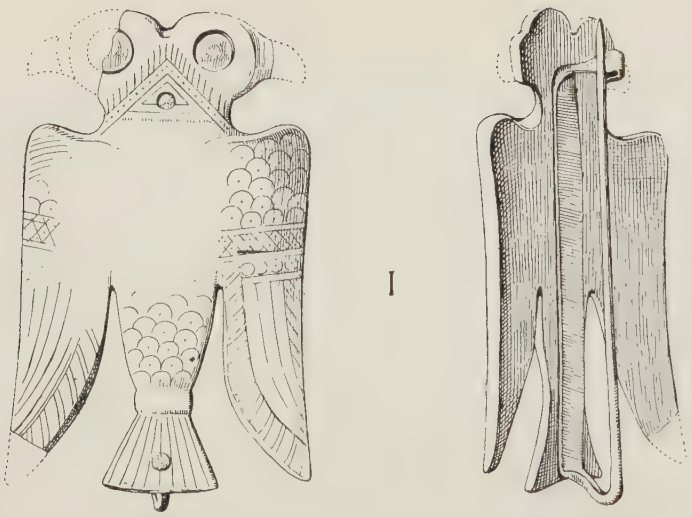
(see p. 228)

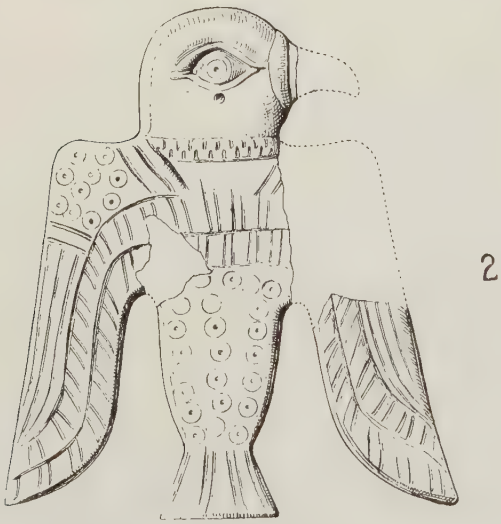
Combs: 1–9. class *a*. 10–11. class *b*. 12–14. class *c*.
7 9 and 12 14 are of bone. The rest of Ivory. Scale 4 : 5.
(see pp. 222–224).

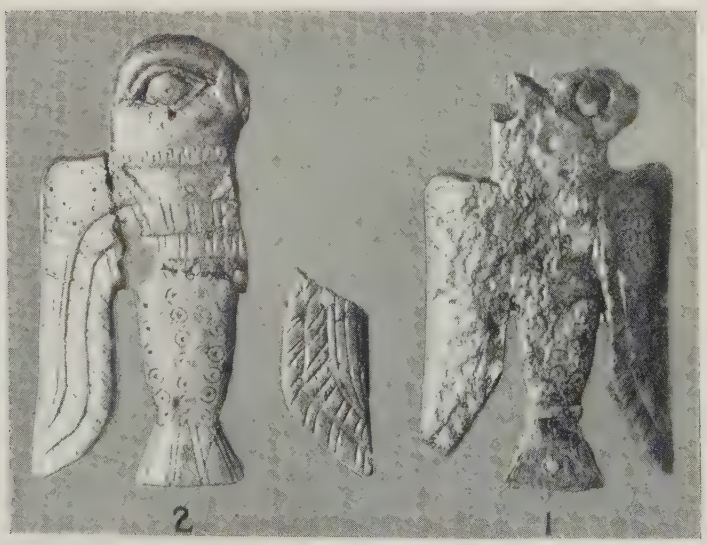
Ivory and bone "spectacle fibulae. Scale 4:5.



'Spectacle' Fibulae.
a Bronze, *b* and *d* Bone, *c* Ivory. Scale 1 : 1.
(*see pp. 224, 225*).

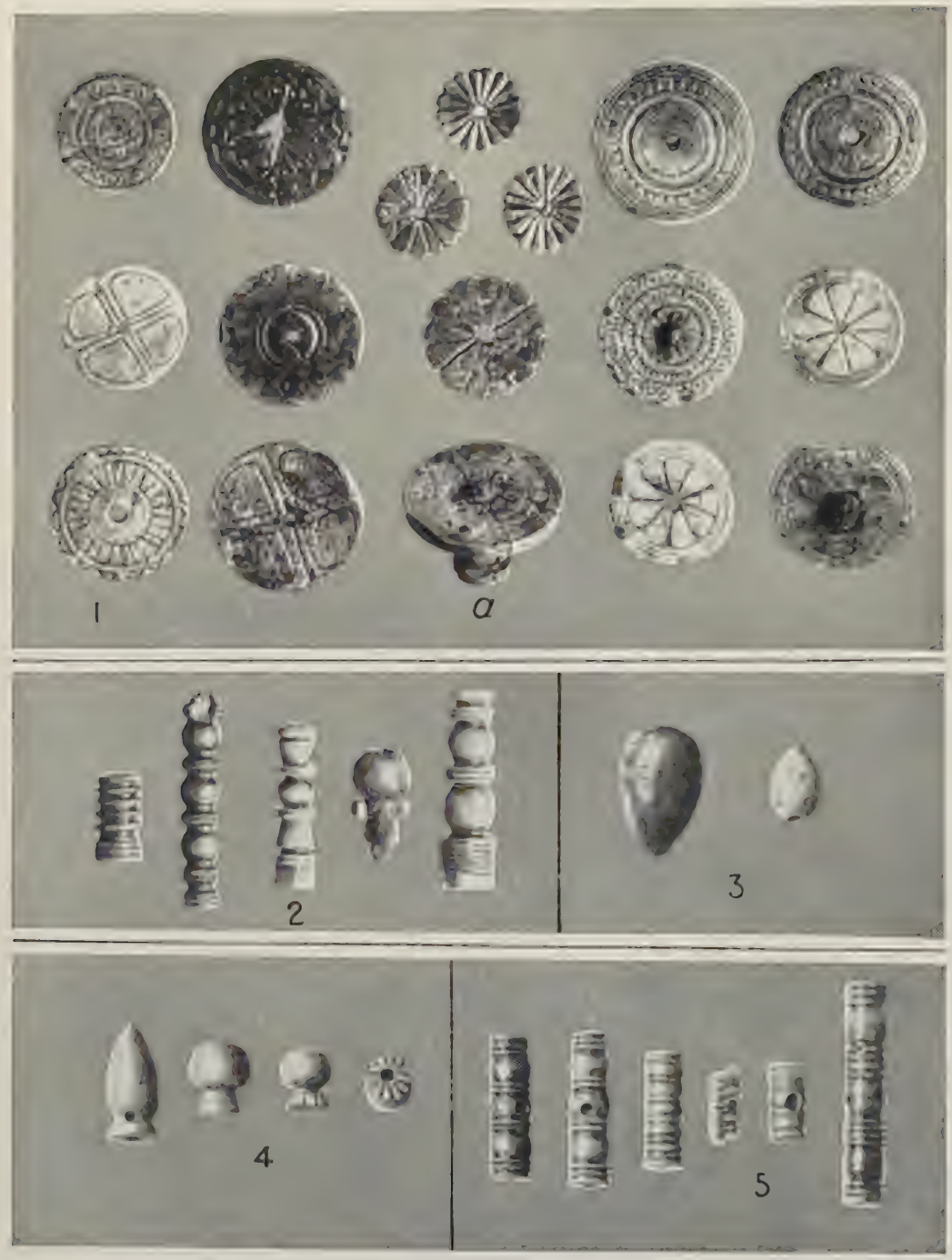






Two Ivory Eagle Fibulae.
Drawings, scale 1 : 1. Photograph, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 225*).

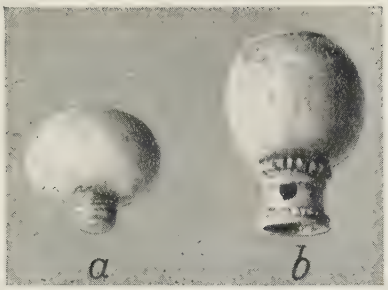
1. Bone pendants. 2. Bone rings.
Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 226*).

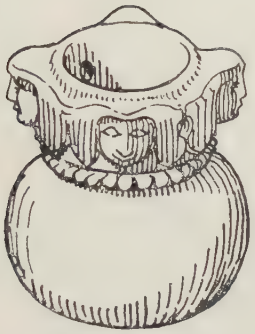


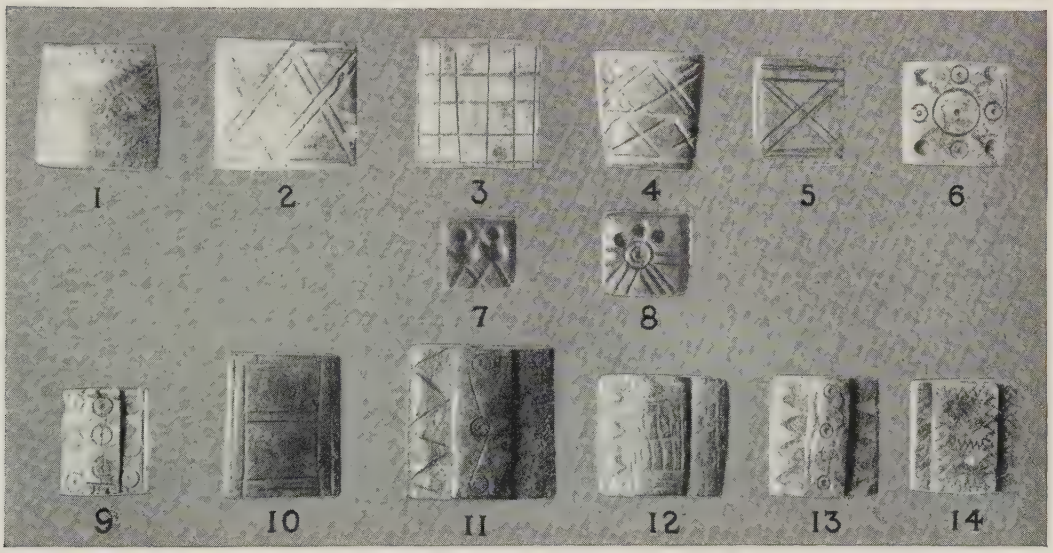
Bone Pins.

1. Pinhead discs. 2. Pinhead shanks. 1*a*, disc and shank together. 3. Fircone shaped pinheads. 4. Spherical pinheads. 5. Shanklike pinheads. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see pp. 226, 227*).





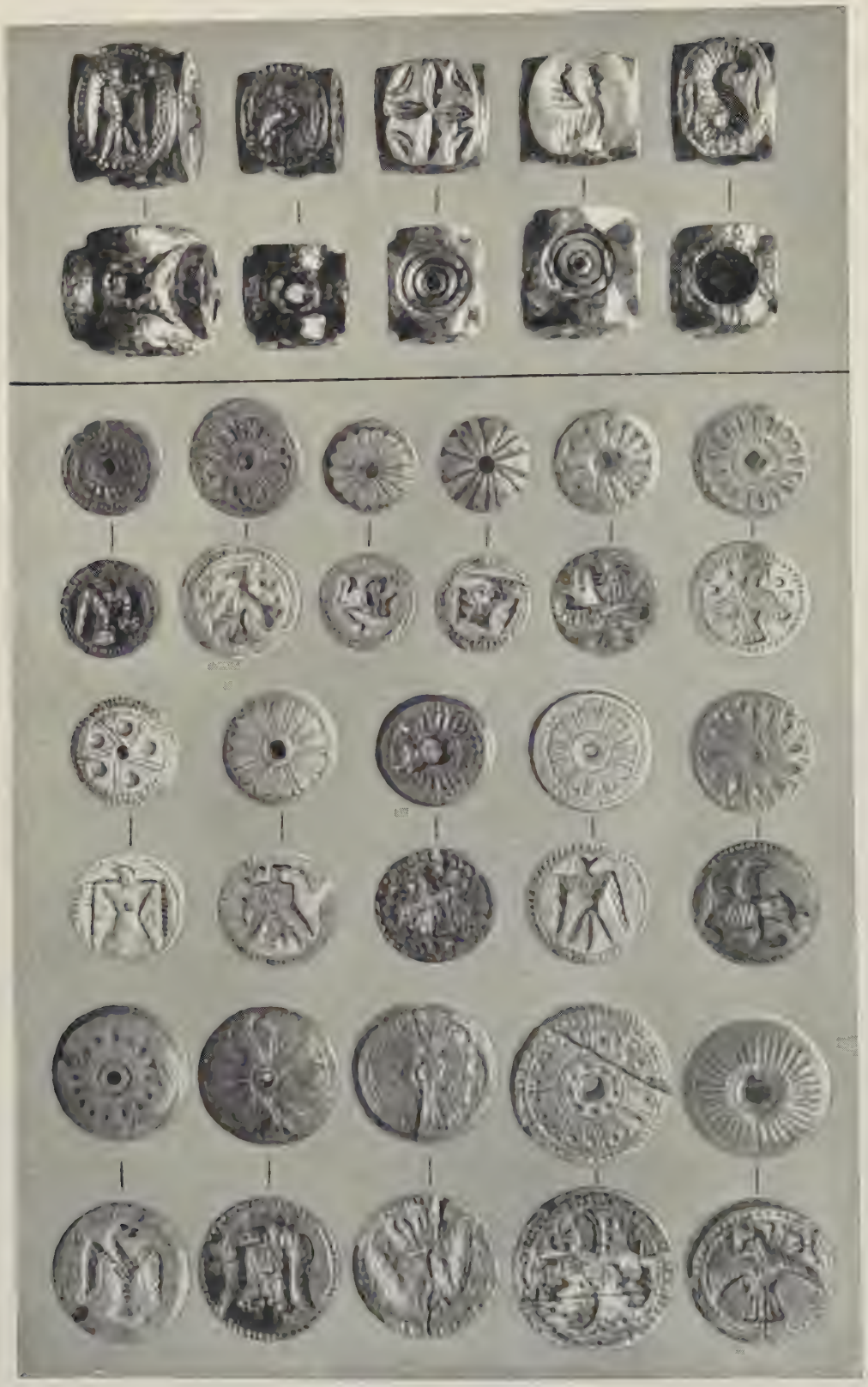


a–e. Bone pinheads. 1–14. Bone beads.
Photographs 4 : 5. Drawings 3 : 2.
(*see pp. 227, 228*).

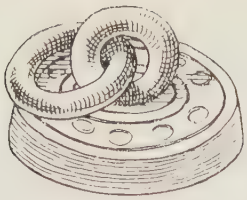
Bone Beads. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 228*).

Three four-faced Seals (class 1).
a, *f* and *l* show the Seals.
b–e, *g–k*, *m–p* respectively their four faces. Scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 228*).

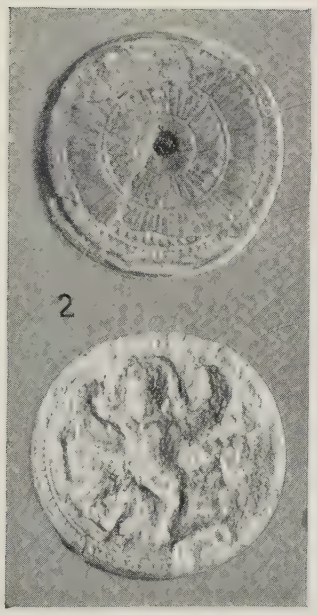


Five Seals (Class 1), side and end view.
Sixteen Bone Seals (Class 2), top and bottom. Scale 4 : 5
(*see pp. 228, 229*).

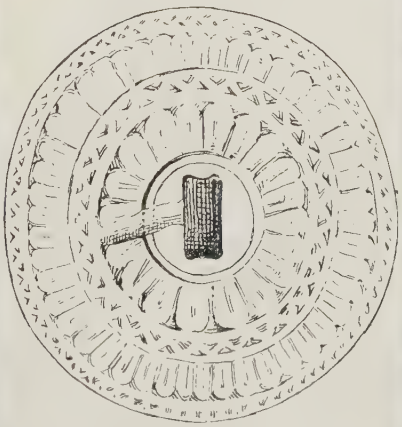


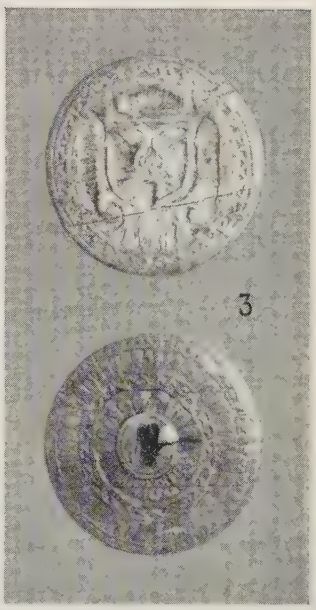
1

3

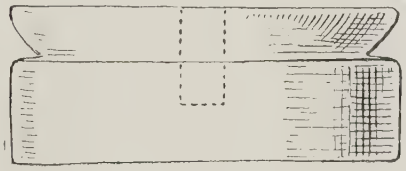


2





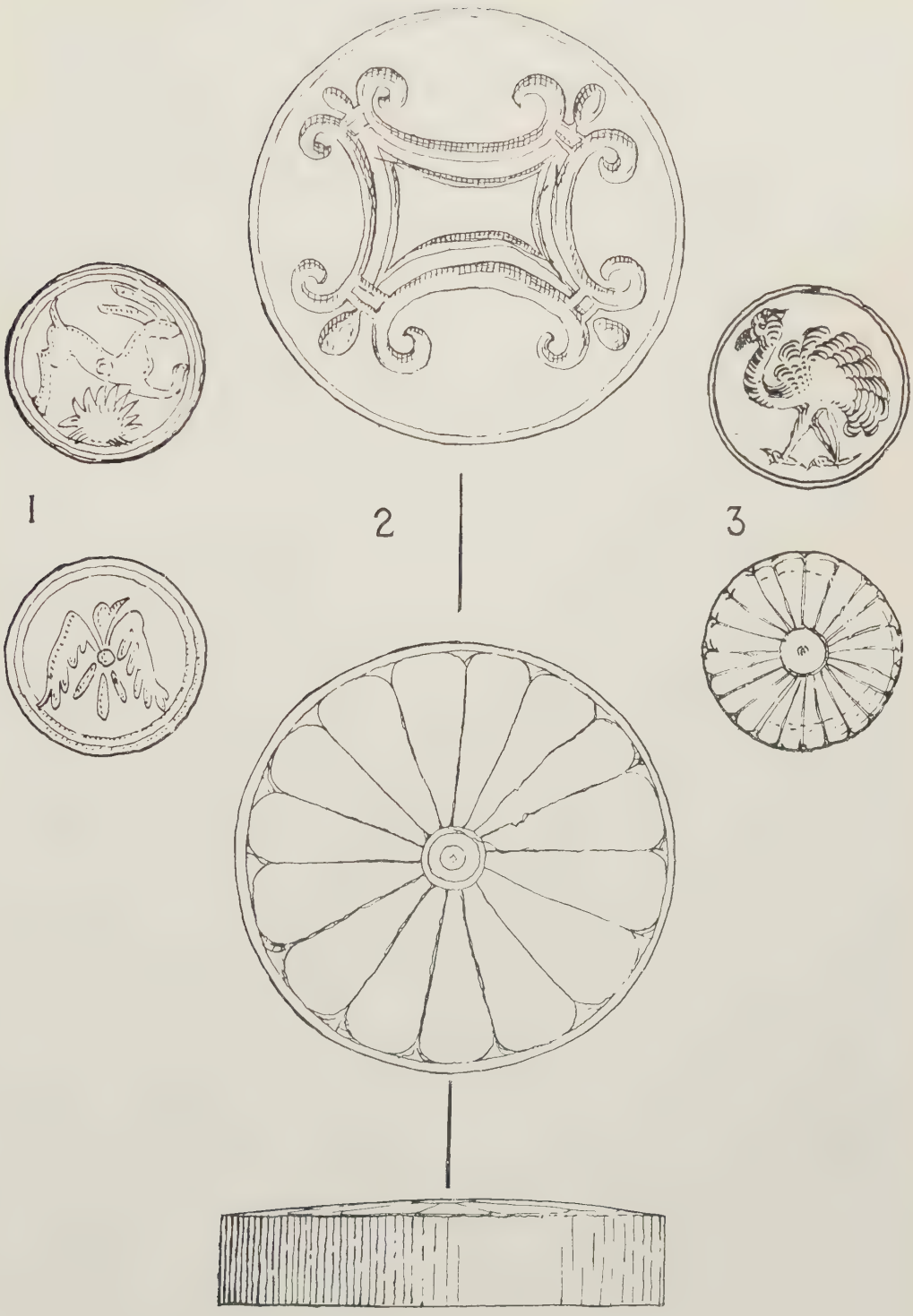
3



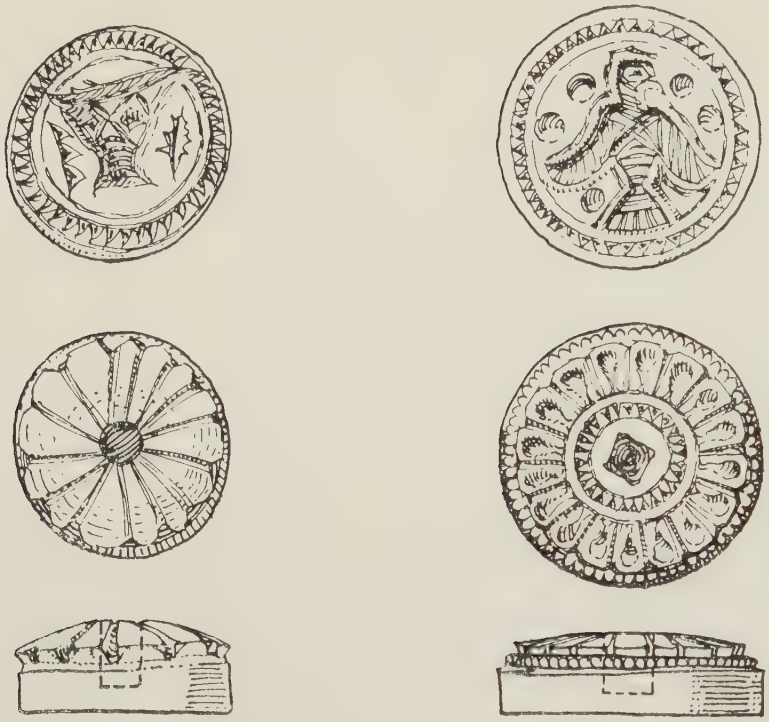
Three Bone Seals (class 2).
1, Seal with iron attachment.
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 229*).

Five Bone Seals (class 2). Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 229*).



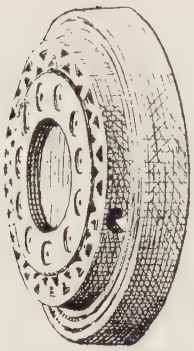
Three bone seals (class 2). Scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 229*).

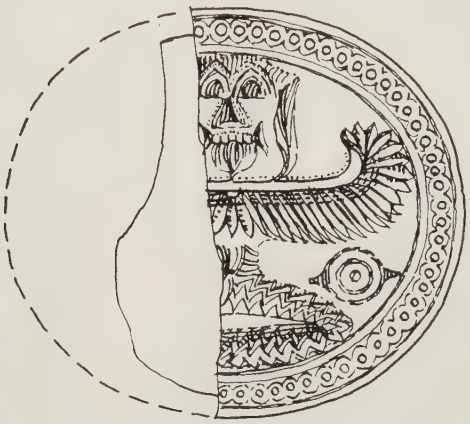


Two Bone Seals (class 2). Scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 229*).

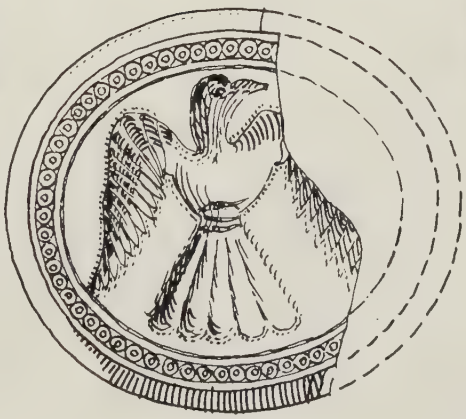
Twelve Disc Seals (class 3). Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 229, 230*).

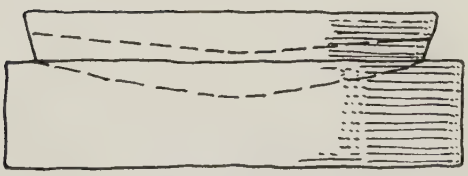
1



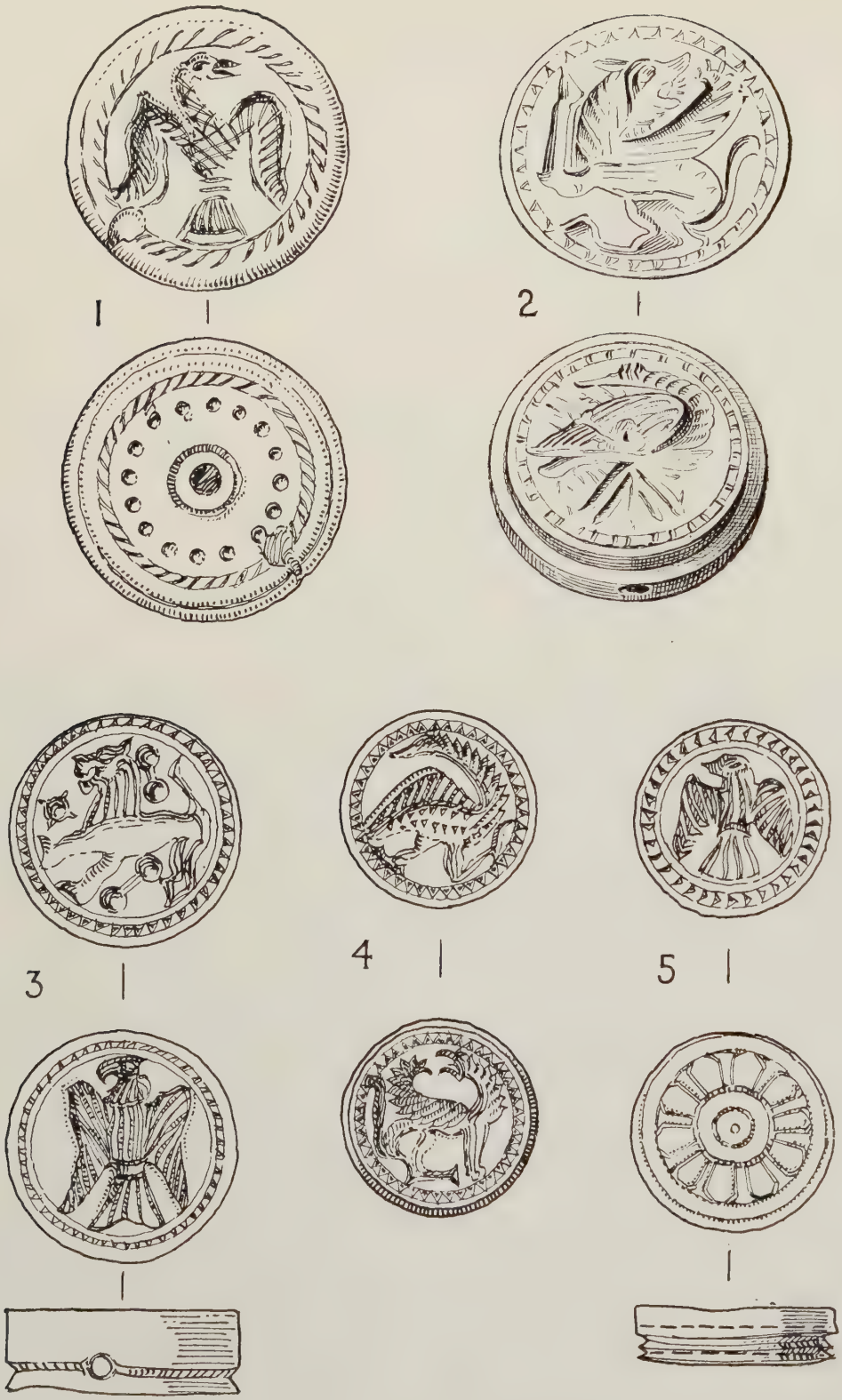


2





Two ivory seals (class 3).
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 230*).



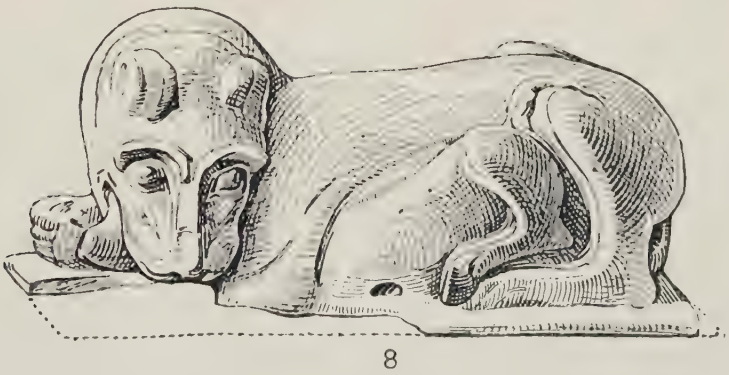
Five Bone Seals (class 3). Scale 3 : 2.

(*see pp. 229, 230*).

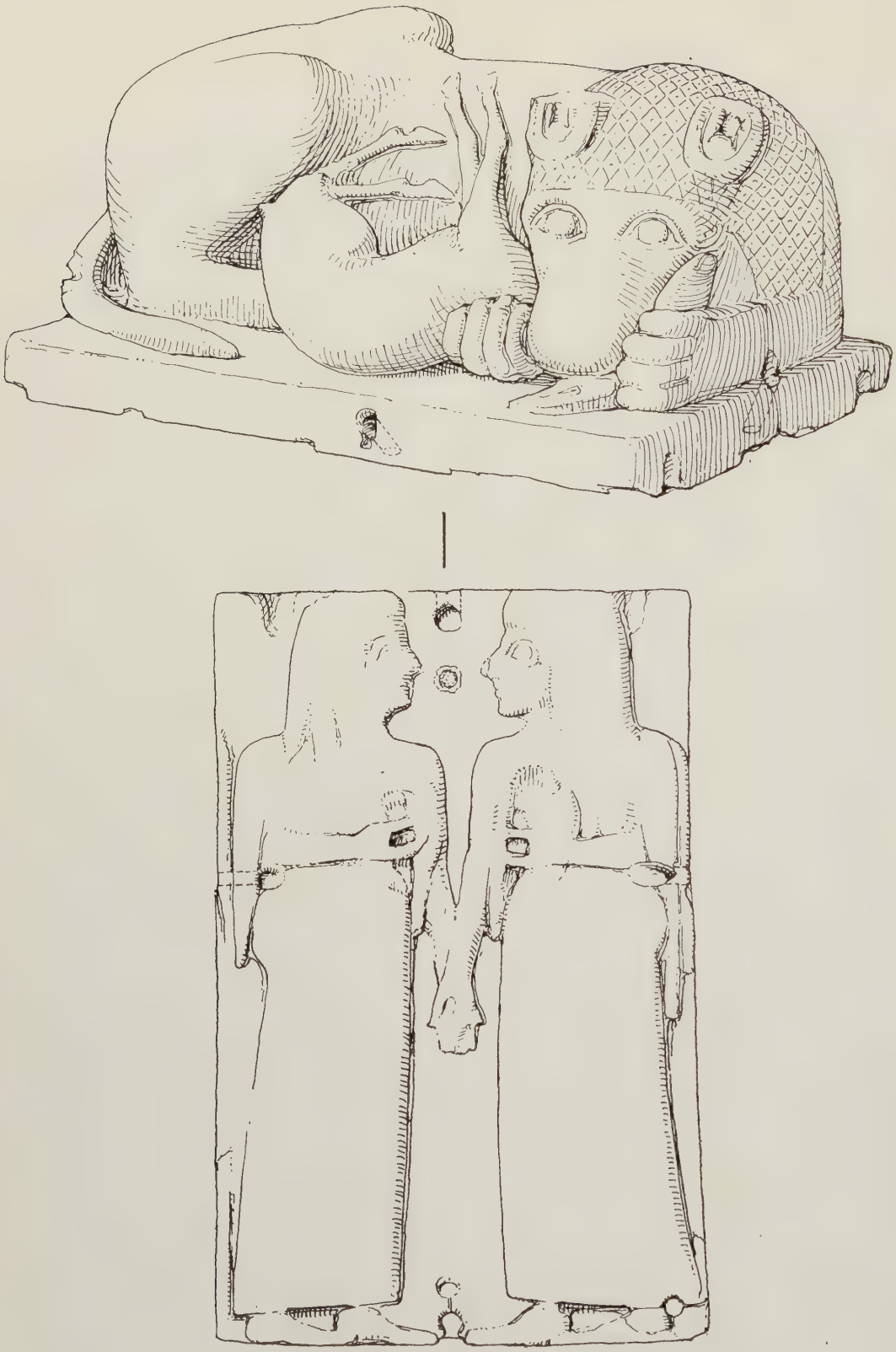
Bone seals (class 4).
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 230*).

Ivory figures of couchant animals. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 230 sqq.*)

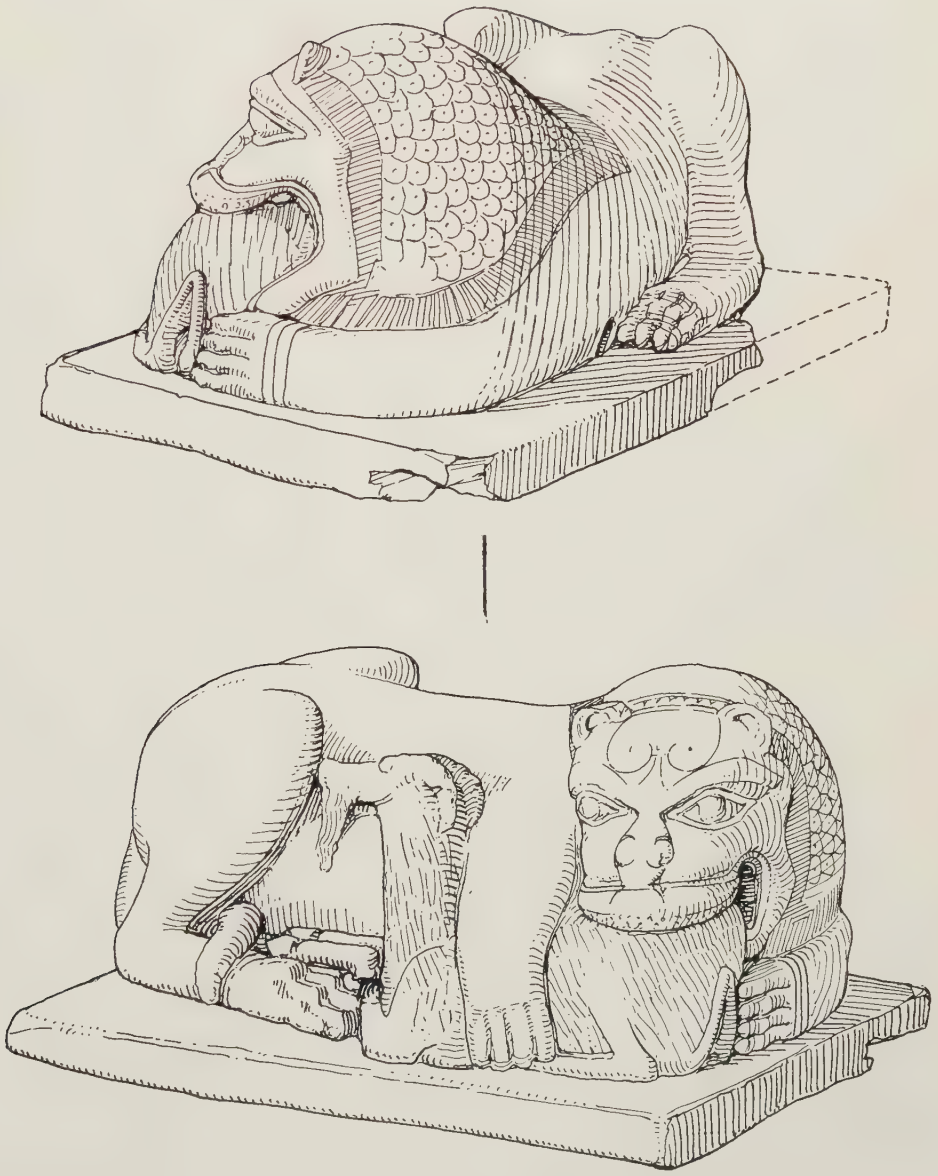


Ivory figures of couchant animals. 5 and 8 are the same object.
Drawing, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(see p. 230 sqq.)



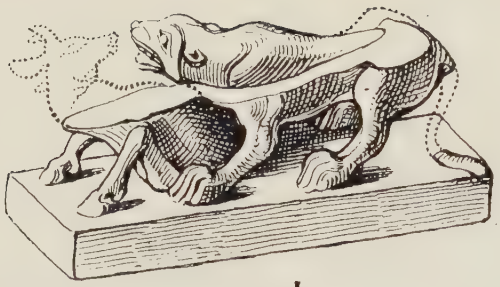
Ivory Lion, with relief from under base. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 233*).

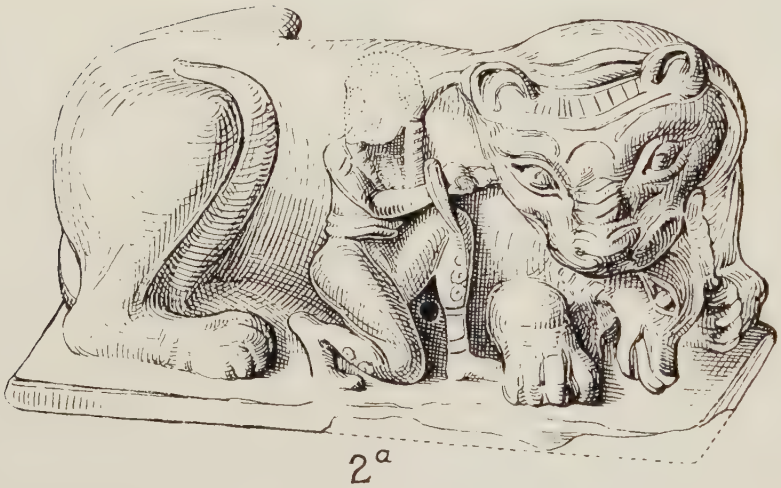


Ivory Lion. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 233*).

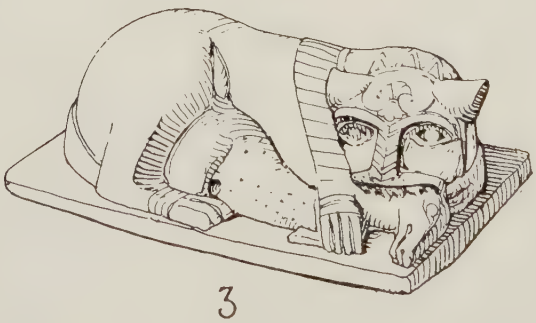


1



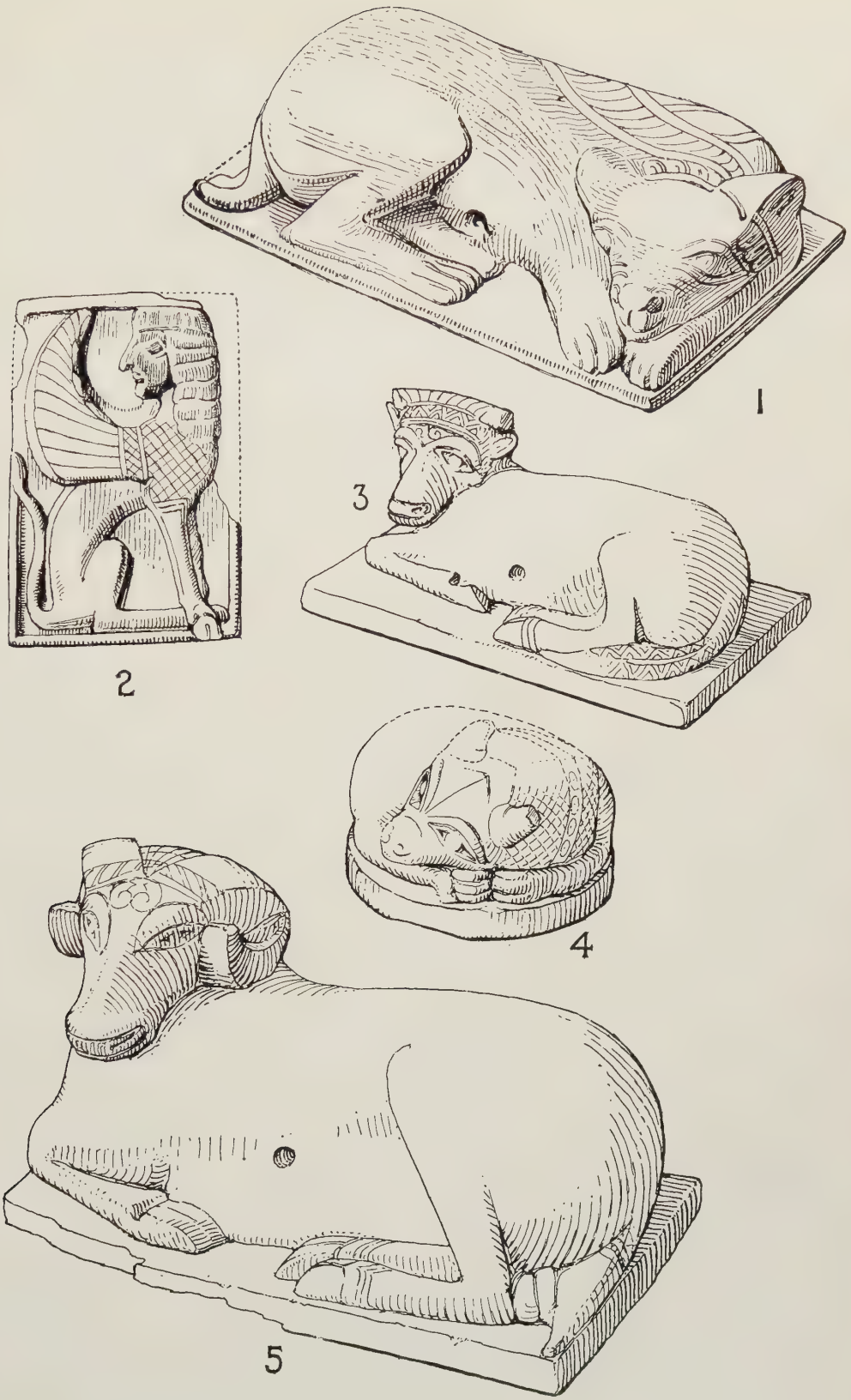
2ª

2ᵇ



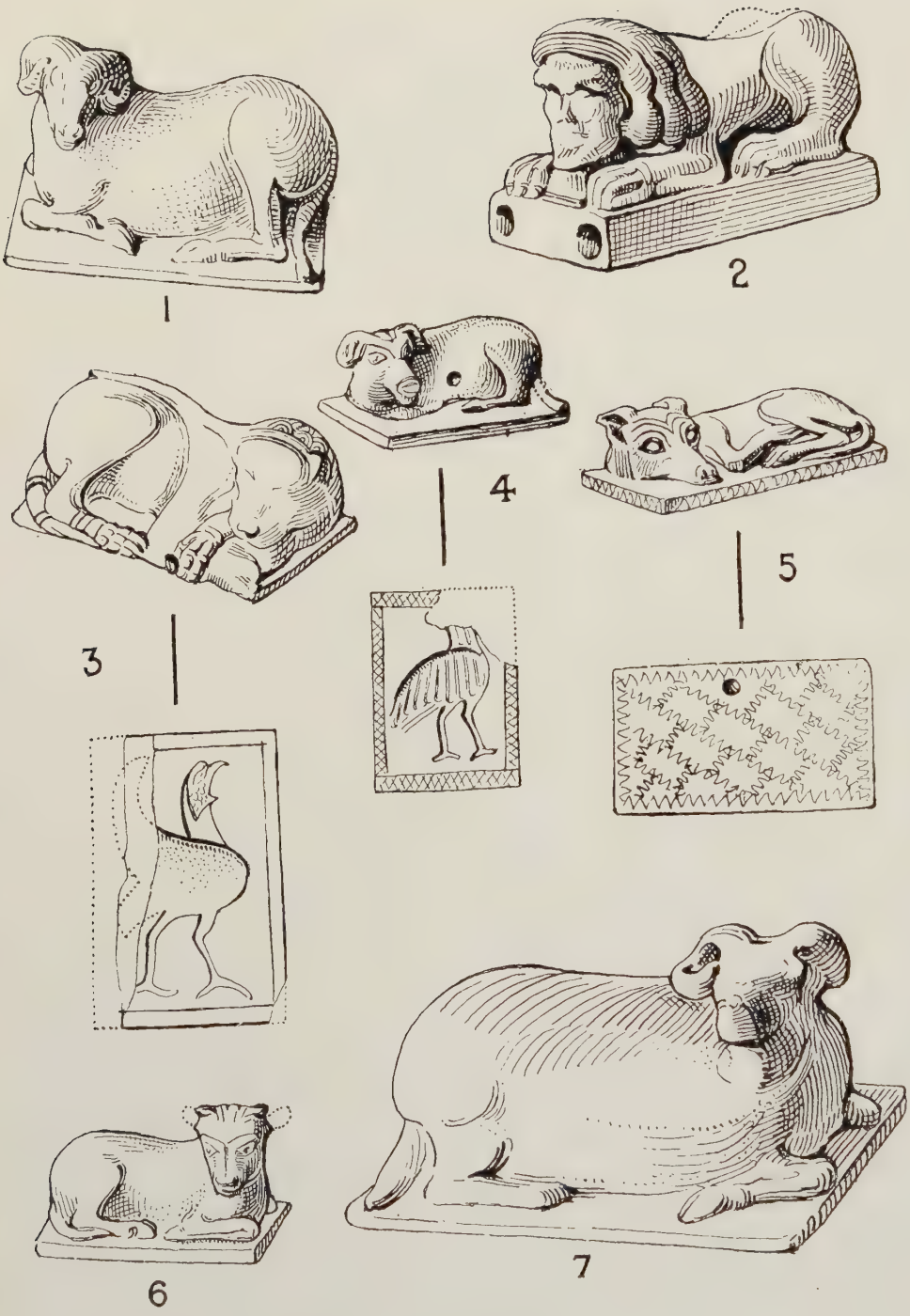
3

Ivory figures of couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.
1. Dog and calf. 2. Lioness, calf and man. 3. Lion and calf.
(*see p. 233*).

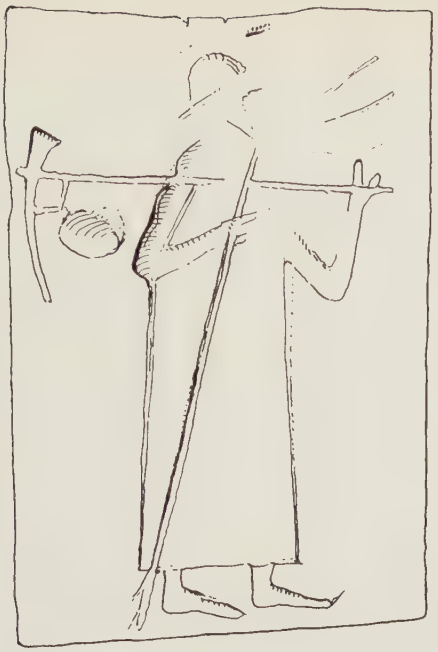


Ivory figures of couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 230 sqq.*)



Ivory figures of couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.
3, 4 and 5, show designs from under bases.
(*see p. 230 sqq.*)

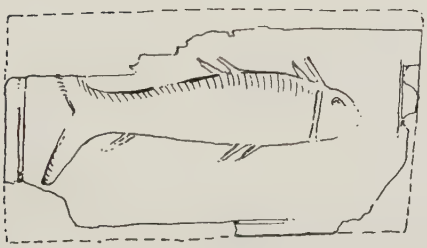


1

2

3

4



5

6

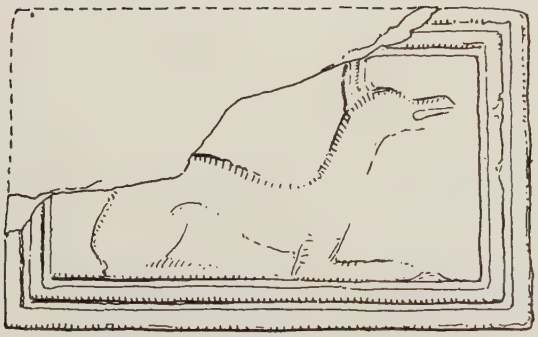
Intagli under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see p. 235*).

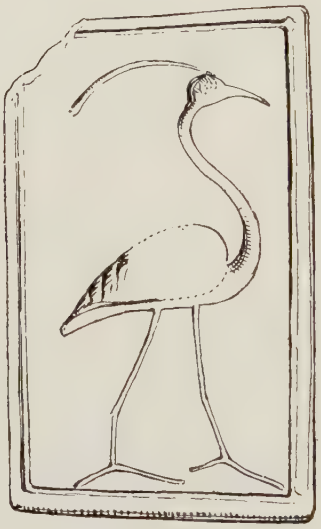
1

2

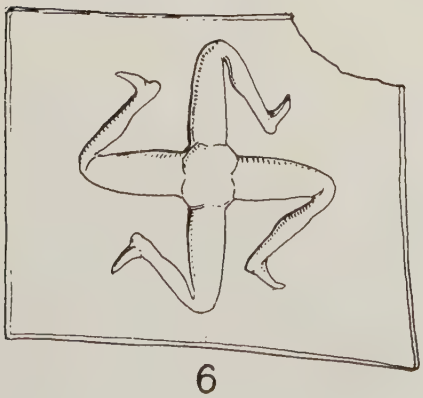
3



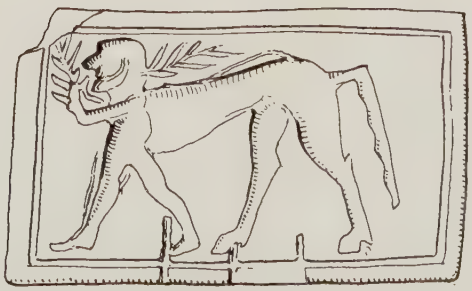
4



5



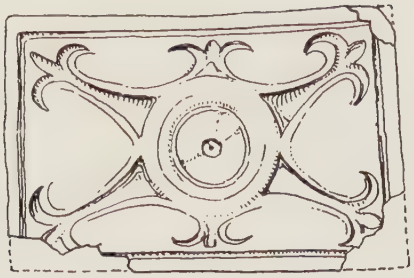
6



7

Intagli under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

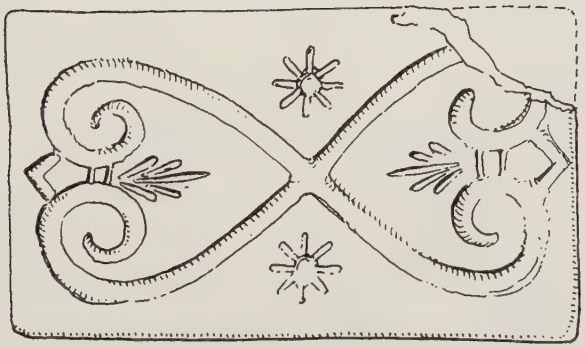
(*see p. 235*).



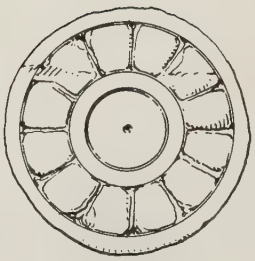
1

2

3



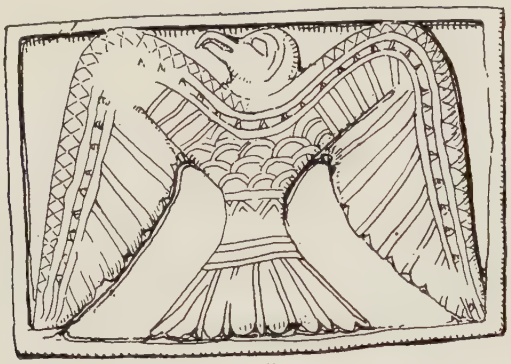
4



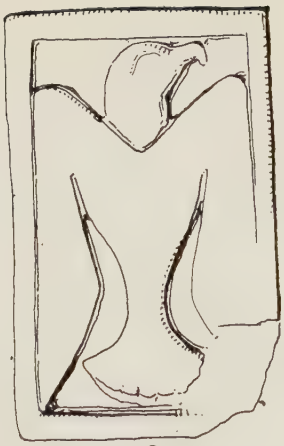
5

Intagli under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

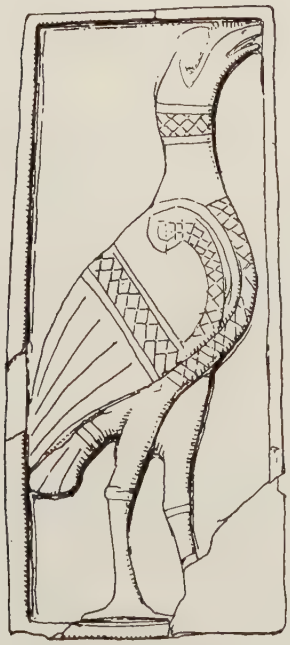
(*see p. 235*).



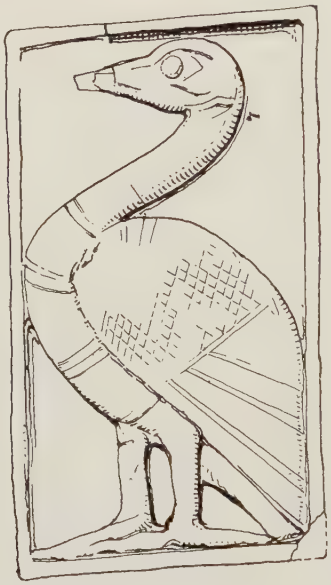
1



2



3

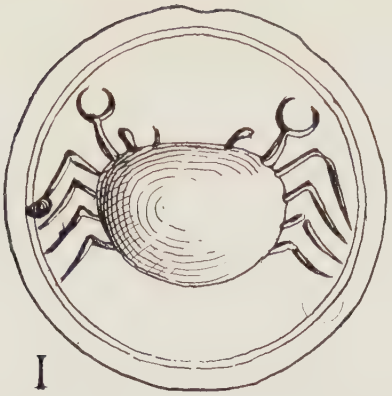


4

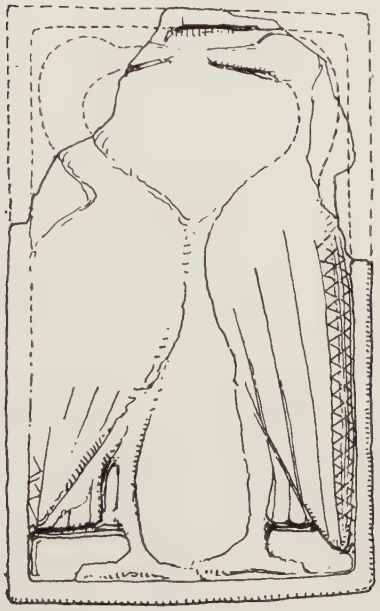
5

Reliefs under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

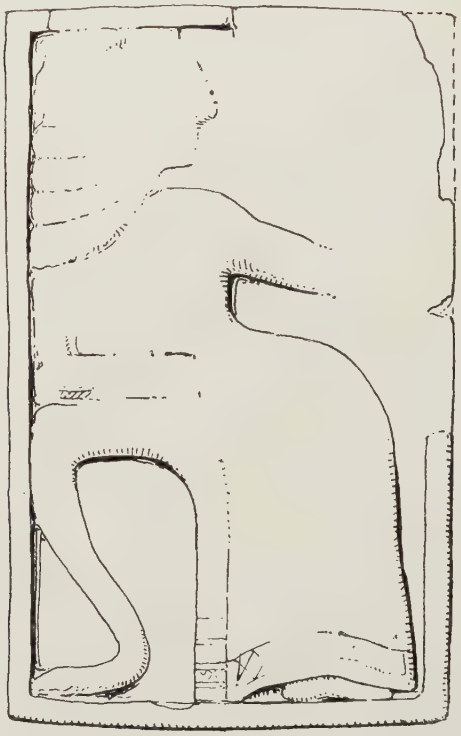
(*see p. 235*).



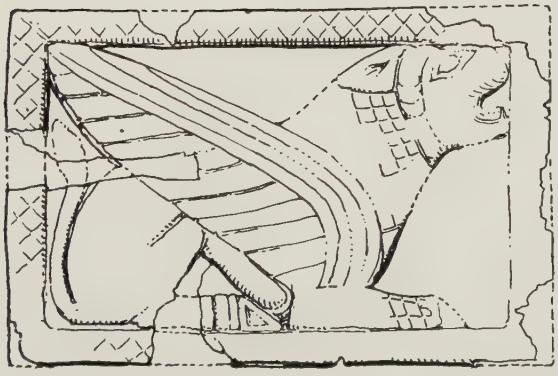
1



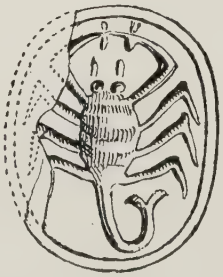
2



3



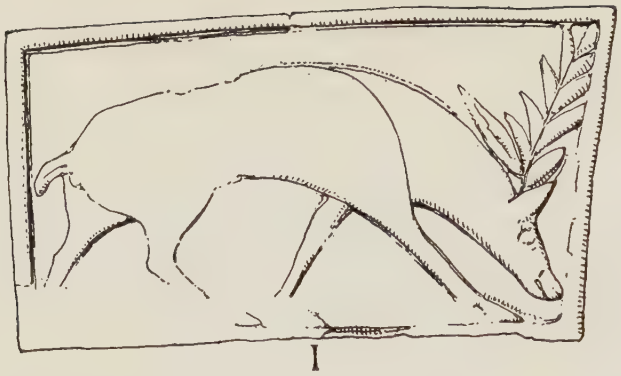
4



5

Reliefs under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.
1 and 5 are intagli.

(*see p. 235*).

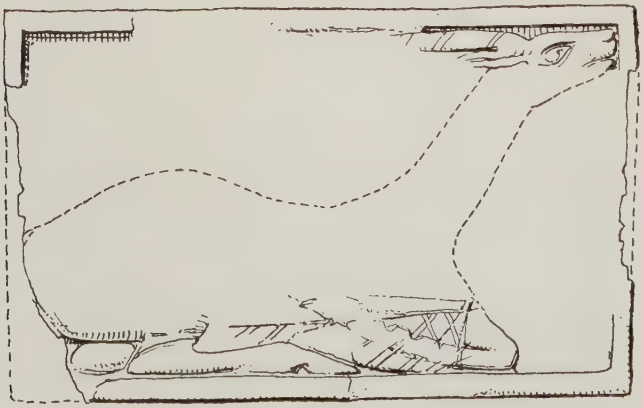


1

2

3a

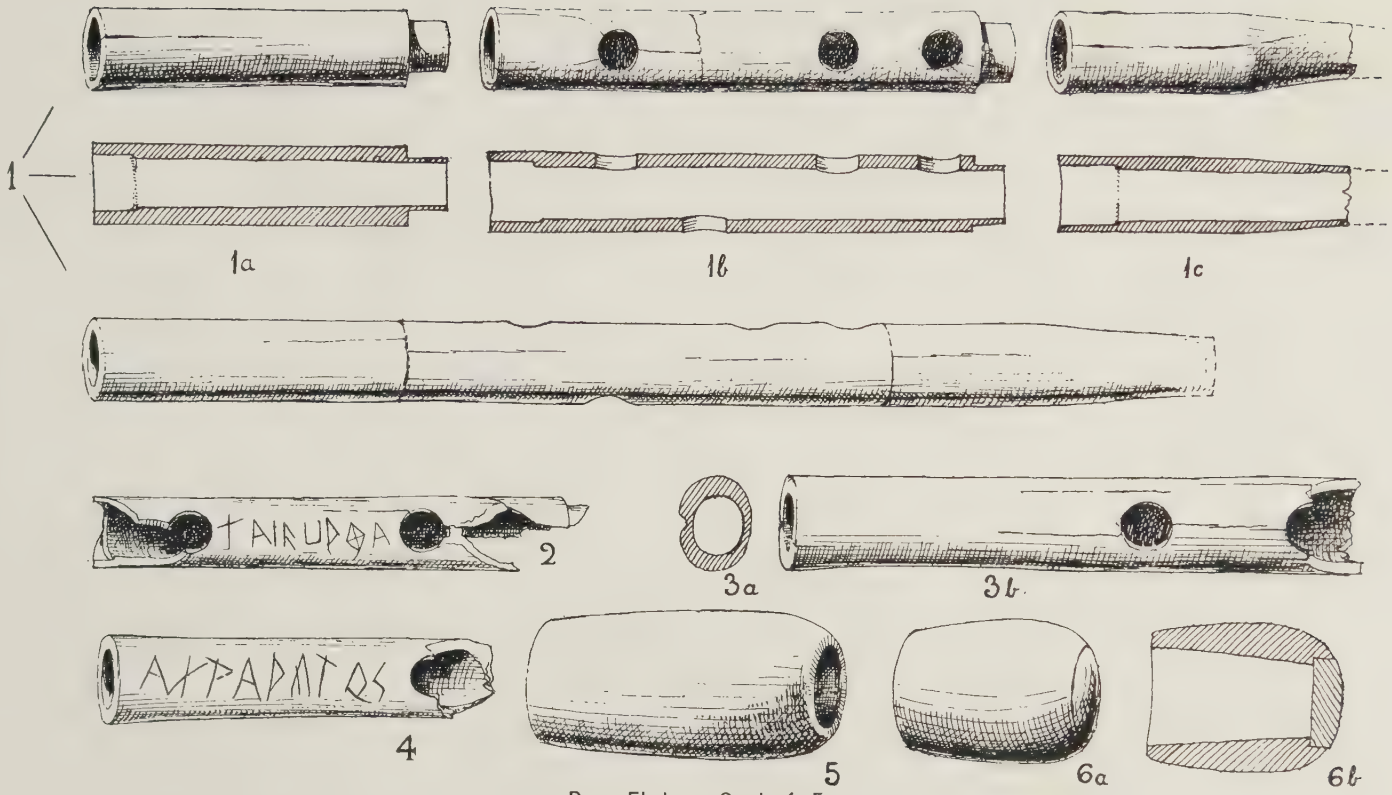
3b



4

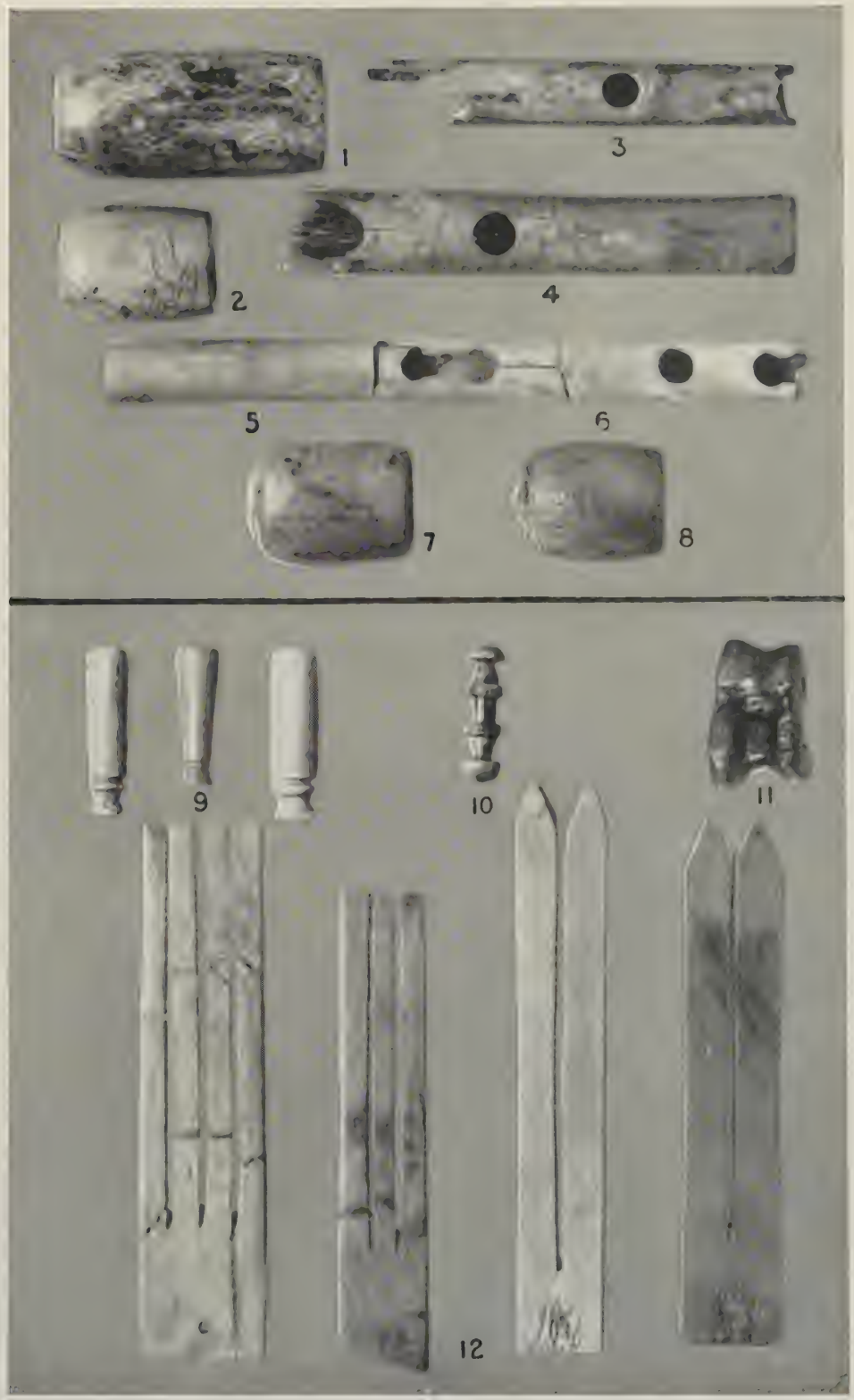
Reliefs under ivory couchant animals. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see pp. 235, 236*).



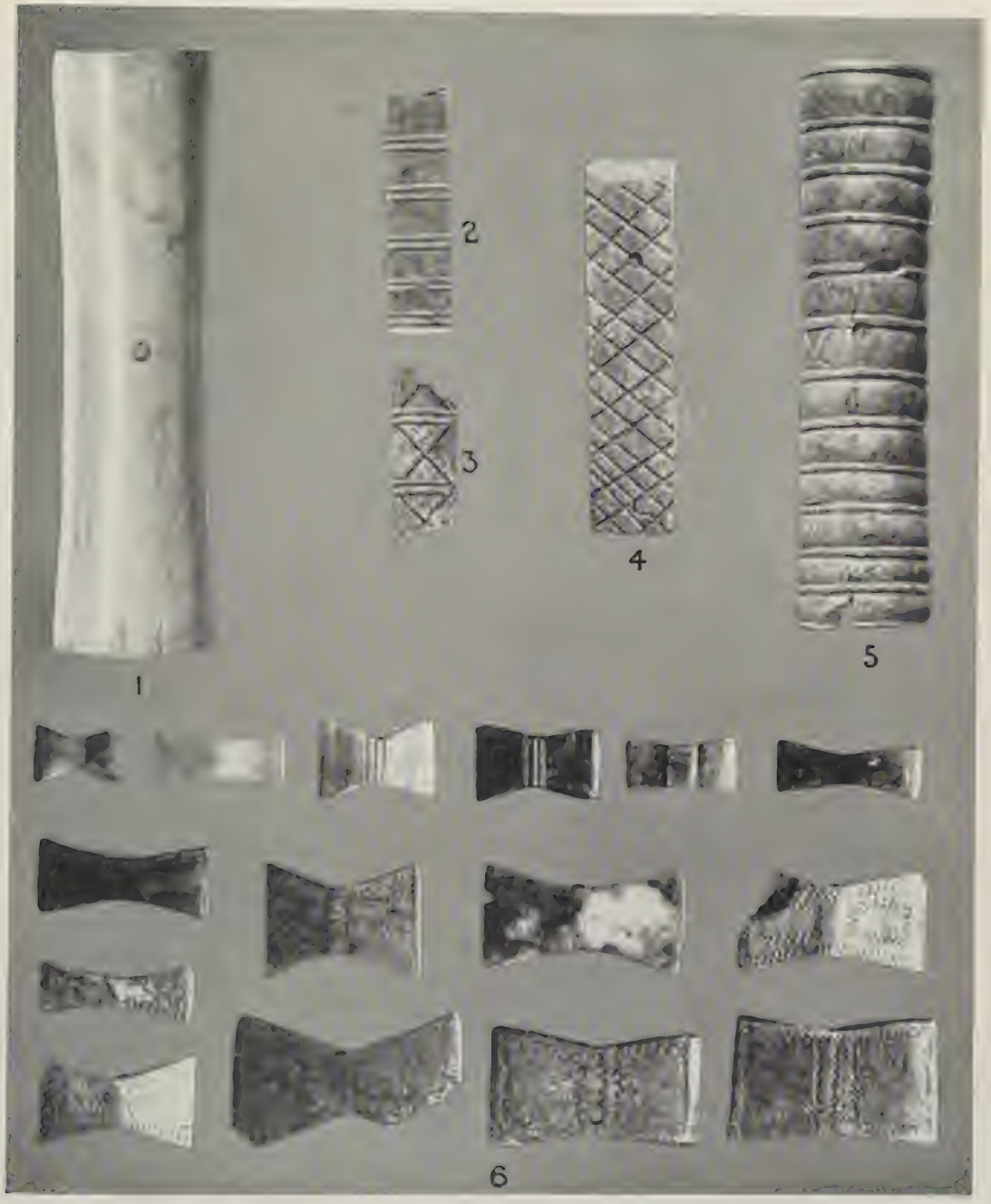
Bone Flutes. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see pp. 236, 237*).

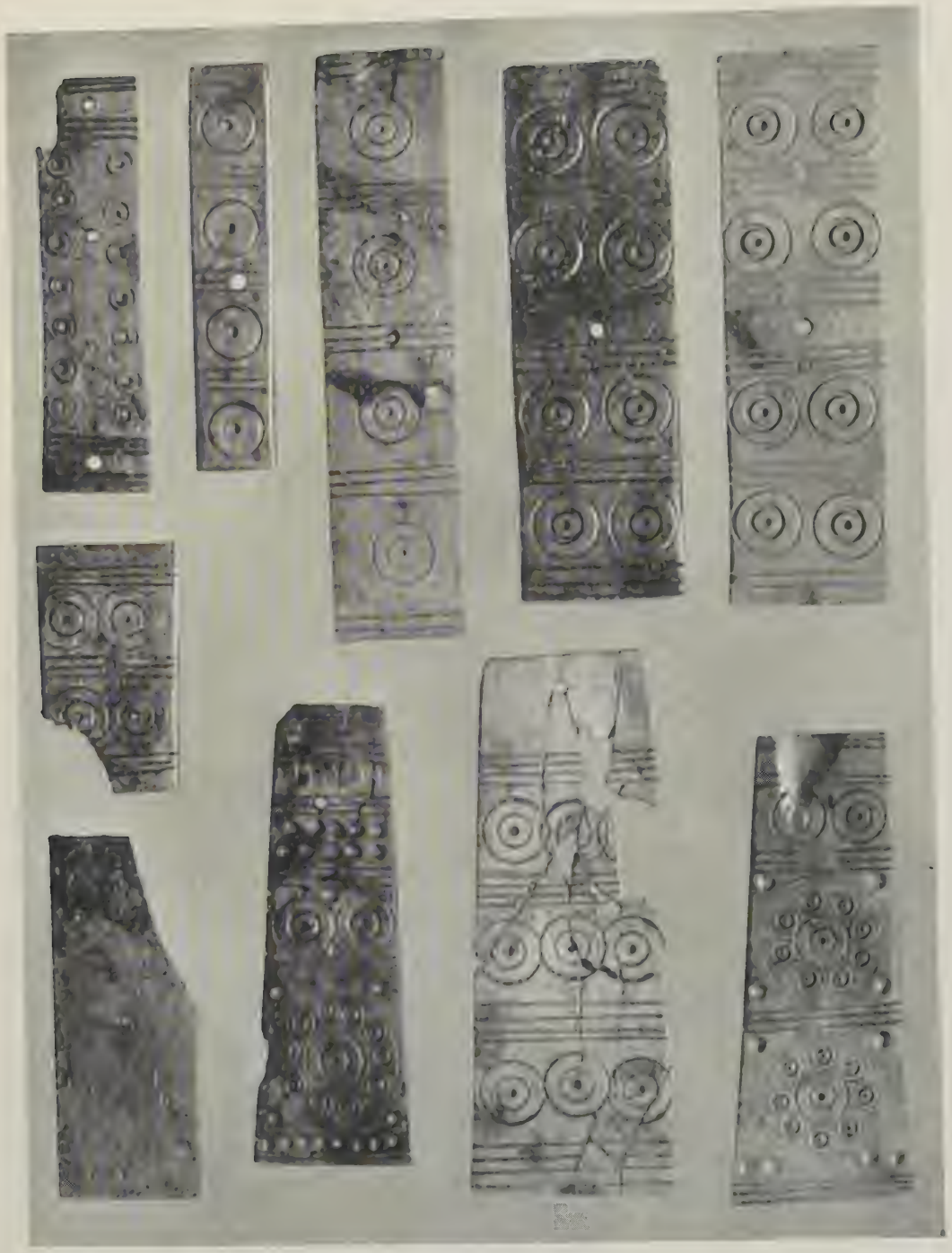


1—8. Bone Flutes. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 236, 237*).

9—12. Miscellaneous classes of bone objects. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 237*).



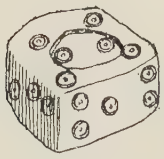
Miscellaneous classes of bone objects. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 237, 238*).



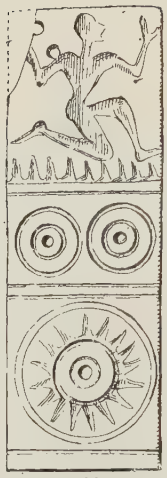
Ornamented strips of bone. Scale 4 : 5.

(*see p. 238*).

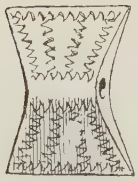
Ornamented strips of bone. Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 238*).



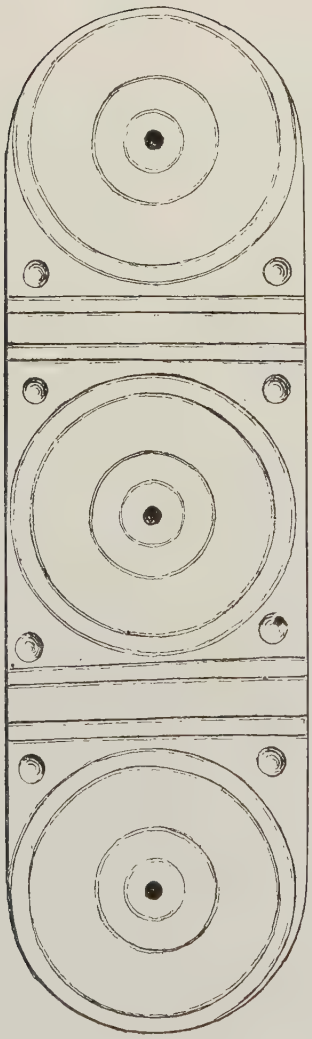
1



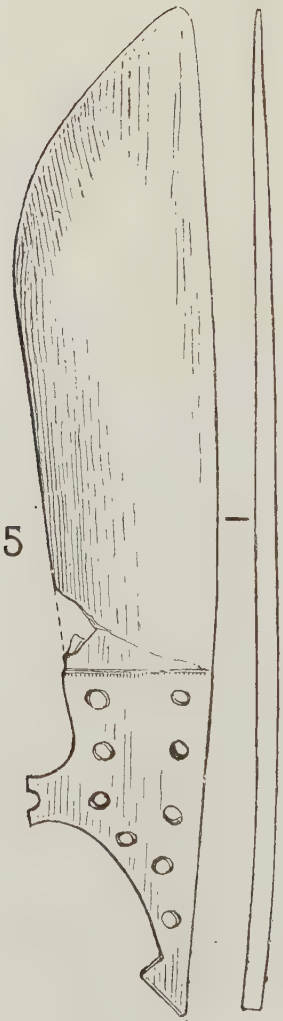
3



2



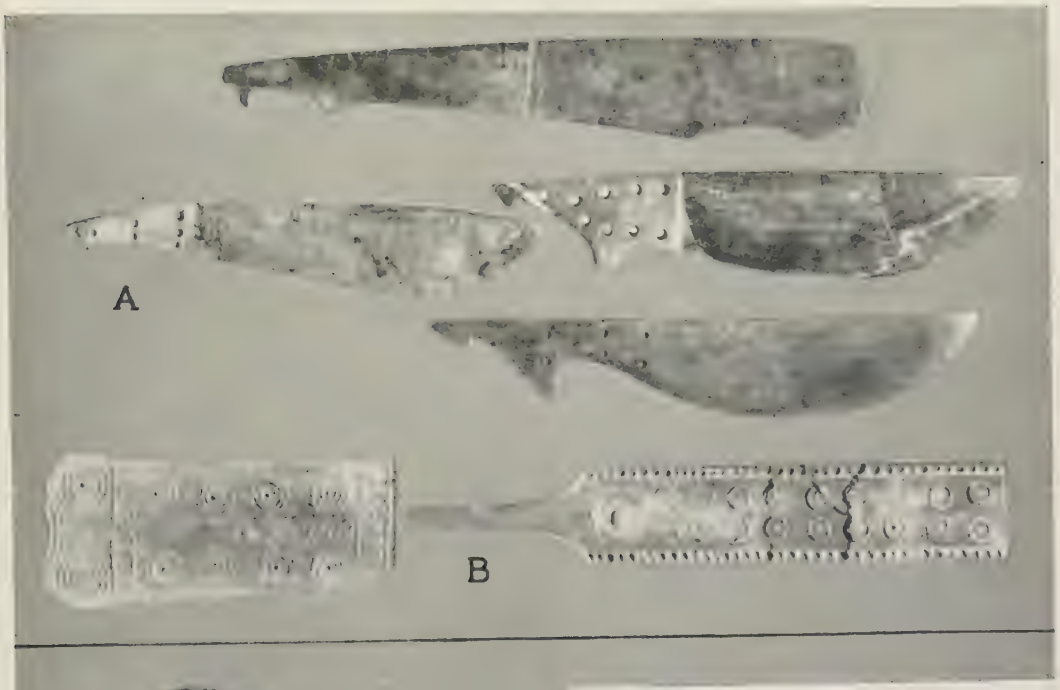
4



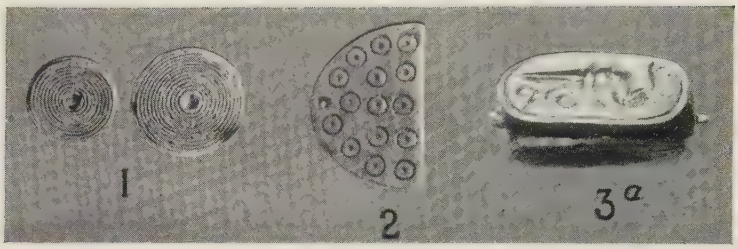
5

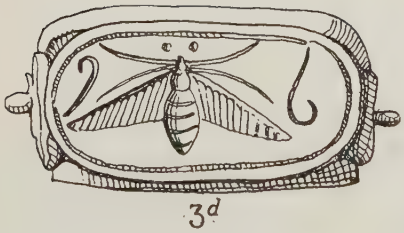
Examples of miscellaneous classes of Bone objects. Scale 3 : 2.

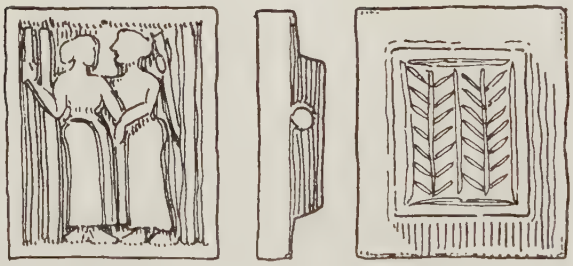
(*see pp. 237–239*).



A. Bone and Ivory Plectra. (*see p. 239*).
B. Ivory kohl-needles. (*see p. 239*).
1 and 2. Ivory objects. Before 740 B.C. (*see p. 239*).
Drawing, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.

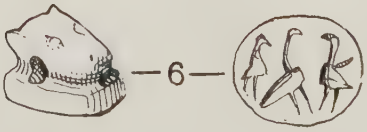






4

5

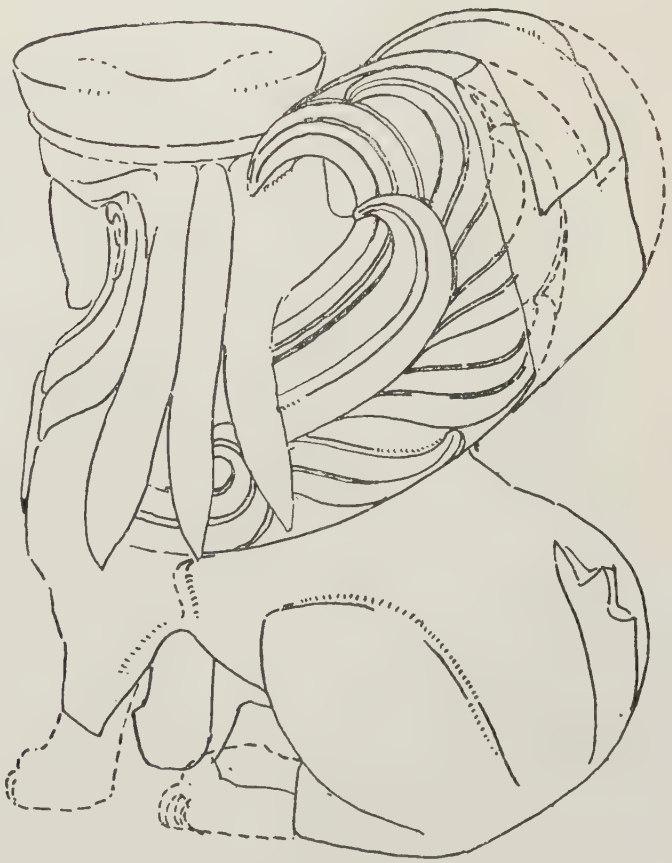


Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory and Bone. Before 740 B.C.
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 239, 240*).

1

2

3



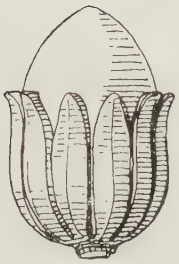
4

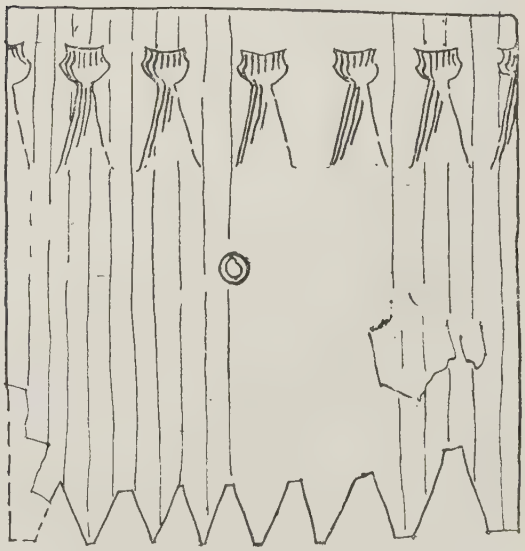
Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory. 740–670 B.C.
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 240*).

1. Ivory object. Period 740–670 B.C.
(*see p. 241*).

2–6. Ivory and Bone objects. 670–635 B.C.
(*see pp. 241, 242*).

Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.

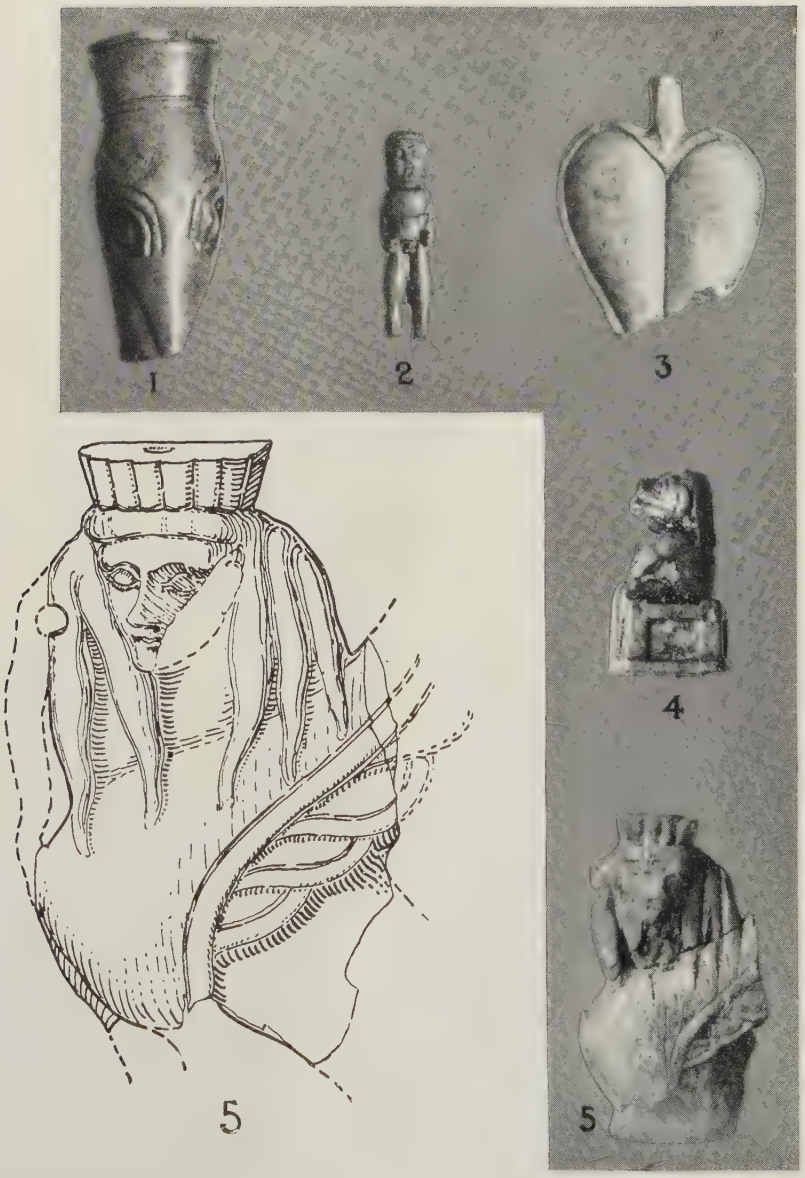




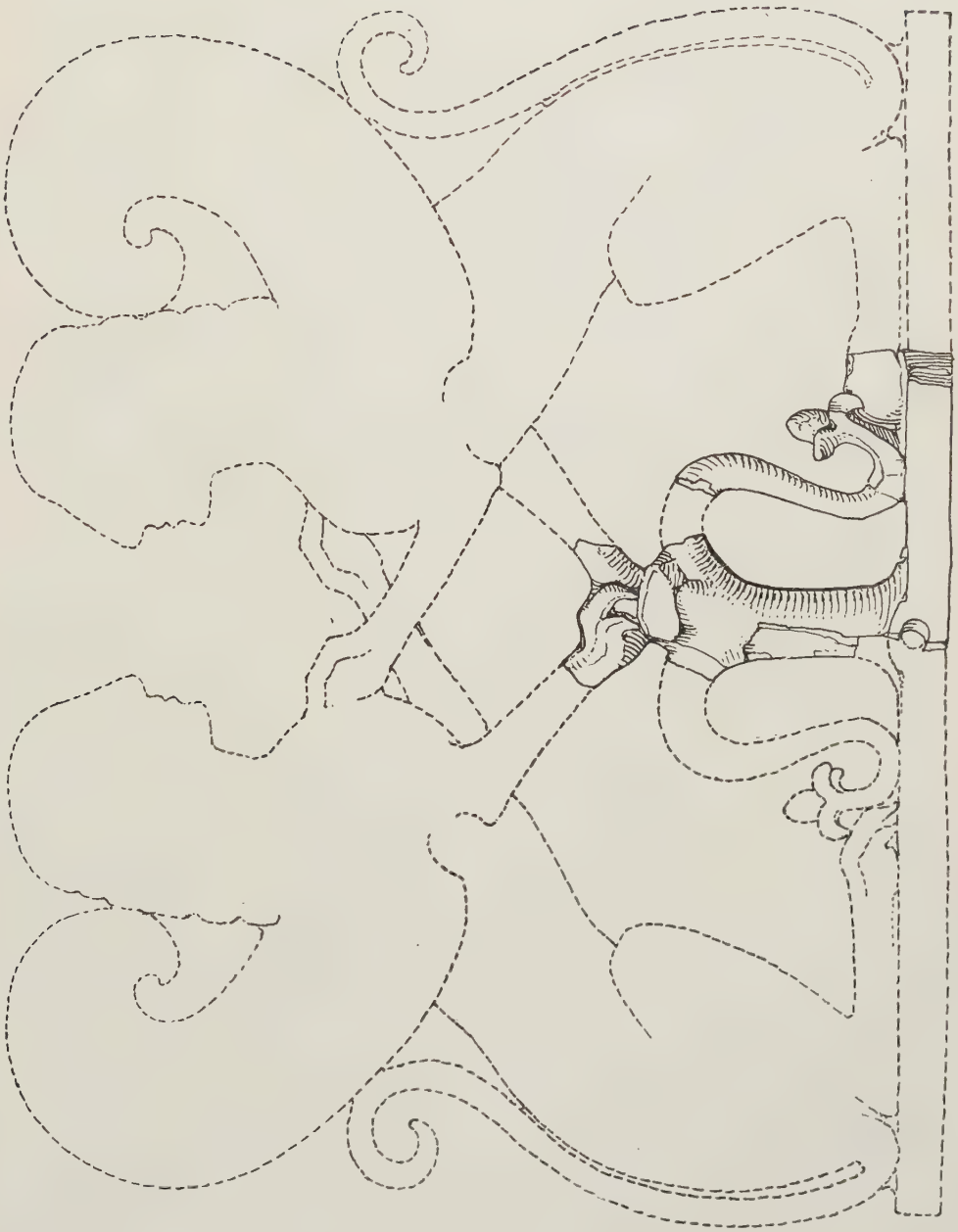
1–3. Ivory and Bone objects. 670–635 B.C. (*see p. 242*).
4–6. Ivory carvings. 635–600 B.C. (*see p. 242*).
Drawings, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.

Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory and Bone. 600–500 B.C.
Drawing, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see pp. 242, 243*).

Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory and Bone. Scale 4 : 5.
1–8. Probably not later than 500 B.C. (*see p. 243*).
9, 10. 500 425 B.C. (*see p. 243*).
11–14. Not earlier than IV century B.C. (*see p. 244*).



Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory and Bone of unknown date.
Drawing, scale 3 : 2. Photographs, scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 244*).



Ivory carving of unknown date. Probable restoration. Scale 3 : 2.
(*see p. 244*).

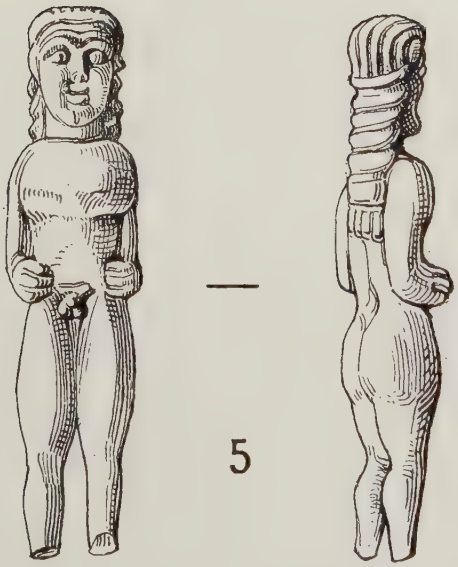
1

2

3

1

4



5

Miscellaneous carvings in Ivory and Bone of unknown date. Scale 3 : 2.

(*see pp. 244, 245*).

Lead figurines. Lead O.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see p. 253*).

Lead Figurines. Lead I.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 254 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead I.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 254 sqq.*)

Lead Figurines. Lead I.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 254 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead I
Scale 4 5. *(see pp. 254 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead I.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 254 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp, 264 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 264 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 264 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead II
Scale 4 : 5 (*see pp. 264 sqq.*)

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 264 sqq.*)

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 264 sqq.*)

Lead Figurines. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 264 sqq.*)

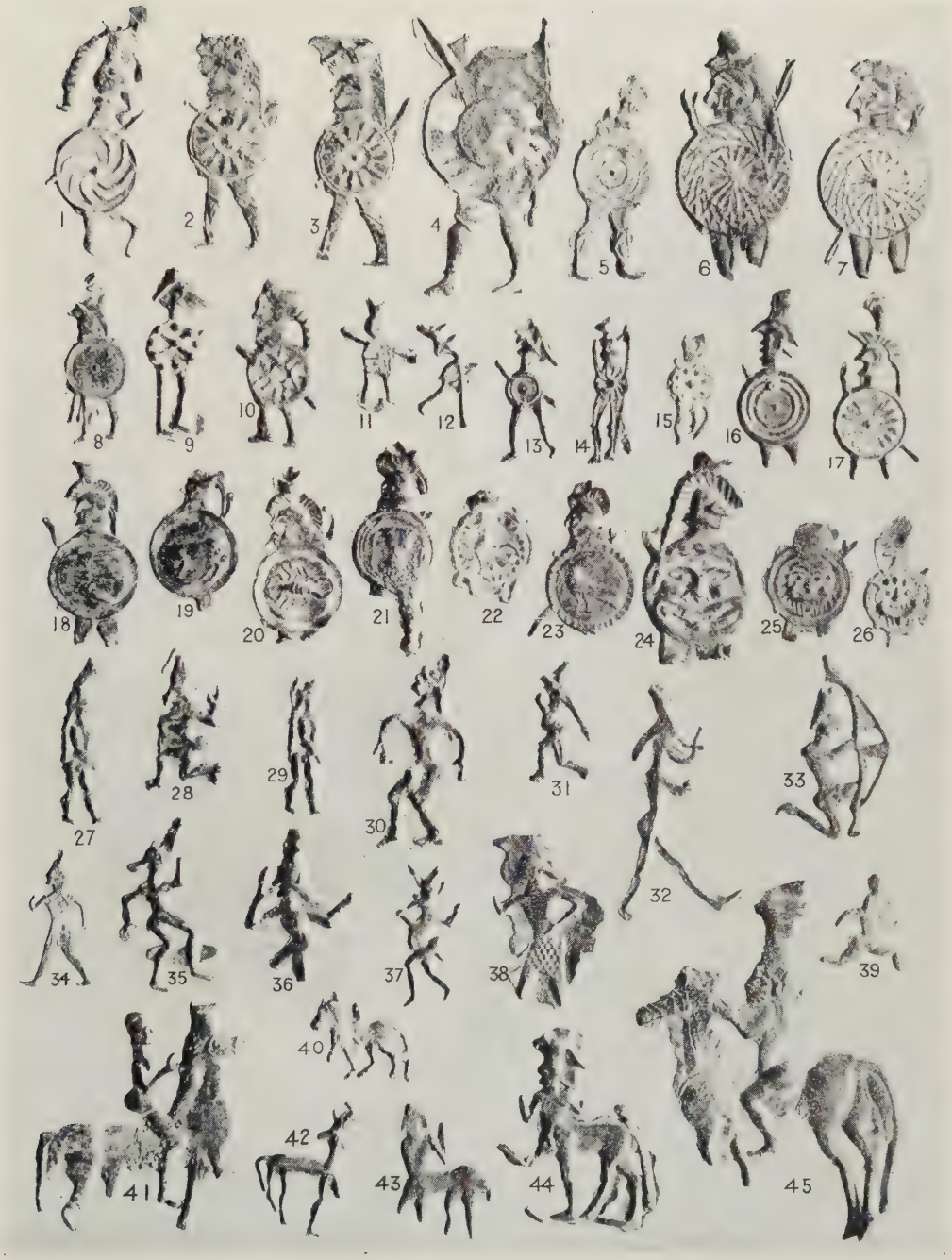
Solid Lead Figures. Lead II.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 267, 268.*)

Solid Lead Figures. Lead III.
No. 11 shows the method of casting the lead wreaths.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see p. 271*).

Lead Figurines. Lead III—IV.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 270 sqq.*)

Lead Figurines. Lead III—IV.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 270 sqq*).

Lead Figurines. Lead III—IV.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 270 sqq.*)



Lead Figurines. Lead III—IV.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 270 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead V.
Scale 4 : 5. *(see pp. 277 sqq.)*

Lead Figurines. Lead V.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see pp. 277 sqq.*)

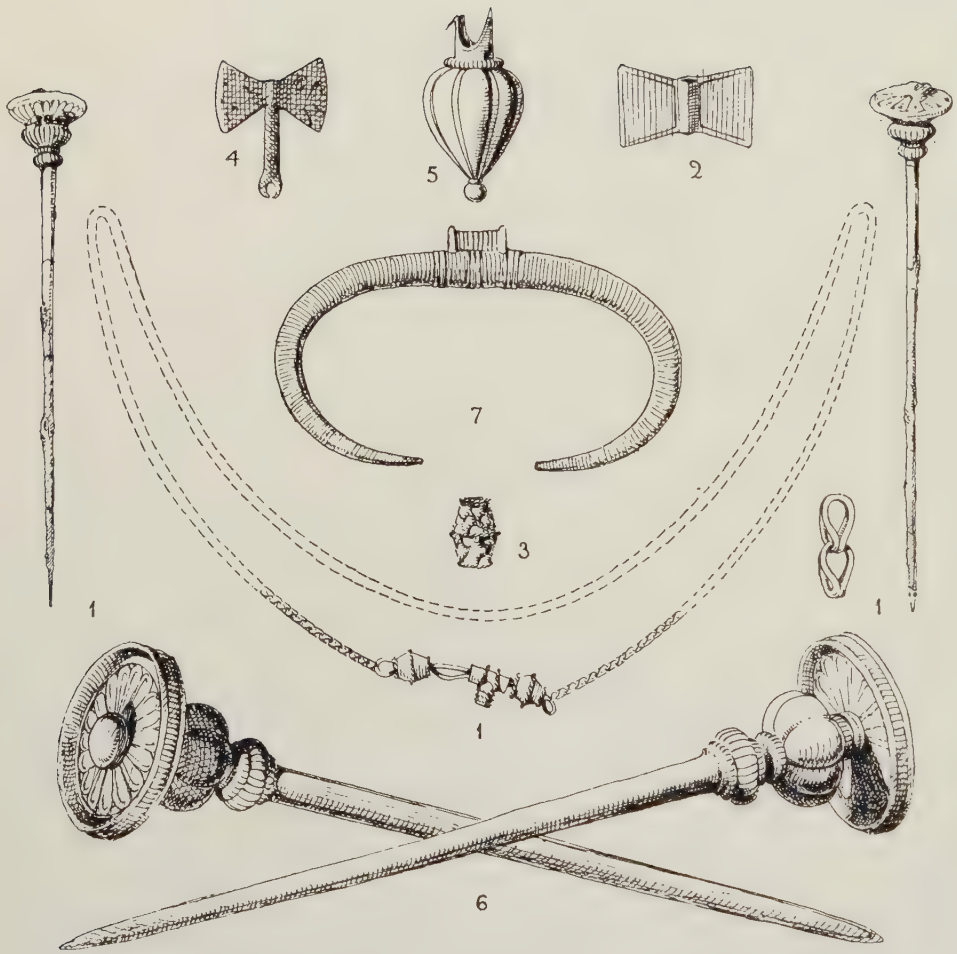
Lead Figurines. Lead VI.
Scale 4 : 5. (*see p. 279*).

(*a*) (*b*)

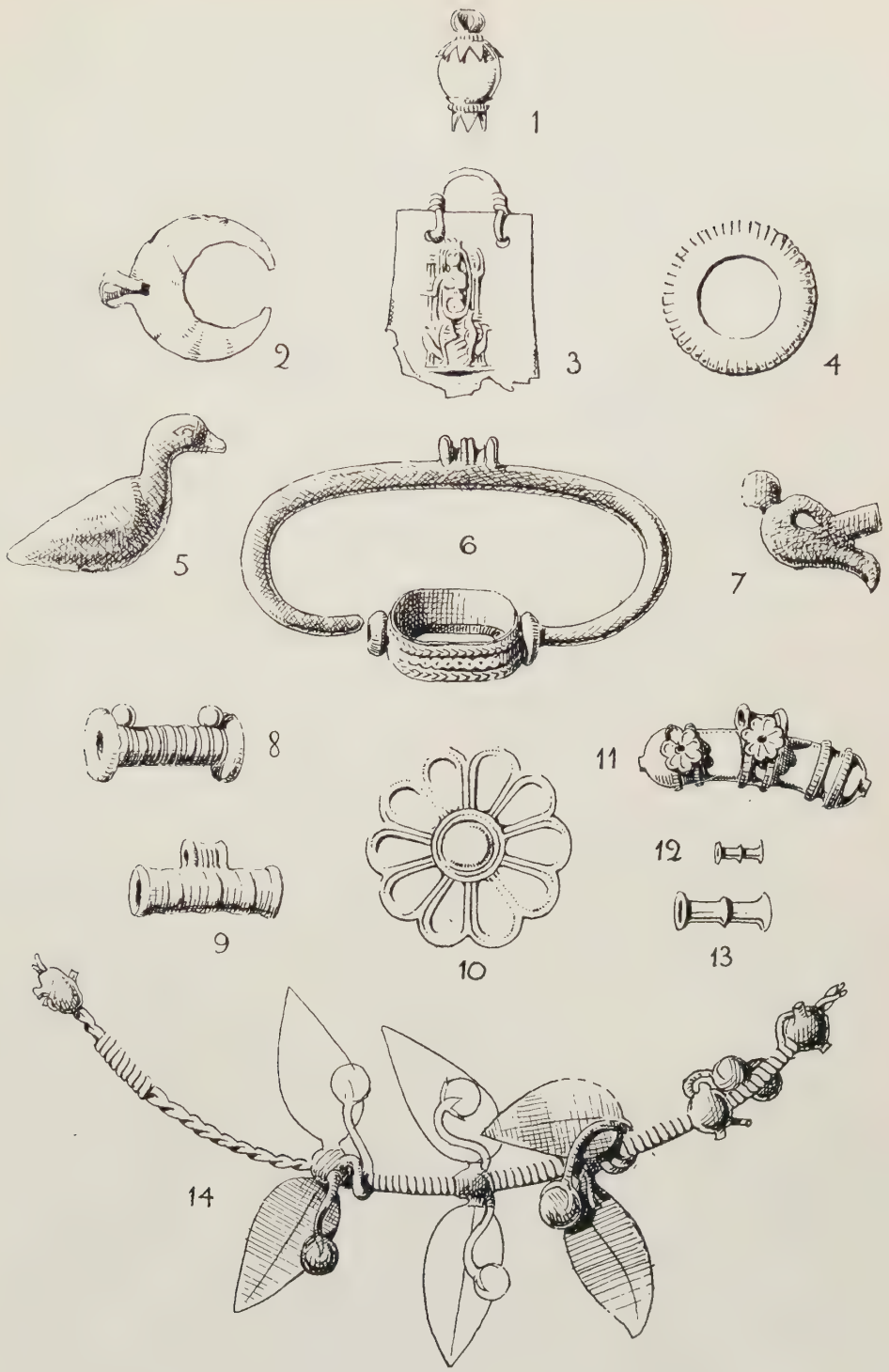
Inscribed Bases of Statues in honour of ΒΩΜΟΝΙΚΑΙ.

Nos. 142 (a) and 143 (b).

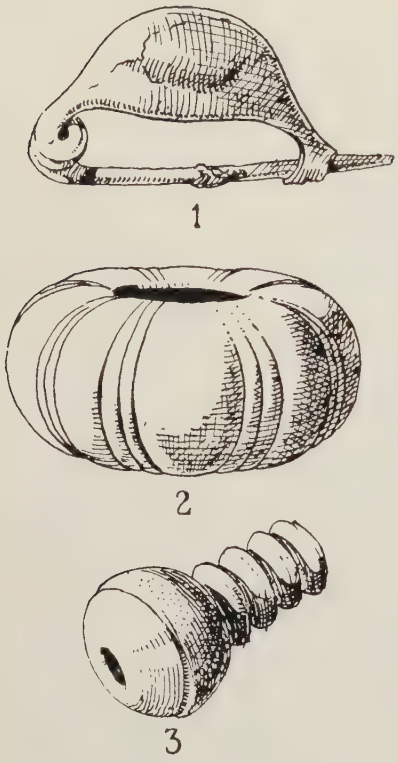
(*see p. 356*).



Gold and silver jewellery.
Scale 4 : 5.
(*see p. 383*).

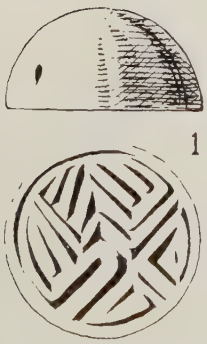


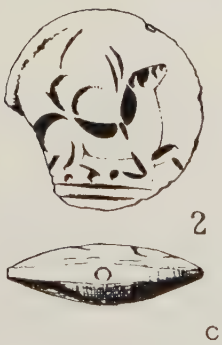
Gold and silver jewellery.
Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 383*).



A

B



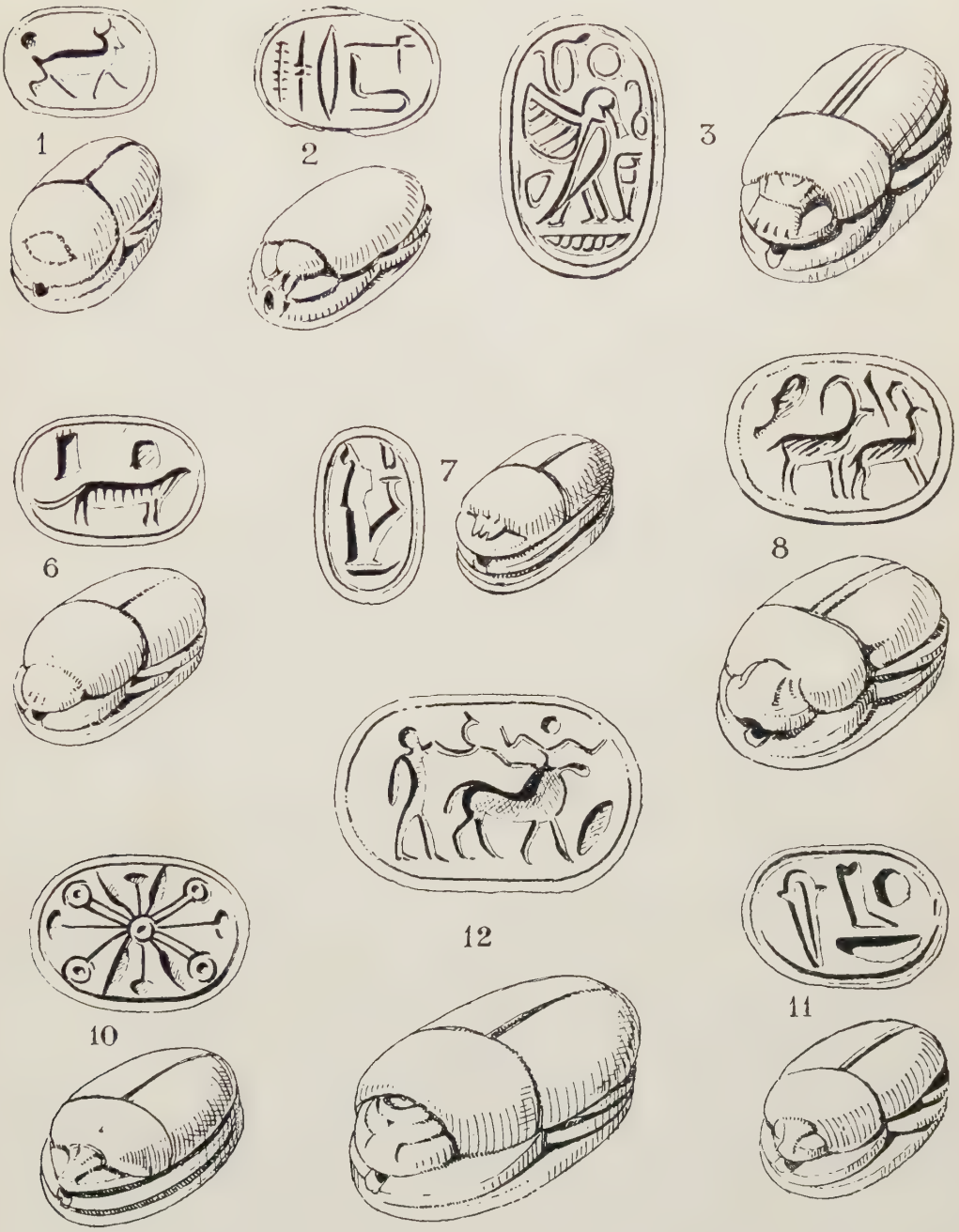


C

D

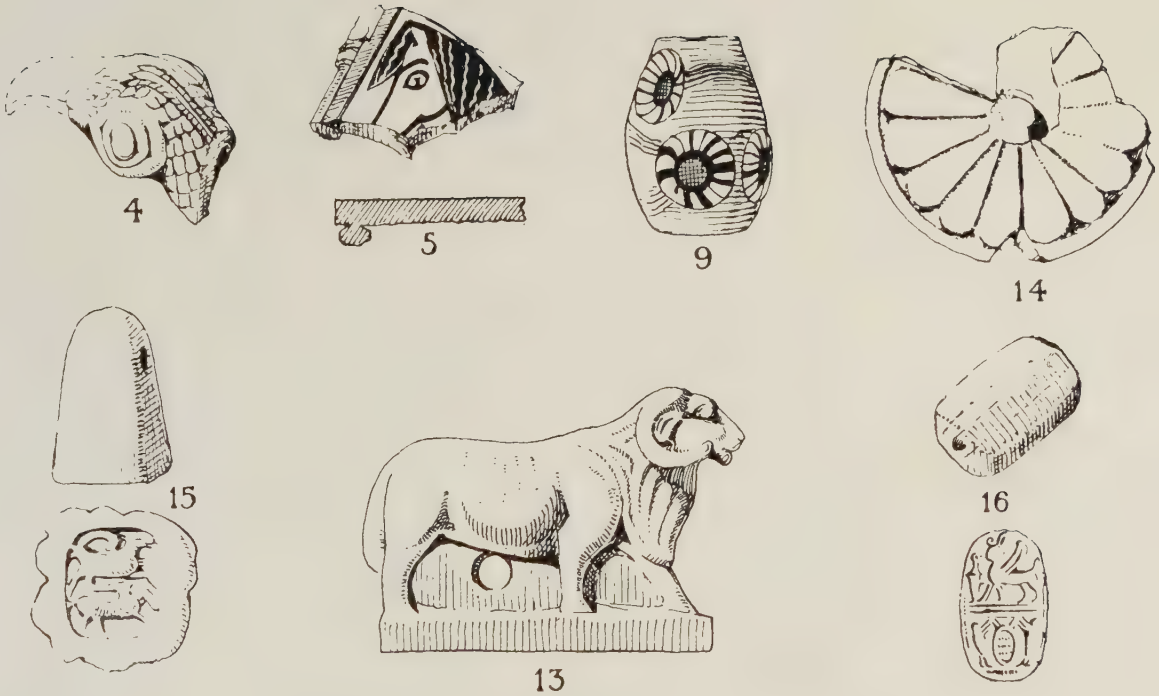
A. Silver objects. Scale 1 : 1.
B. Mycenæan: 1, bead seal; 2, engraved carnelian. Scale 2 : 1.
C. „ 1, steatite sealstone; 2, glass lentoid. Scale 1 : 1.
D. Hittite engraved stone. Scale 1 : 1.

(*see pp. 378 sqq.*)



Scarabs in vitreous paste. Scale 2 : 1.

(*see p. 384*).

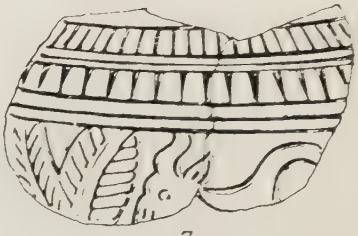


4, 5, 13, 14. Objects in vitreous paste. Scale 1 : 1.
9. Bead in vitreous paste. Scale 2 : 1.
15, 16. Glass seals. Scale 1 : 1.

(*see p. 385*).

1

2



3

Vases in vitreous paste.
Scale 1 : 1.
(*see p. 385*).